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Proceedings
OF THE
Massachusetts Historical Society

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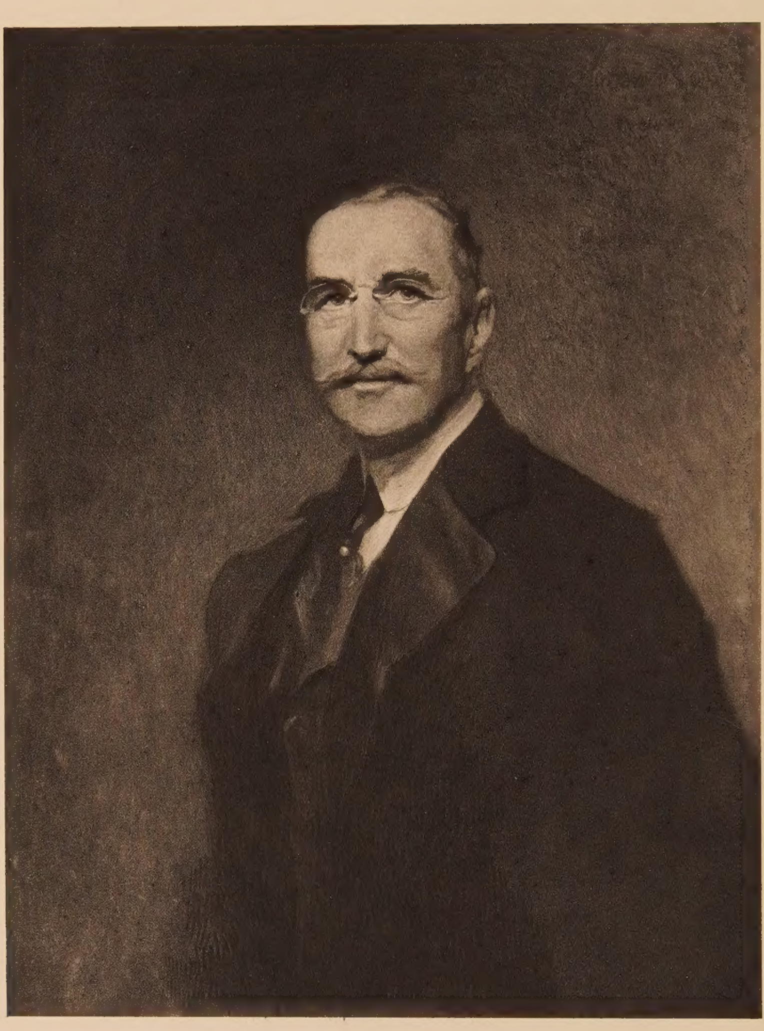

Frederic Winthrop

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

Proceedings

October, 1932—May, 1936

Volume LXV

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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October 15, 1940

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[1] Elected by the Council on October 10, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the death on July 1, 1940, of Matt Bushnell Jones.

[2] Elected by the Council on October 10, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Mr. Brigham as Corresponding Secretary.

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1915
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1916
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1919
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1934

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1935

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1937

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1940

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Changes in Membership

October, 1932—September, 1940

DEATHS

RESIDENT

1877, John Torrey Morse, Jr., March 27, 1937
1891, Oliver Wendell Holmes, March 6, 1935
1891, Henry Pickering Walcott, November 11, 1932
1901, John Osborne Sumner, February 20, 1938
1902, Grenville Howland Norcross, February 12, 1937
1903, Ephraim Emerton, March 3, 1935
1903, Waldo Lincoln, April 7, 1933
1904, Charles Homer Haskins, May 14, 1937
1905, Henry Greenleaf Pearson, December 28, 1939
1906, Edwin Doak Mead, August 17, 1937
1910, Harold Murdock, April 5, 1934
1912, Malcolm Storer, January 2, 1935
1914, Chester Noyes Greenough, February 27, 1938
1915, William Crowninshield Endicott, November 28, 1936
1915, Robert Grant, May 19, 1940
1918, Arthur Prentice Rugg, June 12, 1938
1919, John Woodford Farlow, September 23, 1937
1920, Francis Russell Hart, January 18, 1938
1920, Robert Means Lawrence, March 7, 1935
1921, Charles Allerton Coolidge, April 1, 1936
1922, LeBaron Russell Briggs, April 24, 1934
1922, Philip Hale, November 30, 1934
1925, Calvin Coolidge, January 5, 1933
1926, John Woodbury, January 4, 1940
1929, George Francis Dow, June 4, 1936
1929, Henry Munroe Rogers, March 29, 1937
1930, Francis Henry Appleton, April 5, 1939
1931, Thomas Hovey Gage, July 17, 1938
1931, George Read Nutter, February 21, 1937
1931, Charles Thornton Davis, September 4, 1936
1933, Matt Bushnell Jones, July 1, 1940
1935, Carroll Perry, October 2, 1937

HONORARY

1919, Sir Charles Harding Firth, February 19, 1936[1]
1923, Henri Pirenne, October 24, 1935
1937, Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, April 17, 1940[2]

[1] Corresponding Member, 1901–1919
[2] Corresponding Member, 1919–1937

CORRESPONDING

1898, John Franklin Jameson, September 28, 1937
1907, Wilberforce Eames, December 6, 1937
1909, Lyon Gardiner Tyler, February 12, 1935
1909, Clarence Bloomfield Moore, March 24, 1936
1912, William MacDonald, December 15, 1938
1919, George Lincoln Burr, June 27, 1938
1920, Elihu Root, February 7, 1937
1923, Henry Perceval Biggar, July 26, 1938
1924, William Lawrence Clements, November 6, 1934
1924, Philip Alexander Bruce, August 16, 1933
1925, Arthur Lyon Cross, June 21, 1940
1927, Josef Redlich, November 11, 1936
1930, William Otis Sawtelle, September 24, 1939
1931, Harold William Vazeille Temperley, July 11, 1939
1933, Joseph Grafton Minot, June 19, 1939
1934, Harvey Cushing, October 7, 1939

Memberships Ceased

RESIDENT

1911, George Hubbard Blakeslee, October 11, 1933
1914, Joseph Grafton Minot, February 9, 1933 [1]
1924, Edwin Francis Gay, October 8, 1936
1926, Harvey Cushing, April 12, 1934 [2]
1930, George Hinckley Lyman, December 8, 1938
1931, William Hovgaard, October 11, 1934 [3]
1931, Alfred Claghorn Potter, November 12, 1936

CORRESPONDING

1919, George Russell Agassiz, December 12, 1935 [4]

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[1] Elected Corresponding Member, March 9, 1933

[2] Elected Corresponding Member, May 10, 1934

[3] Elected Corresponding Member, December 13, 1934

[4] Elected Resident Member, May 14, 1936

Proceedings

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society

OCTOBER MEETING, 1932

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 13, 1932, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb, a number of military passes issued, 1863–1865, to Miss Dorothea L. Dix and others, and several historical pamphlets.

From Miss Frances A. Plimpton, a list of the pew owners (proprietors and sitters) of the West Church in Boston, 1777–1781.

From the estate of Virginia Stockwell, verses, in manuscript, sung by the Franklin Musical Society, June 8, 1805, in honor of the marriage of Timothy and Betsey (Lock) Tileston.

From the Iowa State Library, several manuscripts relating to Boston and eastern Massachusetts, 1753–1781.

From Fisher Howe of New York, papers relating to the West Hoosac Blockhouse, Williamstown, 1746–1916.

From Charles Prince of Paris, France, through GEORGE H. LYMAN, a letter of Lafayette to Geoffroy de St. Hilaire, May 20, 1829.

From Miss Katharine Bell Read, a Bible containing the family records of William P. and Sally Wales Whiting, both of Randolph, and of Ephraim and Mary Wales.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, a deed of land in Newbury by Richard Kent to Daniel Noyes, July 6, 1715.

From Miss Louise H. Putnam, manuscript papers of the families of Putnam, Jackson, and Lowell.

From William Davis of South Orleans, a letter of Thomas Turnor, governor of Bermuda, to Governor John Winthrop, August 25, 1646, and several papers relating to Plymouth, 1777–1816.

From Dr. Sydney H. Carney, Jr., of Paris, France, a collection of

Carney papers relating to the early attendance of members of his family at school.

From Miss Adaline Louise Jenckes, a deed of land in Uxbridge by John Tincom of Plymouth to Daniel Southwick, August 6, 1746.

From Miss J. G. Morse of Dover, Morse family papers, 1792–1918, and a Bible (Oxford, 1715) containing a record of the family.

From Mrs. William R. Thayer, by deposit, letters from the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge to her husband, 1894–1922.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Miss Catherine W. Faucon, a cane inscribed: "Relic of Old Ironsides 1797. Edward H. Faucon 1828."

From Miss Marion C. Jackson, two photographs of the Dining Club, Harvard College, 1863.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, a wood engraving of the Timothy Dexter mansion, Newburyport, 1810.

From President ENDICOTT, photographs of Charles Darwin with autograph, and of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw from a painting by W. M. Hunt, 1859, with an inscription by Mr. Hunt to William C. Endicott in 1874; and an engraving of Edward Everett from Wight's painting in 1858.

From the State Street Trust Company, a colored half-tone of the whaling bark *Kathleen* of New Bedford, built in 1814.

From the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, a bronze medal, struck in 1932, to be used for award purposes.

From the American Chemical Society, a bronze replica of the Theodore William Richards medal awarded for conspicuous achievement in chemistry.

From Mr. NORCROSS, the Good Citizenship medal of award of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution; the medal to commemorate the *Arbella,* Salem, June 12, 1930; and the George Washington Bicentennial medal to commemorate the birthplace of Washington at Wakefield, Virginia.

From Davenport Brown, a medal in wood of the National Peace Association, Boston, 1869.

By purchase: engraved medals, in silver, of Chauncy Hall School awarded to Robert S. Hall, 1865, and of Boston College awarded to William A. Dunn, for poetry, in 1870; a medal of John Hancock and of Dorothy Quincy Hancock; and a rare note of Massachusetts, July 20, 1779, for £75 for advance pay to officers, signed by Henry Gardner, Stephen Minot, and John Mascarene, and endorsed by Lieutenant Moses Roberts.

The chair announced the death of HARRY NELSON GAY, a Corresponding Member, on August 13, 1932, and of JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, an Honorary Member, on July 18, 1932.

Mr. George Francis Dow read a paper on

The Journal of a Voyage in the Clipper Ship *Dreadnaught*

Much has been written concerning the clipper ship, her graceful lines, her remarkable speed, and the part she played in developing American commerce. The life histories of many of these beautiful vessels have been recorded. We know the daily runs on some of their quick passages, and contemporary descriptions preserve the details of their construction, fitting, and rigging; but the working of the ship and the daily routine are now well-nigh forgotten. Officers and crew and those who took passage alike are gone, and only in reminiscent volumes of travel or in autobiographical sketches may we find bits of description helpful in picturing the life on board. The log book kept by the first officer, the official record of the proceedings aboard ship, would preserve information as to the wind and weather, the working of the ship, and all important happenings, but these log books, almost without exception, have now disappeared, gone to feed paper mills and bonfires.

Underofficers and passengers, however, sometimes kept a journal of the voyage, and two such journals have recently come to light. The first was kept by Matthew Pear of Cambridgeport, a passenger on the clipper ship *Golden Eagle,* Captain Samuel A. Fabens, sailing from Boston, December 3, 1852, bound for San Francisco. Pear was making the voyage for his health, and after spending six months in California he sailed for home in the clipper ship *Contest,* Captain William E. Brewster, touching at Honolulu and spending six weeks at Tahiti while the ship was loading whale oil and bone, the usual return cargo. The *Contest* arrived at New York, May 6, 1854. His journal is now in the possession of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Another journal of a voyage on a clipper ship has turned up in the possession of Henry K. Swinscoe of Worcester, whose grandfather, Henry Swinscoe, went to New York in the late 1840's, intending to engage in the manufacture of " laces, velvets and fustians." He was unable to start his proposed factory and so opened a sail loft near the foot of Wall Street. One of his customers was Captain Samuel Samuels of the clipper ship *Dreadnaught,* who there met Charles Swinscoe, a young man of about twenty-one, son of the owner of the loft, and offered him the position of stevedore on the *Dreadnaught.* Swinscoe signed up and made one voyage to Liverpool and return, during which he kept a journal.

The *Dreadnaught* was built at Newburyport in the fall of 1853 to run on the Red Cross Line of New York and Liverpool packets, and became famous for her fast passages. By the sailors she was called the "Wild Boat of the Atlantic" and the "Flying Dutchman." Twice she carried the latest news to Europe, slipping in between the steamers. Her cabin accommodations were excellent for the time, and the ship was a favorite with the travelling public, while on her westward voyages she carried large numbers of emigrants. This "saucy wild packet, a packet of fame," in the spring of 1859 made the crossing from New York to Liverpool in thirteen days and eight hours, noted in the *Liverpool Mail* as a "marvelously rapid passage." Only one other sailing ship ever eclipsed this run — the full clipper *James Baines,* built by Donald McKay at East Boston in 1854, at the time the largest merchant ship afloat and measuring nearly twice the tonnage of the *Dreadnaught.* The *James Baines,* bound out from Boston to Liverpool in September, 1854, anchored after only twelve days and six hours at sea, the sailing distance, of course, being shorter than that between New York and Liverpool.

The full clipper *Lightning,* built for Train and Company's line of packets to compete with the *Dreadnaught,* once sailed 436 sea miles in twenty-four hours, an average of better than twenty land miles an hour. Her best eastward passage, however, was thirteen days and nineteen and one-half hours from Boston Light to her anchorage in Liverpool.

In recent years it has been asserted that the *Dreadnaught,* on her memorable passage to Liverpool in thirteen days and eight hours, sailed from Sandy Hook to the pilot boat off Queenstown harbor in nine days and seventeen hours. *Gore's General Advertiser,* however, published in Liverpool, March 17, 1859, in announcing this "Extraordinary Quick Passage," printed the daily runs, as did the *Liverpool Courier* and the *Liverpool Mercury,* and these figures total a run of 2,093 miles at noon on the ninth day out from Sandy Hook, and 2,361 miles at noon on the tenth day — a long way short of the 2,700 miles between New York and Queenstown.[1]

---

[1] See also Samuel Samuels, *From the Forecastle to the Cabin* (Boston, 1924), xv–xxv; Francis B. C. Bradlee, "The Dreadnought of Newburyport," *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* LVI. 1–10.

These Atlantic packet ships had cabin accommodations for ten to thirty persons. The after cabin on the *Lightning* was thirty-four feet long and "wainscotted with mahogany, enamel, polished ash and other fancy woods, relieved with rosewood pillars, papier-mâché cornices and flowered gilding." It was richly carpeted, and there was "a splendid sofa aft . . . and a circular marble table in each recess." The passage cost about $150 per person, and a saloon bill of fare that has been preserved shows a dinner of soup, boiled cod, roast turkey, roast and boiled potatoes, stewed chicken with macaroni, pies, hot rolls, sea pies and pickles, and plum pudding. Matthew Pear, in his journal on board the *Golden Eagle,* records that the table was "first rate," and lists "fresh mutton and beef, tripe, mackerel, corned beef, salt beef, salt fish, salmon, ham, pork and beans, soups, puddings and pies, apples in abundance, cabbage, turnips, parsnips, carrots, onions, beets, squash, buckwheat cakes, warm biscuits, corn cakes, mush and other things too numerous to mention."

. . . .

JOURNAL COMMENCED ON BOARD DREADNOUGHT, OF NEW YORK FOR LIVERPOOL, MARCH, 1854 [2]

March 25th [1854]. Saturday, came on Board at 7 A.M. Passengers anxiously waiting, expecting to go to sea today. Blowing hard from Nor West. . . . Noon, no signs of going. Pilot on Board thinks the Gale too strong to haul. . . . [Captain] Samuels and family on Board.

March 26th, Sunday. Came on board at 7 A.M. Blowing strong from N. W. Cold, freezing, put out extra moorings. Swept decks. Sounded pumps, 16½ inches water in hold, pumped ship, took breakfast ashore, came on Board again. All ashore but Whitehorn and I. . . . Went home at 1 P.M. Left Watchman Fox on board.

March 27th, Monday. Came on Board at 6½ A.M. Took Breakfast [on board] ship, 18 inches water in hold, pump'd ship. Freezing. Blowing a gale from N. W. Went to Phillip's, 86 South street, to see about Tow Boat, got to ship at 9. Pilot on Board, 2 steamboats alongside. Got hausers ready for towing. Tide commenced running Down, Wind and tide together. Pilot would not undertake to move the Vessel until flood tide for fear of running foul of the "Comet" which lay to leeward of us.

March 28th. On Board at 6½ . . . 2 steamboats ready. Cast moorings . . . A man going ashore on a plank fell overboard, on the fore and aft fender. Started, our Main and Fore Yards Came in Contact with a Barques Mizen mast. Carried away her spanker Gaff, etc. — anchored in N[orth] R[iver] Passengers anxiously waiting wondering if we shall go today. About 12 M. steamboat Huntress came alongside with the Captain, Crew and Baggage. Got Crew aboard. [Mate] pounded a Dutchman, who would not go aloft, put him ashore. Weighed anchor, at about 2, got under weigh. Reef'd Topsails, Strong Breezes from N. W. Boy got pounded for impudence to 3d officer. Mate and Bowswain pounded him. Bid all hands good Bye on Board the steamboat. Got down to the Bar. Came to an anchor, not water enough to cross. In ½ an hour weigh'd anchor and set sail, at 5½ steamboat turn'd for N. Y. and was soon lost to our Vision. We dashed along under [*torn*] outer and flying Jibs, and T[op] G[allan]t sails, set spanker and Royals, strong Breeze from W. ship going 13½ Knots.

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[2] This was her second round passage from New York.

Wednesday, March 29th . . . Saw 3 or four sail during the day. Ship going 8 Knots studding sails and staysails set. Wind shifting round to W. Cold winds freezing. Everything all Ice.

Thursday March 30th . . . Ship rolling about like a Duck without Ballast . . . Shell Backs been busyly engaged Killing time, Seizing Chafing Geer on. Went aloft this afternoon for 1st time since being out to sea. Washed Decks this morning, took about 2½ hours . . . We saw a light last night, it was visable for about ¼ of an hour. It was supposed to be a steamer, lookout let it go unobserved and almost got himself into trouble [for] not having sung out. . . .

Friday, March 31st. Strong Breeze from N. E., ship going 12 to 14 Knots, while jogging along merrily there was a lull, then in a moment the wind shifted and took the ship aback and laid her almost on her Beam ends. All hands were called on Deck to bout ship. Ship was put about and off she started her Course with a fair wind went off about 14 Knots, sailed about 318 miles last 24 hours. Making and taking on Sail all Day. Saw a ship under Single reef'd topsails, her Crojack furled, and we going under T[op] G[allan]t main Royal and 3 Jibs. Bilge pump going all night.

Saturday April 1st. Blowing quite hard enough, ship laying over taking in water at her ports. Saw a Barque steering West, at noon set fore top mast and Lower stunsails, Mizen Royal Stay sails. While going 13 Knots, at about 3½ P.M. a flaw of wind struck us carried away Lower stunsail boom, sent the Lower and topmast stunsail adrift, split fore stay-sail, had quite a job to get the stunsails on Deck as it was Blowing quite fresh, the ponderous mass of Canvass flapping to and fro as if writhed in agony, it appeared to me a Dangerous piece of business. Mate tried to get Geo. aloft but did not succeed as Geo. was frightened he would go over Board so the mate "let up" on him. At 5½, wind Blowing a gale, took in flying Jib, T[op] G[allant] sails, took a single reef in topsails, the sea getting very High lashing the Dreadnought with tremendous Violence, making her Creak from stem to stern. During the night took a double reef in Mizen tops[ail] and furled spanker, ship making her course, while reefing fore topsail the reef jig got foul. Mate sent Boy Bill to clear it. Bill went about half way up the rigging and Came down so mate sent [*torn*] and gave Boy

Bill a gentle Chastisement. At 1 A.M. took a sea over her midships which wet me through. I had to go Below and change all my clothing. At 4 A M Reef'd spanker and set it.

Sunday, April 2nd. Strong Breeze from the South. Ship laying her Course East by South. Making from 12 to 13 Knots, the sea we shipp'd last night shifted Grain.[3] . . . Steward turned the Cabin Boy out for Drinking Milk and other divers petty annoyances.

Monday April 3d . . . Quite warm, spoke a ship steering N. E. was a Clipper from Boston, she passed under our Quarter, a 5 Knot breeze blowing . . . Occupied all afternoon setting up Rigging . . .

Wednesday April 5th . . . Ship making about 10 Knots. Wash'd Decks, all hands Gave the paint a Good Scrubbing with Sand and Water. At 5 A.M. passed a Very large Packet ship steering Due West. Could not signalize her. I think from her looks it was the John & Lucy of New York as she possessed the peculiarities of her Rig. Had the Lifts and foot ropes on Deck Re-serving them, part of Watch busy making Sennet. Carpenter busy making Chafing Battens – Cook as usual busy Cooking and Passengers all *Very* Busy Doing nothing. There is one Exception that is a Woman who keeps her leisure hours occupied thrashing her young uns . . . We are now abreast of the Western Isles about 2 A.M. . . . Mr. Whitehorn spent the Dog Watch exercising the Boys. He would for instance tell them to coil down the Royal haulyards they would hunt around and of course could not find them, then he would send them aloft and make them trace them to the Deck . . .

Thursday April 6th . . . Warm, the sea as calm as the Hudson, the ship being Braced close up with a list to leeward [due to shifted grain], we cannot carry on much sail, our speed increasing towards noon carried away our Mizen staysail. The Haulyards gave way and away went the sail over the side, the Clew however held on so we were enabled to get the sail . . .

Friday April 7th . . . Our Crew an awful set of *Sailors.* We had to stick one fellow out of our Watch into the Galley, he had been a Steward and was no use on Deck. Two Seamen we had to turn into Carpenters and George into Steward's pantry. Boy Bill Good for Sweeping Decks. I busy painting and Seizing on Chafing Battens. Work'd ships reconings . . . Passengers getting anxious to know how far we are from Liverpool. Of Course they are just as well satisfied if you tell [them] 10, 12 or 1500 miles. If they get an answer that's all they want . . .

Saturday April 8th . . . The weather today was uncomfortably

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[3] From the log it appears that on the night of April 1 the ship was struck by a heavy squall on the port tack. "The fore and aft partition in the hold gave way," as the diarist later told his son, "and the grain piled up to starboard. The result was that the *Dreadnought* could carry almost nothing in the way of sail on the port tack but everything when on the starboard tack and . . . with 'square decks.' Work was done to shift as much grain as possible back to port, but it was a slow job and took much time as it could be done best only when the ship was on the starboard tack. But most of it was done before they reached Liverpool."

Warm not a Breath of air stirring. Both watches on Deck from 8 A.M. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. Grog was served out to the men about 11 A.M. Wallace went overboard and took a pleasant bath. The List of the ship about 10 Streaks . . .

Sunday April 9th 1854. On Deck at 4 A.M. head wind, ship making about 8 Knots . . . at half past five a ship was in sight on our Weather Bow, at 6 a large Vessel was seen on our Lee Bow and at 7 a Vessel was seen a long way to Leeward of us. We were going under Royals and Staysails pretty merrily. We were evidently Overhauling all 3 Crafts, at 10 A.M. got close on to the ship on our Weather Bow. We signalized each other but could not make out the signals. Whilst at prayers in Cabin we hove close to the ship. I and Sanders signalized her and found her to be the Compromise of New York. We soon left her in the Distance with the privilege of reading the name on our Stern . . .

By looking over a file of New York papers, I find the ship Compromise Clear'd on the 17th of March Sailed 18th D[itt]o. So we must have already beaten her 10 Days as we did not sail until the 28th. Sunday afternoon all is quiet and still on Board. Unlike most ships there is no unnecessary work done on that day. There are religious tracts Distributed to such as Choose to accept them. I saw some of the sailors laying under the forecastle busy perusing tracts. Another ship in sight Bound East. At 4 P.M. the Hull of the Compromise below the horizon. We now ahead of all three Vessels . . . Crew grumbling about their provisions — Poor Tea and worse Coffee . . . Going to turn in having slept but 4 hours since Eight oclock Yesterday morning. Turned out at 12 A.M. A rather cold night . . . Nothing doing except to tend pumps and heave the log every two hours so I walked the Quarter Deck all night with Mr. Creesey . . .

At night the sailors lay lounging around Decks. Generally Coiling themselves up in a Coil of rope, or stretching themselves out full length behind a spar. When an order is given they emerge from all quarters like so many concealed Demons.

Monday April 10th. At Eight of clock came on Deck . . . A large clipper ship ahead of us with Skysails set. A large Barque and ship in company to Leeward of us. All sail set, Capt. Samuels thought the Clipper was the Flying Scud, the Dreadnought's antagonist, so he clapped on all the sail he could. We Could not carry much as we were sailing within 6 points of the wind. At noon we saw her Courses and making a little on the Vessels to leeward.

The Clipper giving us a pretty hard rub as she [is] carrying skysails [which] gives her more *available* sail. But she Cant make anything on us — We expect to see her hull before night. No sight of the Compromise and the other two vessels in sight yesterday. Carpenter Busy making a Fore pump out of an old topsail yard . . . We have a pretty heavy press of Canvass and it just Counterballances the effect of the Grain and we have Square Decks. They are now engaged lowering the stunsails Booms on Deck as they make heavier work when tacking. We came near losing a man overboard, he shipp'd for able seaman, but is not able to perform any ordinary duty pertaining to Vessels. As we were about to tack ship he was for'd. The Bowswain had the Bowlings ready to let go, he sang out to the man but the man had not Gumption enough to percieve his danger. The order was given to "let go tacks and sheets." The Bowswain held on as long as he could, But as the *Work* was progressing on the other parts of the ship he had to let go, he did and the "sheets" caught the man and over he went head first, he "fetched up" with his head against the chain around the forecastle and came rolling on the Main Deck. A passenger came near being swept off the house on Deck by the main sail. Breeze freshening, ship stiff as a Church on our present tack . . .

Tuesday, April 11th . . . We saw a ship on the horizon about 6 A.M. at 9 We overhauled her and signalized her . . . she was a lime juicer,[4] she hoisted the Union Jack, no[t] the Stars and Stripes. We soon passed her, about an hour after, we "went about," and she was close on our Stern. We going under topsails. At that time there was a circumstance which dont occur every Day. There were 3 full rig[ge]d ships within speaking Distance of each other. We left our English friend and [it] was not very long before he was out of sight, he making about 2½ or 3 points more leeway than us although bound for Liverpool . . . Our Bowsprit has sprung some of the timbers around the nightheads. Split T[op] G[allan]t sail. Sailors busy mending it . . . another ship was seen to Leeward. We signalized her, it proved to be the Winchester of Boston. There were two ships in sight, one on our Weather bow and one a stern . . . Grain righted some as we do not lay over much more on the Larboard tack, than on the Starboard . . .

Wednesday April 12th . . . I busy all morning in the Cabin cleaning Capt. Samuels Charts some of them pretty well pencil'd up. Was shown how to wind up a Chronometor. One Chronometor Capt. Samuels gave $200 for, it has no Variation but is 13m. 10s. late. Captain Samuels instructed me how to take an observation, and how to obtain the Longitude from the Chronometor. Overhaul a ship steering same Course as we. She was going under Royals and Stay sails, she hoisted the American Flag which Compliment we returned of Course. She making Considerable Leeway or we laying a point or two close up in the wind soon Brought us along side of each other. She proved to be the New York of the black ball line of packets. We had to keep a luff on whilst speaking her which we did untill within ½ a ships length of her Bows when we fill'd and soon left the New York, 2 hours after she was scarcely visible to the naked eye . . .

Thursday April 13th. On Deck at 4 A.M. A very wet morning . . . Being wet no sailor work can be done so the shell backs scour'd the paint work fore and aft with sand. Commenced at 5 A.M. and had not got through at 11 – Our Watch on Deck at 12 M. Went to work scrubbing paint work, occupied the whole afternoon washing. Starboard watch came on Deck at 4 P.M. They finished Decks and paint work . . .

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[4] A term applied to a British ship, because on British ships the use of lime juice, to prevent scurvy, is compulsory.

Friday April 14th . . . At 4 A.M. Starboard watch on deck all hands sent aloft – to tar down the rigging. Coffee served out to the men at 5 in the morning . . . Finished the Charts. 4 or 5 hands in each watch on deck all day for spilling Tar on deck. Frenchman let half a Bucket full come Squash on the quarter deck . . . Passed a steamship during the night having a Red and White light . . . Today, Good friday, we had Hot Cross Buns . . .

Saturday April 15th 1854 . . . Men had their Coffee at 4½ A.M. "Knock'd on" at 5, Commenced to tar Lower rigging, No tar on Board, used Tar oil, Black paint, and paint oil. One hand knocked over a bucket of the Composition on the deck, he came near having to follow the example of his Bucket . . . Poor Joe had to undergo the ordeal of "Holy stoneing" to get the "Taw" of[f] the deck . . . At 3½ P.M. a large ship in sight, Going free before the wind. Studding sails set, at about 4¼ hove within signalizing distance of the Barque Spirit of the North of London 93 Days from Calcutta. She is a Beautiful specimen of Marine Architecture. We had great Difficulty reading her signals as they were in the shade of her spanker, that duty devolves on me. She asked us if France had joined England in the Eastern War. We of course answered "Yes." She Enquired our Longitude, and Gave us hers, and after Considerable "Cha Chaw" she "Box haul'd," We went in stays, she came alongside and the man at the wheel let us get "flat aback" and before we Got under headway she shot past us. We will soon show her our stern, as the animal in front of our Vessel has a particular dislike to looking at any Vessels stern . . . General opinion is we are on soundings, perhaps we are and perhaps we ain't. Ship lays over very much on Larboard tack. If we have any Canvass on she is almost on her beam Ends, at 6½ P.M. Spirit of the North about a mile to windward of us, at 8 we heading her off . . . Vessels decks clear'd up for Sunday. Clear'd up around the Windlass as we may have to "bend on" at short notice. If we get a fair wind we shall be in the Channel tomorrow.

Sunday April 16th 1854. Midnight, came on Deck, the Spirit of the North ahead of us, on the horizon. Attribute the cause to the inefficient steering of our Vessel. We changed the Man at the Wheel and soon Commenced overhauling her, at 2 A.M. along side of her, the wind very unsteady at times not Blowing a 2 Knot Breeze and again it would spring up and blow a 6 and 7 Knot Breeze. She could make on us when it was calm but as soon as it freshen'd up we walked right away from her. Quite an Excitement about as it is the first craft we have met with that stood any sight with us. At 8 A.M. we were leaving her fast. We stood considerable higher in the wind and by 12 Noon she was "Hull Down." At 12½ P.M. passed the English Barque Phoenix of Liverpool. We passed on her Weather Quarter, we shot past her as though she lay at anchor and at 4 P.M. she was among the missing.

Saw about a Dozen Vessels during the day. At one time there were 7 Vessels in Sight. At 4 P.M. "Tacked ship" . . . and discovered the Islands known as the "Skelligs," a high Mountainous rock terminating at a peak . . . There is a fix'd light on one Elevated 300 ft. Visible 25 miles. Passengers seem highly delighted at the prospect of being in the Channel tonight. Several coasters in sight. Brigs looking something like Dutch Galliotts . . .

Monday April 17th 1854. At 12 A.M. order was given to "Bout Ship" . . . Whilst all hands were busy tacking ship some pettyfogging miserable contemptable thief went into the fore castle, took one of the Seamans Chests and Broke it open, ransack'd it and left the Clothing about the decks and stow'd the Chest away under the Top G[allan]t forecastle. At 8 A.M. had come across several small Crafts None of which were able to stay alongside of us, as in about 3 or 4 hours time all they could see of us would be our topsails. Men Busy scraping masts. At 8 A.M. Tack'd to the Southward, not having quite room enough to pass the Cape with safety. At 9 Began to get Cables on deck. Made Passengers Clean out their Galley . . . All hands looking out expecting to see land. Bent the Cables. Ship looks very different to what she did when she left New York. Rigging all set up. All tar'd down. Lanyards Knotted and seized off very neatly. New sennet fore and aft for Chafing, Battens put in every imaginable place. Some hands engaged scraping the mast, Gaffs, Booms, etc. Others oiling them, some painting Blocks etc. Some bending and Getting [out] Cables, and altogether as Busy as a Bee hive . . . I am now in possession of a Curiosity Shop, Watches, Knives, Dirks, Quadrants and every thing usually found in a Shop of this Class. The men forward have sent all their Valuables aft as they cant trust Each other . . . Broke up "Holy Stones" previous to Holy Stoneing Deck tomorrow morning, had to lock them up as the men would through [*sic*] them overboard to prevent them using them. Ship rolling about Considerable. No Easy Matter to write.

Tuesday Midnight April 18th. On Deck 12 A.M. Sailing under Top G[allan]t sails. Weather squally. Several ships in sight, signalized two with torch, left them all behind, never yet has a ship to sail alongside us, at 2 A.M. set Top G[allan]t Staysail and flying Jibs, at 2½ Roused Cook to get the mens Coffee ready. We had our Coffee at 3½, at 4 resigned Commission to Mr. Sanders and went Below, ship going 10 Knots. At 8 A.M. our watch on deck, the poop and main deck to the Companion way as white as snow. We set to work and holy stoned deck untill 12. Pump'd ship and went Below. "Bouted ship" at 12 noon. A large Clipper ahead, overhauling her, all surmising what it is and what it isn't. We got within about a mile of her. We under Top G[allan]t sails. An excitement sprung up. We set Top G[allan]t Staysail, then "loose royal staysail," Main Royal, Fore and Mizen royals, they were loosed and set. We presumed it to be the Flying Scud, a new Clipper built to show the Dreadnought the road to Liverpool. We were all watching her, up goes her flying jibs, then her Top

G[allan]t Stay sail and Fore, main and Mizen Royals. Off both started. We sent up our Ensign, which they returned, then up goes Dreadnought, then Flying Scud. Several bottles of wine to be cracked over the occasion Captain licquord the crew on the strength of it. We were a long way to Leeward of the Scud. We went along and got ahead of her then Commenced to Luff to get to windward so that we could sail around her, we got far enough to Windward, to see her weather Hause hole when she put about, and we let her go. 1 hour after the Flying Scud tacked we tacked, but did not get sight of her, being about 10 miles to windward of her . . . At 9 P.M. Discovered a light on our Lee Bow, 3rd Mate went aloft and saw it was a revolving light . . . As we approached it we found it to be Tusca light, a beautiful Brilliant Red and White revolving light. We had flood tide and I think we passed it at the rate of 17 miles an hour. It was visable only about 2½ hours and it can be seen 21 miles off. At 9 we threw overboard our Lightening Conductor as the lightening was flashing around on every side.

Wednesday April 19th. Midnight. Tuska light fast fading from view. Strong Breeze blowing, ship laying over [so] that it is a difficult matter to walk Deck, her lee Scuppers under Water, her fore and main Chains under Water. Captain on deck, all hands called to shorten sail . . . A very heavy squall Blowing, Old Jack got Knocked off Fore Royal Yard by the flapping of the Sail, he caught hold of the halyards to save his neck. Coffee was sent out to the Watch as soon as we had done shortening Sail. Ship rolling very much. Crowding sail as we are anxious to report the Flying Scud in Liverpool . . . Saw land from aloft at 8 A.M. At 11 Came in Sight of Welsch Mountains . . . An immense number of small Donkey Rig'd Coasters around, Mostly a Kind of Topsail Schooners, some sloop rig'd with a large Balloon Square sail which they use to great advantage when running free. Sending aloft "Fish pennant." No sight of the Flying Scud . . . Saw a ship we supposed to be the Wandering Jew – both Main and Mizen Top Gallant masts Gone. We overhauled her, hoisted our name, she hoisted Wandering Jew. We soon left her. At about 1½ P.M. Was abreast of Holly head . . . Got out more Cable, we have now 90 f[atho]ms on deck. All ready to let go. Run up our signals at Holly head, Before we made Holly head, We were going under royals, but as soon as we weather'd the Bluff, the Breeze was so strong it compell'd us to shorten sail very much against our will. Tack'd ship at 4 and 5 ocl[oc]k. Close on land and looking out for a Pilot. It seems the pilots cannot come more than 30 Miles from Liverpool. After supper Mr Whitehorn sent Big headed Jim aloft to reeve the two Signal Halyards, he went up twice and came down without reeving them. The Royal mast had been oiled and it was no easy matter to shin up about 15 or 18 ft. pole. Mate then sent French Joe alias Boy Bill up, he got upon the royal yard. Jim help'd him up the pole, he tried 2 or 3 times and was Coming down and got alee on the mast and came nearly going overboard, they then sent 2 Boys out of the starboard Watch. One a little Scotch Boy Called

"Jawde" went up and rove them. It was quite amusing, they aloft some ½ hour. At 8 tack'd ship and went Below, just turning in when I heard "All hands on Deck." Up I started. "Clew up mainsail – Back Topsails." I wondered if it was a Squall. Presently I saw a Sloop making after us. I wondered if it was a russian Privateer when I was told it was a Pilot Boat. After ¼ of hour sailing he got up to us, he came along side in a small Boat. Came on Board. Took T[op] G[allan]t sails off the ship. We threw some Beef and Pork and a Bucket full of Bread into his Boat. We also sent a Bottle of Brandy, Bundle of Cigars and some Bacca. Pilot on Deck, old man resign'd and gone Below.

Thursday April 20th 1854. On Deck at 12 A.M. Bouted ship, went about 5 or 6 times during the time previous to our taking the Steam boat. At 2 A.M. we were tacking . . . [and] were hauling home the Lee fore brace, there were about 20 hands on the brace and were not taking in the slack of the brace, as the Yard Came round Captain became excited as the ship came near Getting "stern way." On he came forward and saw how the men were soldiering off, he gave them fits, particular fits, he clear'd the brace of ¾ of them, Sent some flying on the decks, the braces work'd well enough After that, a Great many small Vessels in sight, going in all Directions. As for Model they look as if they were made by the mile and if a person wanted a ship of so many tons they Cut off so many fathoms and Boarded up the ends. One of the Liverpool Pilot Boats coming bow on looks as much like a New York Canal boat as one penny is like another, they have a Bluff stern rising to the cutwater, painted in streaks. Our ship Could sail round them. The sail boats here are queer rig'd. They carry a Foresail and a sail over the stern, like a sloop going Stern foremost. At 8 A.M. the steam tug Constitution came along side, ask'd if we wanted a tug. Captain ask'd how much he would tow us up for, he said 18 Guineas. Captain said it was too much, when he put off, but we call'd him Back and told him to come along side. We Clud' up sail, he took our hauser and off we went not half so fast as were sailing but in the right Direction. On we went, passed the N. W. Light ship – and Bell Bouy. We made our Course up the Channel which is marked by cone shap'd Bouys on one side and flat or Round on the other. We took mid channel Course smaller vessels were running outside of the Bouys. We arrived at the Bar at 1½ Water too shallow to pass. Hove too untill about 2½ then steam'd up again. We passed the Enterprise, the Vessel I crossed the Atlantic in 5 or 6 years ago . . . We came to anchor at 5. Gave her 45 f[atho]ms of Chain. We excited a great deal of curiosity as people on the Ferry Boats gazed with a Wondering Eye. Our figure head is a singular affair and often small boats will go under our Bows 2 or 3 times to see what it is. The Custom house officers "Boarded us." They call the *Boss* the "tide surveyor," he was accompanied by a Custom house officer such as we have in New York *Barring* the Brass Buttons. Next in degree came 4 orgies acting in the Capacity of Boatman, Searchers, Pokers, Goughas and "light" porters, always ready to carry off any surplus tobacco. Of course they are subject to optical delusion and a man can expand the area of the optics in proportion to the number of plugs, you bestow on them. Tobacco is said to have a "soothing effect," it is fully confirmed in the "Custom house officer." For it so "calmns down" his *natural* prying propensities that he thinks it a bother to overhaul your "Trunk." I did not want to overhaul my chest so I took him down, he with Lantern in one hand, and a long wooden stick and steel poker in the other, as Soon as we got in my room Says he in a low mysterious tone, "What Bacca have you got." I told him not much as I had never used it. I had a large and small plug which I told him to put in his pocket, he asked which was my trunk, I pointed it out to him, he nodded his big head and walk'd on, he went through the Stewards Pantry poking his stick into this and his steel rod into that. When they were on deck they were very vigilant looking into the most unaccountable places, but as soon as they are out of the Tide Surveyors sight, you can plainly see the Effect the Almighty dollar has on their tender sensibilities. They left leaving the Custom house officer on Board. He was up all night as the Steward would not give him "anywhere to lay his head" — he finally succeeded in coming to an anchor in the Companion Way. We have to keep Watch during the night to prevent Boats coming alongside to steal Sailors. It was my watch from 10 until 12, I taking the 2nd Watch. We have to watch our Bowswain very closely as he wants to give us the slip and is down to all Sailors Stealing moves. Boy busy in Galley drying his Shirt, the only one he had . . .

Friday April 21st 1854. All hands Called at 6 A.M. . . . Boat alongside with some vegetables and meat the old man bought. Our mess room has been on Allowance of Butter for about 2 weeks. Our Butter pot was taken off and a small plate with "our portion" on, Our Steward has got a very Bad name on Board the Vessel, he put the Sailors on allowance only 3 pints of Molasses daily, a small portion falls to each man's lot when there is 33 in the forecastle, and they have Rice and Molasses, or Mush to Breakfast, he grumbles about our being a long time at Dinner, and nothing pleases him. Would very much like to give him a *poke.* He refused to give the Custom house officer a Bed, spoke to him like as if he was a dog. When they Came down to get dinner there was one fresh one, he told him he did not know anything about him. The officer told the Steward who and what he was, he said he must wait untill the next table. Our Dinners are always cold. We have thought several times of speaking to the old man About it . . . Steamboat came alongside with a Custom house officer to take the passengers on Shore, they wanted 4/ from each passenger. The passengers refused to give it so they went away without them. In about ½ an hour After the same steamboat came for them Employ'd by the Owners, they all got on Board with their Baggage and off they started. About 30 Greeks Came on Board to Discharge, they use "Gins," a block on the stays and just a whip. They are the slowest mortals on

Earth, all Bosses, all Cursing each other, one man at one moment at the Gangway, next moment heaving at the winch . . .

Saturday, April 22nd. At 6 A.M. Whitehorn woke me up said I was wanted on deck. I felt very loath to turn out but did and Tallied Cargo all day untill 6 or 7 in the Evening. Decks were washed, in the morning at 7 a steamboat came alongside with 70 men so we had a pretty large mess aboard, they all brought their "Tommy" with them. They are like so many pigs no better . . . During the day there was some heavy Squalls. The wind would come in sudden gusts and make the Dreadnought lay over to it. Nothing but smoke in Liverpool . . .

Sunday, April 23d 1854. At about 5½ A.M. I was awoke by the 3rd Mate telling me the Word was given to "man the windlass." We "hove the Vessel short" taking in about 30 fathoms of chain leaving out 30 fathoms. We all stood waiting for the steamboat which was to be ready to Dock us at Seven. We waited about an hour it did not Come so the Captain says "Whip the Ensign," which we did but still no steamboat would Venture to dock us, it was Blowing pretty hard. It got so late we Couldn't dock that morning so we "paid out" about 15 f[atho]ms chain. The "Boys" all busy cleaning Brass Work, *others* busy praying, in the afternoon Mr. Cressey was forward and overheard a Conversation between two of the sailors. They were laying down the law in style and telling how they were going to thrash the mates When they got ashore, he pop'd on to them and asked them who they were talking about, they said one of the sailors, he Knowing better Gave them a Tap or two, at 6 P.M. the steamboat came alongside and off we started for the Wellington or rather Waterloo dock, the Flying Scud was in the river we passed her and as we were going by her our Sailors wanted to give 3 Cheers, but the Mate thought it too much for them, we having beaten her so much. We went into dock with both our anchors on the forecastle. We went in without the least trouble, "not a Jam was heard, not a thing was Broke." We lay in the Middle of the dock, and to take the place of the C[ornelius] Grinnell, we got our Moorings snug at 9½, pumped ship, Sailors went ashore and we turn'd in.

Monday, April 24th 1854. Watchman called us up at 5½, was on deck at 6 A.M. the time the men go to work here, they knock off at 7, and remain until 8 to Breakfast . . . The C. Grinnell hauled out so we hauled into her Bearth, the N. E. Corner of the dock. We got our moorings and made her fast. Stevedoors got ready to go to work tomorrow, stopped rigging up and down the Shrouds, clear'd up and washed decks, for painters to go to work tomorrow. At 7 P.M. Capt. Samuels told me to clean myself, he wanted me to go with him. We went to the Royal Amphitheatre. Mrs. Samuels and Corneilla went, we took a Carriage there and Back. When we got home I went for some beer. The policeman searched me as I was going off the dock. I treated him. No danger of him searching me *now*. We saw *Hamlet*, it was the most miserable performance I ever saw.

Tuesday, April 25th. Painters, Stevedoors, Laborers, and Riggers all busy. Bustle, Noise, Caulkers, Shouting and All join to make a Din and Confusion. Squar'd the Yards, Coil'd up the Braces, Roll'd the Spars out for painters . . . Discharging Cotton, Beef, Lard, Tallow, Corn and Wheat.

Wednesday April 26th. Nothing important going on. A Day set apart for worship to pray for the Success of the Army.[5] Painters at work as the dumpers are not working today . . . All the stores are closed. Church Bells ringing, Dock Gates Closed. We wanted to work, we attempted but were stopped. They would not allow us to land some Broken spars on the Quay. Of Course they could not stop us working on board. All licensed places of amusement such as theatres etc. Closed. In the evening Mr. Cressey and I took a Walk through some of the principal streets in Liverpool . . . The Customs of England are still the same, some of which appear odd to me now. It seems funny to see a stage with a Dozen women on top but you can see it every 5 minutes of the day. Stages here have a Kind of ladder at the Back and a Woman will go up like a squirrel — the stages charge 3*d* inside and 2*d* outside. The Cabs here are all the patent ones, the front opens and you get in forward, the Drivers set cocked behind above the top of the whole affair. Along the streets are signs showing the whereabouts of the fire plugs, they are placed on the wall opposite the plug which is in the street and tells how many feet the plug is from the sign. They call the Grog shops "Spirit Vaults." Their signs are 3 Barrels and a bunch of Grapes underneath. Buildings here that are insured have an oval shaped plate on them showing in what office they are insured.

Thursday April 27th. Today all hands at work discharging Vessel, — taking out wheat in Bulk, painters, Caulkers, Joiners and Washwomen at work, men at work salting vessel, Caulkers at work Caulking Lower Between decks — About 40 of them at work. One man who was Carrying Grain off the ship fell and I expect nearly Kill'd himself, they take the Grain out in Bags Containing 4 Bushels, he had a Bag on his back, was going down a plank Gangway and when about 8 or 10 feet from the ground he went headforemost on the Quay, his head striking the stones, there is about 250 lbs. in a bag, a heavy load to fall on a man. It is one person's work to Keep the people off the paint . . . Mr. Saunders lost $50 in gold and about $10 in Bills in his Wallet, he put it under his pillow one morning and left it there, and the next morning he went to get it and it was not there. We made diligent search for it but it Could not be found and it was given up as gone, there were but 5 had access to Saunders' room, 3 mates, George and I, so it was a very mysterious affair, where had the money gone. No one of course professed to know. Wednesday I was hunting up my Clothes for the Washerwoman when on turning over some things in my Bunk, I found the Identical Wallet, how it got there is not known to any but the party who put it there, Geo[rge] had only $5 to start with, he was going to Manchester with me then to Dublin and several other places, if he could on such light expenses he would make a Good Traveller and if I was him I should go right into it.

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[5] i.e., of the British Army in the Crimean War.

We have to put out our lights every Evening at 9 oclock, there is a bell rings at 6 A.M. a Signal to start fires, it rings again at 6 P.M. a Signal to put out the fires. All lights too must be cover'd, no Candles are allowed, nothing but oil. We put our lamps out sometimes and sometimes stuff something in the port light and lay the mat on the deck light, the policeman on the dock sometimes Come on Board, when they are coming the Watchman Gives us notice and we "douse the glim" and are asleep in no time, they fine you if you are taken up. The policemen allow us a great many priviledges being as we are the "Bully Ship" in port. The Dreadnought is in every one's mouth.

Friday April 28th. Discharging grain, stores etc. painters and Caulkers at work, about 50 Caulkers, 50 labourers and painters and other hands employ'd make about 150 Men on Board. We have a fresh Boy down in the Stewards pantry, a son of one of the dock policemen, a smarter boy than any we have had before. Old man mad as thunder at the painters he thinks they are so long fussing over their Work . . . Freight Coming down on dock. Several Schooners alongside with freight, Iron, Wire, Boxes of Tin, Pig and Railroad Iron. Saw a man stabb'd in Denison St. 3 Sailors fighting Drunk. Several Drunken Women got some awful Black Eyes.

Saturday April 29th. Rainy morning, busy discharging Grain, taking in Iron, Dock full of Cargo for New York, painters, Carpenters, Caulkers at work. Got all the Grain discharged but the forward bin which holds about 9000 Bushells. Six or Eight Coasters and flats waiting to discharge — principally Bar and Pig Iron, we are taking what they Call Compound Railroad Iron. It is in 2 parts each rail consists of 2 pieces one Scored in the other — it prevents a joint Coming in the Sleeper and the line is one Continuous length.

Sunday April 30th 1854. Up at 6. Six men on board to wash decks and outside of ship, we engaged washing deck whilst our Considerate, Consciencious Captain and Lady are at Church praying for themselves and perhaps us, finished about 11½ A.M. . . . Got dinner then went out to see what I could see. Mr. Creesey, Saunders and myself went on Board the American 3 Masted A1 Boston Clipper built ship Lightening. Inspected her fore and aft, she is now up for Australia. We were accosted by a boy of some 17 or 18 Summers who was evidently Green in Nautical matters, he show'd us through the Cabins, they were very splendid, Beautifully furnished, the panels painted in very pretty style, on the back of Glass, there is a Division in the Cabins one part painted simply White, there was a piano forte in the Cabin. I asked the Boy a great many Questions regarding the ship. I learn'd from him that "They lost the log twice trying to log her," he seem'd to think she could beat Everything on Water, perhaps she could "Barring us." She has tremendous beams, high Bulwarks, her Spars are Very low, her T[op] G[allan]t mast seem[s] to have not more than 8 feet hoist, they look out of proportion, her Royal masts the same too short and stumpy, she has very square yards, her officers were very polite when they knew we were off the Dreadnought. After we had been through the *Lightening* we parted, I went to 46 Duke Street, to find Mr Jones, all was shut up. I then went to 86 Parliament st to find Mr Vaill, he had left and was living at Mr Bondlers in Winslow near Stanhope st to which place I went. Saw him . . . he and I went out had a pleasant walk, went through Mr Jones Brewery, a Queer looking place. We home had tea together went out went to the outskirts, went to "the Gardens," small lots about ⅓ of an acre of ground rented to Mechanics or anyone who chooses to hire them, they are called "The Poor Man's Gardens." Quite a number of them all in a row. Mr. Vaill has a share in one. They have built a Kind of hut, they have a Table, Chairs, Lockers, plenty of Grub, window Curtains and a rousing stove inside, there they sit with mug of H'ale and long pipe. We stay'd there untill 7 P.M. then went to the Princess Park a Beautiful resort well made use of, there is a Beautiful piece of Lawn running down a slope at the Bottom of which is a sheet of water on whose Bosom were floating Ducks, Swans and several Foreign birds – it is a romantic spot, there is a small Island on it, Quite a resort for "Lone Lovers," enough egad to put one in mind of our "Younger days." Went to the Ship at 9 P.M. Mr. Vaill went with me, he was much pleased with the Vessel's looks. Saw a great many Drunken people, Men, Women and Children. 2 Rows each of which the M Ps "walked off" the Combatants. Liverpool is a Dull place on Sunday Ev[enin]g. Shops all Closed. Loafers loafing and nothing doing.

Monday May 1st. Rainy wet foggy nasty misty day . . . From the number of Runners around I should not wonder if a few passengers were "taken in" – painters about finished. Men at work putting in Ventilators, we have to have 8 put in, Carry 2 More Boats, spare anchor and Chain. To have 4 more "Carry me outs."

Thursday [Tuesday] May 2nd . . . Joiners at work putting up Bearths on Both Between Decks.

Wednesday [May 3.] Taking in Tin all day. About 2000 Boxes on Board, a fight on the dock. Irishmen of Course. Many Visitors Coming on Board, all Classes, Greeks and others. We had one Italian Crew on Board to look at our Vessel. The old man Show'd the Capt through. We have to stuff our Ports up nights as we can't have Lights after nine – All hands on Board. We had a jolly Fiddle, spent a Very pleasant time. Mr. Creesey and Mr Saunders bought each a set of China, they paid 24 Shillings, the man packed them up for a Voyage. We open'd them and found he had chang'd the plates, are going to Kick up a muss with him, if he don't change them we are going to heave a stone through the Window . . .

Thursday May 4th. Taking in Cargo all day. Iron from Barges, Bales and Boxes from off dock . . .

Friday May 5th. Busy taking in Cargo Tin from Brig Rosa taking in Iron off dock, took in about 1300 Boxes of tin, Washed off decks, took until 9½ P.M. When we turned in being pretty tired being up at 3½ A.M. . . . George Came on board at 3½ A.M. he thinks of Accepting an offer to go Cook's Mate in the passenger Galley of an Australian Vessel. Bowswain has lost some tobacco, he suspects George took it he having seen him stow it Away.

Saturday May 6th. Passengers begin to Crowd around the Vessel. All sorts, stowing Water Casks, filling them, the provisions Coming down on the dock, about 150 Barrels bread, 120 Bar. Oatmeal, 40 or 50 Bags of rice, and flour, Sugar, Tea, etc. etc. . . .

Wednesday May 10th. All passengers on Board. Quite an excitement. English, Dutch, Irish and All sorts in a mix'd up mess on Deck. Boxes flying, women yelling, Children Screaming, Babies Crying, such Confusion, uproar and Excitement can be seen only on Board ship. We overhauled the Sailors, passengers, and served out provisions about 650 passengers, perhaps 800 Souls on B[oar]d. Cast off Moorings at 5½ P.M. haul'd to the Gates, was not room to turn round so we had to lay untill next tide.

Thursday May 11th 1854. Commenced to haul early. Got out into the river, steamboat Constitution took hold of us and took us to Anchorage in the river, Clipper Gauntlet alongside, ship St. Patrick passed us. Dipped Colours, Captn. Waterman Came on Board in his Boat. Mustered all hands on Deck. Searched, found the stowaways, one in the forecastle and one Down Below. One was a Sailors brother, the other an English Boy. We let the Boy go to work the latter we lost sight of and I found him stow'd away in the forward locker on the bowsprit amongst some Coils of ropes. We sent about 5 ashore. Kept watch during the Evening.

Friday, May 12th 1854. Roused all hands at 4 to heave anchor. Steamboat alongside was soon under way . . . Steamboat left us at 3½ P.M. in the Morning served out water to passengers, emptied all Casks on deck and put them on board Steamboat.

Saturday May 13th. Busy getting Anchors on the forecastle stowing hawsers below fenders, etc. . . . Skysail set and going about 10 Knots, passengers sea sick and most of them Below, roused them all on Deck. Germans could not understand, some of them refused to go, when I neck'd him up on Deck the others understood.

Sunday May 14th 1854. Roused George at 4 A.M. to call the passengers to be on hand for Water, served out water, clean'd up below, then came on Deck at 10½ A.M. to prayers – had a very Good Sermon from a minister in the 2nd Cabin, our pulpit was the Cap[s]tan, our cloth the American Ensign. At 5 Evening prayers, and a sermon from the same Minister . . .

Monday May 15th. Attended to the passengers. Got chains below, fished Bowsprit, one of the passengers wanted to know if we had Caught any fish. I said No, I was not aware of anyone fishing, he said the Mate had been fishing all Day, he had heard of his fishing the Bowsprit.

Tuesday May 16th. Ship going along 2 or 3 Knots, no wind of any Consequence. Men Employ'd setting up rigging, I getting out provisions and Coal for passengers. Mr. Saunders punched a man, gave him a Dam'd good thrashing, Brought him aft. Captain Called all hands aft and told them if they acted as men they would be treated as men, if not, must look out, then sent them forward.

Wednesday May 17th. 54 . . . Got the provisions aft and served them out, spoke the Barque Releigh of and from Hamburgh . . .

Thursday May 18th. Spoke the Barque Grace 9 Days from Liverpool . . .

Friday, May 19th 1854. Going along slowly. Served water to passengers, licked 3 or 4 passengers 'Cause they would not clean up their places down below, some went aft to the Captain for redress, he told them he should have given them more . . .

Saturday May 20th. Very busy cleaning up, scrapers, brooms and Swabs. Irishmen, Germans and English all brought into requisition, two boys Employ'd throwing Prince Albert hats overboard, had to pound one or two passengers . . .

Sunday May 21st. Got through with the passengers Early. We had prayers at 10½. All hands attended, we had Evening prayers. Yesterday the Doctor discover'd the Itch among the passengers, had them on Deck, examined them one by one, found about 40. We made them wash, take some medicine composed of Sulphur, Salts and Jalap. We dosed them, a la " Do the boys hall " fashion. Today Mr Saunders and I repe[a]ted the dose, at 11½ a Dutchman came saying " Matloes, Matloes steal." I went to the Hen Coop, It seems the sailors were stealing the poultry. We kept a look out but Could not detect the thief, there was a jollyfication in the forecastle, some 3 or 4 of the 2nd Cabin passengers were in the forecastle drinking rum, one had £6 stolen from him, 4 or 5 sailors trunks broken open, at 12 Midnight I went below, trunks broken.

Monday May 22nd. On deck at 5 A.M. served out water . . . We Got track of our Chicken thief, he was recognized, we put him in Irons and put him down in the pump well. 3 others were recognized as breaking open the boxes, we took their Names and sent them forward, I went with the Men who had had their chests Broken open. We found about 12 pieces of Clothing in the Various Bearths, at noon we shackled the mans hands behind him, he lay in that position all night, he still denied taking the ducks, he at last Confessed to stealing [*torn*] ducks but would not implicate any of his companions. I gave him some Bread and meat, some water, then had a Whistle, fiddle and good sing, then went to bed.

Tuesday May 23rd. Upon Deck at 5. Went to see my friend in the pump well, he said he had been in Irons before and would sooner be where he was than on Deck so we shackled his hands before him, made them fast to his legs, pushed his Knees through his arms, then pinion'd him by putting a Broom handle through his Knees above his arms. We left him and in half an hour he began to roar like a bull, some of the passengers began to sympathize with him, we stop'd that. I went down to see him, he was wet through with perspiration, he said he had told all. I left him again. At Noon I went again, he was crying. I never heeded him, at 3 oc[loc]k he asked to see the Captain, he made a full Confession of who took it from him, who cut off its head, etc. etc. We let him out, he had to have the doctor, his Back was lame, the reason he would not tell was his Comrades had threatened to take his life if he did. We got up provisions for Forecastle etc. . . . Mr. Creesy Boarded the Zurich in a calm, took our L. Quarter Boat and had a nice pull of about 3 miles.

Wednesday May 24th 1854. At 5 Commenced to serve water to passengers then got stores on deck, then Commenced to serve out provisions. Served out 15 Bl. Bread, 10 of Oatmeal, 4 of flower, 5 of rice, 1 of Sugar, 1 of Tea, got through, then got out coal. Got about 20 Bls. on deck, commenced to serve out water from aft, turned in at 8 P.M.

Thursday May 25th. A row in the Kitchen. Irons, Women, hell and Brimstone, Captain mad as a [pup?] . . . Ship going 12½ and 13 Knots an hour, Germans Drunk, ship rolling very much . . . A very solemn and impressive scene occured today, we had a Goat on Board, she was taken sick, she got worse and worse, untill at length she died, today she was buried, alas poor Goat, such is life, she died in a happy state of mind, Quite serene.

Friday May 26th . . . A very heavy sea running. Saw something they Call a "Sea Snake." It was like a snake, about 18 or 20 feet long. It lay floating about 6 feet under water, had a good deal of trouble cleaning out the place, below. I punked one German, he went aft to the Captain, who sympathized with him. Of Course I shall not trouble myself as much [again].

[Remainder of journal missing.]

Mr. EDWARD KENNARD RAND read a paper on "Liberal Education in Seventeenth-Century Harvard."[1]

Mr. MORISON told of his identification of about two hundred volumes used as text-books at Harvard College before 1701 containing the autographs and dates of ownership by students.

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[1] Published in the *New England Quarterly,* VI (September, 1933), 525–555.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 10, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the estate of John William Herrick of Plymouth, through George W. Nightingale, executor, the German Bible printed at Germantown, Pennsylvania, by Christoph Saur in 1776. This copy was originally owned by Mr. Herrick's great-grandfather, Caspar Deitz, who came to Massachusetts from Germany before 1786 and subsequently took the name of John C. Tates.

Through the courtesy of Boylston A. Beal, a photostat copy of the index of the record of marriages, baptisms, and burials of Christ Church, Boston, 1724–1851, prepared under the direction of CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.

From Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb, the papers of James and Thomas Lamb, merchants of Boston, and the papers of Thomas Lamb, Jr., 1815–1865.

From the estate of Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, by her heirs, Mrs. Henry B. Bigelow, Henry L. Shattuck, and Dr. George C. Shattuck, the account-books of James and Thomas H. Perkins, twenty volumes in all, 1804–1836.

From William Ropes Trask, papers of Dr. John Warren, brother of General Joseph Warren, and papers of the former's son Dr. John C. Warren, 1761–1869.

From Alvan F. Worthington of Dedham, papers of Messrs. Gordon & Wellington, hardware merchants of Boston, 1840–1844.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From HAROLD MURDOCK, a painting of the Great Fire in Boston on Saturday and Sunday, November 9 and 10, 1872.

From Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb, the epaulettes, sash, etc., belonging to the Civil War uniform of General Joseph Warren Revere.

From Fielding Schofield, a three-dollar gold piece of 1868.

MR. WILLIAM CAMERON FORBES read a paper on

A SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINE MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

In my book, *The Philippine Islands,* I devoted a chapter to tracing the various stages of the independence movement up to 1926.

It is not necessary, therefore, to go again into great detail in regard to the story of this movement during that period.

The Schurman Commission, which was sent out to the Philippines by President McKinley in 1899 to investigate conditions in the islands, reported:

> . . . it would be a misrepresentation of facts not to report that ultimate independence — independence after an undefined period of American training — is the aspiration and goal of the intelligent Filipinos who today so strenuously oppose the suggestion of independence at the present time.

There is little doubt that however much, deep in their hearts, the Filipinos may have desired independence during the Spanish régime, it was then too dangerous to give expression to that wish. Their position can perhaps best be typified by that of the Philippine patriot-martyr Rizal, who was executed largely as a result of the influence of the Church more for what it regarded as heresy than for political activity — for Rizal was scrupulously careful never in speech or in writing to suggest independence even as an ultimate aim, but contented himself with asking for reform of certain abuses of Church and State.

With the coming of the Americans a new era began. Their own tradition of independence and their opening of schools and permitting freedom of speech in the islands made it possible for the idea of independence to begin to grow.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the question of the promise of independence alleged to have been made during the early negotiations with the Philippine insurrectos. Those facts are set forth very clearly in Dean C. Worcester's book, *The Philippines Past and Present*. Undue weight has been given to the claim that the officers of the American consular force who arranged to put General Aguinaldo in touch with Commodore Dewey promised that the United States would give the Filipinos independence. The question is wholly academic because no consular officer had any authority to make any promises that would in any way bind the United States. Moreover, the records are conclusive in proving that no competent authority did pass upon the matter at that time. There is no doubt, however, that General Aguinaldo declared independence to be one of his aims and that throughout the insurrection against the United States the Filipino leaders openly declared and their soldiers believed that they were fighting for the independence of their country. At the same time it can not be doubted that very few of the Filipinos knew what independence meant and that still fewer had any realization of what it connoted.

Without question there has been throughout the period of American occupation a steady growth of a general national desire for independence which, from the early days of our conquest up to very recently, has been fostered and encouraged by the Filipino politicians. They have openly stood for independence and have found that it was a necessary position for them to take, regardless of their convictions, if they wished to obtain sufficient votes to put them and keep them in office.

The attitude of the people of the United States has also been more or less in a state of flux. It is probable that when the question whether or not to take the Philippines was first presented to our people, there was a strong and quite general opposition to our going in there at all. This opposition was more or less focused by the organization of the Anti-Imperialist League, with headquarters in Boston. This movement was joined by many estimable citizens actuated by high altruistic motives, but, for lack of personal contact with the Philippine situation itself or even with that kind of situation in general, they were rather poorly equipped to judge of the effects of the measures which they advocated. The records show that President McKinley himself was in grave doubt as to the course he should pursue.

The first official declaration in the United States on the matter of retaining the Philippines was a resolution passed by the United States Senate on February 14, 1899, to the effect that " it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States." The resolution went on to state that it was intended to prepare the Filipinos for self-government, and to determine later the disposition of the islands.

From that time on, the records of Congress will be found to be replete with bills introduced into the House or Senate proposing, under varying conditions, to give independence to the Philippines. Of these the one which came nearest to passage was the so-called Clarke amendment. In 1916 the Jones Bill, creating a new form of government for the Philippine Islands, was enacted into law.

While this bill was under consideration, the Senate, by a margin of one vote, approved the Clarke amendment providing for complete independence of the islands within four years. This amendment was defeated in the House, largely by Catholic votes.

The Jones Bill itself, however, as passed carried a preamble which is worth quoting in full:

> Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and
>
> Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and
>
> Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence. . . .

This is the only legislative declaration passed by both houses of Congress and approved by the president of the United States which deals explicitly with "independence," and it is the basis upon which the Filipinos most generally base their claim that a promise of independence has been given to them.

The attitude of executive officers of the American government has been very definite. Although President McKinley seems not to have mentioned independence, Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Coolidge all stated either in public utterances, in messages to Congress, or in messages to the Filipinos that it was the policy of the United States to fit the Filipinos for self-government; that at some later date, if they should have established a stable government and then desired independence, it would not be withheld from them.[1]

Various governors-general of the islands have mentioned independence in their speeches, but as they do not speak with the authority of the president, and as in general they echo the views of their superior officer of the time, it does not seem worth while to go into detail regarding their pronouncements.

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[1] See, for example, President Roosevelt's message to Congress, December 8, 1908; President Taft's message to Congress, December 6, 1912; President Coolidge's reply to the Philippine Independence Mission, February 21, 1924.

President Wilson, after having served as chief executive for nearly eight years and after his party had been defeated in the election of 1920, stated in a message to Congress on December 7, 1920, that

> . . . the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government . . . and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands. . . . This condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

Governor-General Harrison had reported to President Wilson that in his judgment the Filipinos were ready for independence. President-elect Harding was not pleased with the manner in which this problem was left to him and verbally informed me that he believed it had been done for the purpose of making things difficult for him.

The platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties have quite generally dealt with the Philippine problem. Those of the Democrats have uniformly declared for independence. Those of the Republicans have generally supported the policy of the Republican administration in developing the Filipinos' capacity for self-government. They have in no case declared against independence; in some cases there has been no Philippine plank in the platform at all.

In the Philippine Islands, at the various sessions of the legislature, the Filipinos, first as the Assembly or lower house, and later the House and the Senate, have always voted in favor of independence. Such resolutions have usually been passed unanimously. Not only that, but the Philippine legislature has voted considerable sums of money for the maintenance of an independence propaganda bureau in the United States, and when this was finally, in 1924, ruled illegal by the insular auditor, the legislature appropriated money for the expenses of committees to present petitions to Congress, not specifying the nature of the petitions. In fact, since 1919 various missions have visited the United States in an effort to negotiate a modification of the political relationship between the United States and the islands, and these missions have uniformly declared for independence as their ultimate aim.

When President Harding entered upon the duties of his office, he determined, in consultation with Secretary of War Weeks, to send General Wood and me to the Philippine Islands to investigate conditions and report. The president had, as I have before mentioned, his predecessor's definite recommendation that independence be granted immediately, with the explicit statement that the Filipinos were then ready for it. After election, but before assuming the presidency, Mr. Harding had called me to Marion for consultation and had received a recommendation for a program wholly different from that which he finally adopted. This was that a commission of five be sent to the islands to undo so far as possible the harm which the lax administration of Governor-General Harrison had wrought and, in colloquial parlance, to " clean house." A great deal of corruption and looseness had crept into the government service; many appointments of unfit persons had been made; the cost of government had jumped to nearly three times what it had been, and its effectiveness had been materially lessened. The first recommendation made to President-elect Harding — which he did not follow — was that an investigation be made, not as to the readiness and desire of the Filipinos for independence at that time — something which was pretty well understood without a new investigation — but as to the efficiency of the government as it was then conducted. The idea was that this unpopular work could be done by a group of prominent men too strong to have their findings subject to attack and only temporary in their tenure of office; and that then the new governor-general could come out and not have before him this ungrateful task, which would necessarily handicap him in establishing and maintaining pleasant relations with the Filipinos. This suggested plan, submitted at the request of the president-elect, was discussed with Mr. Taft, Ex-Governor-General Wright, General Pershing, and several outstanding representatives of commercial activities, all of whom approved of it. General Pershing agreed, if desired, to go to the islands as one of the commission to clean house. I do not think either the president or the secretary of war realized how different the structure and duties of the Wood-Forbes Mission were from that previously suggested. The instructions were to study the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government and to report on and " determine " their present fitness for independence.

One result of the visit of this mission was to stimulate independence propaganda throughout the whole archipelago, propaganda all carefully organized and carried on with the sole object of convincing the mission of the Filipinos' desire for independence. And there is little doubt that the propaganda increased very greatly the strength of the independence desire, that a good many Filipinos who had not thought of the matter before, or who had been fairly vague, had their ideas made much more concrete as a result.

At the close of the mission's investigation, General Wood assumed the duties of governor-general and performed the unpopular work of reform which the first suggestion to President-elect Harding had been designed to spare him. Later, General Wood expressed publicly a conclusion he had reached to the effect that the Filipinos did not really want independence very generally. The Filipino leaders immediately countered by passing a law calling for an independence plebiscite. This law was vetoed by Governor-General Wood, passed again over his veto, and then vetoed by President Coolidge, who sent a ringing letter, unanswerable in its logic, withholding approval on account of the futility of requiring a yes-or-no answer on a matter that could not be fairly answered "yes" or "no" and, moreover, was of purely academic interest since the vote would be merely an expression of opinion.

Meanwhile new and potent forces had been developing. With the good order, good health, improved communications, better steamship lines, construction of railroads, and more scientific methods that followed the American administration, the Filipinos became much more formidable competitors with certain interests in the United States, particularly in the production of sugar. For example, Philippine sugar exports to the United States, which in the early years of American administration had been almost negligible, reached in 1931 the very substantial total of about 750,000 long tons, or approximately one twelfth of the total consumption of the people of the United States. Such a great increase in the export of this Philippine product brought the islands into direct competition with sundry interests and incurred the practically united enmity of all the beet sugar states, the Louisiana cane sugar producers, and, more especially, those engaged in producing sugar in Cuba, who have to pay duty on the admission of their exports into our country. Labor federations became alarmed at the possible influx of low-priced Filipino labor into our western states, fearing a new racial situation such as had resulted in earlier Chinese and Japanese exclusion laws. Furthermore, the dairy producers in the country were alarmed, probably unduly, by the competition threatened by imitation butter made largely from coconut oil. Other interests — for example, producers of cottonseed oil — were also lined up in the opposition to keeping the Philippines. These interests began a strenuous lobby to end this competition by granting the Filipinos independence, acting in no way in the interests of the Filipinos, a matter with which they frankly did not concern themselves, but for the sake of their own ventures and enterprises.

Thus at the present time there is the rather extraordinary spectacle of those who for wholly altruistic purposes wish to give the Filipinos what they call freedom in alignment with the special, selfish interests eager to get rid of the islands because they think our holding them hurts their pocketbooks. One interesting aspect of the situation is that while the idealists and the other backers of the suggested legislation call what they propose giving the Filipinos "independence" and "freedom," their measures would, as a matter of fact, take away a good deal of the freedom which the Filipinos now have, very precious elements of freedom — freedom of access to our shores, and freedom of unlimited entry to our markets for their products and of our products to their markets.

There now seems to be pretty strong evidence — largely inferential, however — of a change of sentiment among thinking Filipinos in the matter of complete political separation from the United States, bearing out the cogent remark made to me by a certain prominent Filipino and very keen observer in 1912: "We want independence only when we see it going from us. If it came near, we should be scared to death."

In the report of the Wood-Forbes Mission in 1921 the recommendation was squarely made that the United States should never put itself in a position of responsibility without authority. This means that the United States should not guarantee public order in the islands without maintaining the means of preserving it; that they should not guarantee stability of government without sufficient hand on the reins to assure the continuance of those methods and those policies which make for stability, such as retaining power of intervention in the matter of finances to prevent wild borrowing. The report of the Wood-Forbes Mission stated that the experience of the preceding eight years of "practical autonomy" did not justify the United States in "relinquishing supervision" of the Philippines and recommended that "the present general status of the Islands continue until the people had had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands." The report stated that most of the Christian Filipinos desire independence under the protection of the United States. Among the general conclusions it was pointed out that there was on the part of the Filipinos a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation was not true independence. To this aspect of the Wood-Forbes report the Filipinos replied directly that they desired immediate, complete, and absolute independence.

For a good many years the administration in Washington has felt that the influences opposed to our present relations with the Philippines were so strong in Congress that there was danger, if the matter came to a direct vote, that the islands would be tossed loose, not at all on the merits of the question, but at the behest of the special interests. In April, 1924, the so-called Fairfield Bill was introduced into Congress. This provided for a Philippine commonwealth under the supervision of a United States commissioner, and for a plebiscite to be held at the end of thirty years to determine whether the people wished to continue their commonwealth status or to have absolute independence. The bill did not touch upon trade relations except to provide that tariff legislation must have the approval of the president of the United States. Under the terms of the Fairfield Bill the control to be maintained by the United States was so inadequate that it was evident that the United States would have been put in the position of responsibility without authority — the very thing against which the Wood-Forbes Mission had reported in 1921. Secretary of War Weeks partially sponsored this bill, not because he wholly approved of it, but because he felt it would stave off something worse. Hence it was considered an administration measure, and was practically assured of the administration's sanction if acceptable to the Filipinos. The Filipinos, however, declined to accept it on the ground that the period of thirty years set for the duration of the commonwealth status was too long. And the whole thing went over.

Senator Hawes of Missouri, co-author with Senator Cutting of one of the independence bills under consideration in the present Congress, went to the Philippines and traveled about the islands, making speeches in which he told the Filipinos that independence was within their grasp, that Congress was about to give it to them.

He was received with great demonstrations, partly staged but no doubt in large measure expressive of a popular enthusiasm.

There seem to have been a number of visits of congressmen to the islands at that time. Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, who also is the author of a Philippine bill, based partly upon the program sponsored by the secretary of war, was a visitor to the islands; and Senator Pittman of Nevada, a Democrat, was another, although his trip to the Orient was in connection with the silver question and his Philippine visit purely incidental.

Early this year Representative Hare of South Carolina introduced into the House a bill granting the Philippine Islands complete independence from the United States at the end of eight years, and in the interim setting up a supervised commonwealth, with limitations as to the amounts of sugar, coconut oil, and cordage that could be introduced into the United States, and restricting to fifty the number of laboring men to be admitted each year to this country. This latter limitation was not to apply to Hawaii. The bill also provided for naval and military stations to be reserved permanently by the United States. After very brief consideration, the Hare Bill passed the House by the rather amazing vote of 306 to 47.

There was an independence mission in Washington at that time representing the Philippine Islands and endeavoring to get legislation enacted. This mission was composed of Senator Quezon, president of the Philippine Senate, who, however, did not accompany the other members to Washington but remained in Manila; Senator Osmena, representing the dominant party in the Senate; Senator Montinola, representing the opposition party; Mr. Roxas, speaker of the House; and Messrs. Sabido and Tirona, the floor leaders of the majority party and of the opposition in the House. Strictly bi-partisan, a more representative or influential group could not have been selected. They had been in constant conference with the United States Senate and House leaders in the preparation of the Philippine bills, and they were in accord with the terms of the Hawes-Cutting Bill and very eager to see it enacted.

In the course of April of this year I arrived in Washington from Japan and found the situation extremely mixed. The secretary of war had had some words with the Senate Committee on Insular Affairs in regard to the Philippine bill pending in Congress, and their relations were somewhat strained. Senator Hawes had apparently modified the Hawes-Cutting Bill so that it became a comparatively conservative document. Compared with the Hare Bill, which had passed the House, it is extremely conservative. It provides for a commonwealth period of fifteen years' duration, instead of the eight years set in the Hare Bill, and at the expiration of that time the Filipinos are to vote whether or not they wish complete political separation. In case they vote against this, they are to revert to their commonwealth status, with free trade except for limits placed on three commodities, and to become permanently associated with the United States unless Congress makes some other arrangement. During the whole of the fifteen-year period limitations are placed on the amount of exports from the islands to the United States, these limitations being roughly calculated to continue free admission of the amounts now being imported into this country, but not providing for any annual increase, with an immigration quota of 100 except for Hawaii. After ten years a foretaste of what political separation would mean to Philippine industry is to be provided by a graduated tariff on goods imported into the United States from the islands. Beginning with five per cent of the tax paid by foreign countries on like goods, and working up by an increase of five per cent each year, at the time of the plebiscite it would be twenty-five per cent of what other countries pay. The money derived from this tax is to be used to retire the Philippine public debt. The United States is to retain a site or sites for naval and military bases.

The provisions of both the Hawes-Cutting and the Hare bills are to be effective only if the Filipinos vote to accept a constitution. It is to be noted, however, that while the Hawes-Cutting Bill provides for a plebiscite on the question of independence at the end of the commonwealth period, the Hare Bill does not. Under the terms of the Hare Bill, once the Filipinos accept the constitution, then, eight years later, automatically they become independent, without further opportunity to express themselves on the subject.

The bill introduced into the Senate by Senator Vandenberg, which he is still pressing, approaches the matter in quite a different way. It provides that the president shall issue a proclamation levying on all articles coming from the Philippines into this country a tax equal to ten per cent of that which other countries pay, the revenues derived from this to be used, upon order of the governor-general, for the encouragement of agriculture in the Philippines or for the retirement of the public debt. It authorizes the Philippine legislature to impose a similar duty on imports from the United States to the Philippines. In the fifth year thereafter the legislature is authorized to petition the president for an increase to twenty per cent on exports to the United States and to impose a similar duty upon imports; in the course of the tenth year, to petition for a similar increase to forty per cent; and during the fifteenth year, to sixty per cent. In each of these periods the legislature is authorized to petition the president for a return to the ten per cent basis; and if in any year during any of these periods this is done, then later clauses of the bill providing for a vote whether or not to take independence become inoperative. The tariff increases are in each case accompanied by a decrease in the quota of Filipinos admitted to the United States, the actual immigration in the last fiscal year preceding the introduction of the bill being taken as the basis from which the successive reductions are to be computed. The bill contains no provision for retention of a United States naval base.

Upon arrival in Washington I was asked to study these bills and see whether they would be workable in practice, and after reading the Hawes-Cutting Bill over with great care, I visited Senator Hawes, who received me most cordially. I told Senator Hawes that his bill was defective in that it would place the United States in a position of responsibility without authority; that the manner of our exercise of intervention during the interim period was not definite enough to be workable. Senator Hawes replied that he agreed with this " one hundred per cent " and went on to say that if I would rewrite the bill so as to eliminate these defects, he would secure the acceptance of such changes by the Senate. He suggested, however, that the changes should not be too radical.

Before preparing any amendments to the bill I asked Senator Walcott of Connecticut, a personal friend, to ascertain from the president whether he objected to this intervention in the matter. The president at the time was busy with reconstruction matters and it did not seem fair to ask him to give any personal attention to a matter which was not so immediate as that on which he was engaged. His reply to Senator Walcott was that he had no objection to the move suggested.

Returning to Boston, I, with the assistance of Frank W. Carpenter, who had been executive secretary in the Philippines, prepared amendments to the Hawes-Cutting Bill remedying its defects, and sent them in a letter to Senator Walcott. He took this up with Senator Hawes, who at once made good his agreement, accepted the amendments in their entirety, and submitted them — slightly reworded and improved by the Senate law clerk charged with studying the wording of bills — to the Senate and got them voted into the bill before adjournment last summer.

The whole episode was the subject of rather bitter attacks on the part of political agents and of some controversial matter in the newspapers in Manila, which charged that these amendments were taking out of the bill the meat of the concessions which it had held for the Filipinos. As the commission then in Washington represented the leaders of both houses and both parties in the islands, those coveting the leadership in Manila would not be slow to make the most of any slip which their more fortunate rivals might make in Washington; and there is no doubt that there will be some bitter battles waged, regardless of the outcome of the proposed legislation, upon the return of the members of that mission to their homeland.

In presenting these amendments, Senator Hawes gave out to the press that I had come out definitely for independence. This was contrary to fact, and the senator was induced to insert in the *Congressional Record* a speech of mine before the New York Chamber of Commerce, in which the facts were made perfectly clear.

The situation today is this. The Hawes-Cutting Bill is on the calendar for almost immediate consideration by the Senate upon its reconvening next month. It is in the form which makes it probably the best compromise that can be devised, and it is acceptable to the Philippine mission here for the purpose of representing the people of the islands. Whether or not the members of this mission can make their recommendations prevail against the opposition they are sure to encounter in the islands is a matter of conjecture, upon which there is difference of opinion among careful observers. The secretary of war, for example, thinks they can not. The members of the mission themselves feel confident they can. The secretary of war does not approve of the terms of the Hawes-Cutting Bill, but it is possible that the bill can be modified in such a way as to leave the substance very much the same and still meet his views.

The main point upon which there is likely to be a controversy is that the secretary of war does not wish a definite date set on which the Filipinos will be allowed to vote for independence; and the members of the Philippine mission feel that unless they get that date set, they will go home doomed to certain defeat. In other words, what they came to get was a date upon which the matter would be settled. With two years to prepare their constitution and to get it accepted, and fifteen years for the duration of the commonwealth status, and two years more for the plebiscite, the final date will be very nearly nineteen years off. The United States has now been in the islands thirty-four years, and these additional nineteen would make a total of fifty-three years of undetermined status. The present arrangement is regarded as a makeshift and necessarily temporary, because it has never been accepted by the Philippine people and does not carry out what they hold to be solemn promises made to them. The passage of the Hawes-Cutting Bill would end this and comply in full with what they hold to be their rights. It seems reasonable that a fifty-year period of temporary status is long enough and that the Filipinos have a right to ask that a more permanent status be determined at the expiration of that period.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 8, 1932, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the First Church in Boston, by deposit, the Holy Bible (Oxford, John Baskett, 1739) formerly belonging to the Hollis Street Church and now descended to the First Church through the union of the Hollis Street Church with Dr. Edward Everett Hale's South Congregational Church. This Bible bears on the first fly-leaf the inscription: " The Gift of His Honour, William Dummer Esquire Late Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief of this Province. May 2, 1742 M. Byles."

From the Lucy Jackson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Newton, a collection of manuscripts, 1798–1805, relating to the frigates *Constitution* and *Boston,* and to the French corvette *Le Berceau* captured by the *Boston* several hundred miles east of Boston on October 13, 1800, and brought in as a prize.[1] The papers were found in the old Baury House at Newton Lower Falls, at one time the home of Samuel Brown, United States naval agent at Boston, who left the papers there.

From Dr. MALCOLM STORER, the Fitzhugh family papers of Groveland, New York, 1783–1842.

From William Lincoln Palmer, papers of his family, 1720–1833, relating to Amesbury, Dover, N. H., and Wolfborough, N. H.

From the Massachusetts Temperance Society, dissolved by order of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, June 27, 1928, its records, 1813–1928.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Misses Mary Coolidge and Lucia Gray Swett of Brookline, a silver salver presented by members of the New England Guards to their grandfather, Samuel Swett, as a testimony of their respect for him as their first commander, 1812–1813.

From Mrs. Frank H. MacIntire, the sword and sash of Samuel B. MacIntire.

The chair announced the death of HENRY PICKERING WALCOTT, a Resident Member, on November 11, 1932.

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[1] 1 *Proceedings,* XX. 271.

Mr. Charles Warren read a paper on

How Politics Intruded into the Washington Centenary of 1832

It is a remarkable, if not unique, occurrence in the world's history that a man's birthday should be celebrated annually for over one hundred and thirty years after his death. But celebration of the birthday of any man during his lifetime, other than of royalty or of a royal governor, has been even rarer. Yet the birthday of George Washington was observed with public dinners and balls as early as the year 1779 (in Milton, Massachusetts); Boston, Richmond, and Philadelphia began to celebrate as early as 1784; and gradually such observance became general throughout the states.[1] After the inauguration of the new government in 1789, however, the celebration became more and more an exclusively Federalist function, decidedly tinged with politics under partisan auspices — so that, in 1792, a leading Anti-Federalist newspaper in Philadelphia listed under the title "Forerunners of Monarchy and Aristocracy" the use of the title "excellency," the holding of presidential levees, and the "keeping the birthdays of the servants of the public."[2] In addition to these honors paid by the general public, the Continental Congress voted in 1783 that an equestrian statue be executed "in honor of George Washington, the illustrious Commander in Chief of the United States Army during the war which vindicated and secured our liberties." Its erection never took place, however, owing to the opposition of Washington himself to any such honor in his lifetime.

After Washington's death on December 14, 1799, John Marshall reported in the House of Representatives, December 23, a joint resolution "That a marble monument be erected by the United States, in the Capitol, in the City of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life."

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[1] *Transactions,* Colonial Society of Massachusetts, x. 252–258; xi. 195*n;* xii. 254; xiii. 96–99. In 1784 the Milton celebration (at Mr. Davis's by Milton Bridge) was noted in the newspapers as follows: "Social mirth and convivial joy heightened the pleasures of the day and the mutual congratulations for a glorious peace and for the preservation of the life of our illustrious General exhibited a most delightful scene of gratitude and joy. . . . After dinner, 13 toasts were drunk."

[2] *Ibid.,* xiv. 199–201; xviii. 62–68; *National Gazette,* December 12, 1792, letter of "Mirabeau."

This was unanimously adopted by Congress, and Mrs. Washington, on December 31, wrote a letter consenting to the plan. In addition, the first official recognition of Washington's birthday was contained in a resolution introduced by Marshall on December 30, that "it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble on the twenty-second day of February next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to testify their grief . . . by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers."[3] One year after this action by Congress, the House, in December, 1800, passed a bill to construct for the reception of Washington's body a marble mausoleum, pyramidal in shape, with a base one hundred feet square, at a cost of two hundred thousand dollars. (It should be noted that the capitol at that time consisted of only one wing, and that the present rotunda and crypt below it were not then built.) The project was opposed by many congressmen, particularly from the South; and it was adopted by a close party vote. In the Senate it was postponed until the next session.[4] Sixteen years then elapsed without any further action by Congress. In 1816, when the legislature of Virginia asked permission from Judge Bushrod Washington (which was denied) to remove Washington's remains to a spot near Richmond, Benjamin Huger, congressman from South Carolina, expressed in the House his "astonishment, and more than regret, of the apathy of the American people on this subject," and moved a committee to consider what further action should be taken on "that sacred and interesting subject" to carry out the vote of Congress in 1799.[5] A committee was appointed, which reported in favor of the erection of a marble monument. Erastus Root of New York urgently opposed the idea on the ground that it was preferable that "Washington's name live in history than in marble." The matter was again postponed by Congress. In 1824 still another attempt was made to carry out the vote of 1799 when James Buchanan moved in the House for a committee to report on the subject, saying: " Several attempts have since been made in Congress to redeem the plighted faith of the nation, but they have all proved unavailing . . . his mortal remains have yet been unhonored by that people, who, with justice, call him the father of his country. It is difficult to determine, whether this neglect be more impolitic or ungrateful." Again vigorous opposition developed. George Cary of Georgia said: " We need . . . no monuments . . . he has a monument . . . in the heart of every American; . . . and let it be our peculiar pride to enshrine him there alone." If erected in the capitol, he said, ". . . it will only be visible to the favored few who are drawn to this spot by their public functions, who visit it on a jaunt of pleasure, or attend it on concerns of private business." [6] Again Congress failed to act.

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[3] *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* (Sixth Congress), 16–19, 22, 203–206, 210–212, 222–223. See also President Adams's messages of December 19, 1799, and January 8, 1800. Further expression of the sentiment of Congress was contained in votes of the House and Senate that on December 26 they proceed "from Congress Hall to German Lutheran Church" to listen to an oration by Major-General Henry Lee, that the Senate wear mourning crape on their left arm during the session, and that the president recommend to the people of the United States that they wear crape for thirty days.

[4] *Ibid.*, 738, 758, 796, 799–804, 855–866, 874–875. The vote in the House was 45 to 37; the Senate vote for postponement was 14 to 13.

[5] *Ibid.* (14th Cong., 1st Sess., House), 1007–1010, 1212.

Two years later, in 1826, Congress even declined to adjourn over February 22 when a motion for that purpose was made in the House by John Cocke of Tennessee " to show their respect for the memory of that great man, by refraining from business on that day." John Forsyth of Georgia was opposed on the ground that " the most respectful tribute the House could pay to the memory of General Washington, was, a due attention to the discharge of their proper duties." This was the first time, he believed, " that it ever entered into the head of any Member of Congress, that it was proper to pay respect to the birth-day of any man. He hoped the motion would not prevail, to become a bad precedent for the future." [7] The motion was defeated.

Four years later, on Washington's birthday, 1830, the House took a step towards carrying out the Resolution of 1801 for the erection of a mausoleum, by appointing a special committee headed by Tristam Burges of Rhode Island to report on the matter. This committee took up the subject with George Washington Parke Custis, who wrote to them and to President Adams that he perceived " with much pleasure and truly much surprise that the Government after the lapse of thirty years has at last determined to give *national* rites of sepulture to the venerated remains of Washington." He also called their attention to the fact that it had been Mrs. Washington's understanding, when she gave her assent to the removal of her husband's body, that she should ultimately be buried with him. The committee recommended to the House that a Resolve be passed that "the remains of George Washington and Martha Washington be entombed in the same national sepulchre, that immediately over the centre of his tomb and in the grand floor of the Capitol shall be placed a marble cenotaph in the form of a well-proportioned sarcophagus. . . . Immediately above this, in the centre of the Rotundo, a full length marble equestrian statue of Washington, wrought by the best artist of the present time. . . . These memorials, little costly and ostentatious as they may appear, will better accord with the feelings of this Nation and more appropriately commemorate the pure and elevated character of our Washington than could any the most expensive or splendid monument or mausoleum." But like its predecessor of 1800–1801, this Resolution failed to pass Congress; and two years went by before that body took any official action to commemorate the Father of his Country.

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[6] *Ibid.* (18th Cong., 1st Sess.), 1044–1048; the vote on postponement was 97 to 67.

[7] *Register of Debates in Congress,* II. 1419–1421; the vote was 85 to 52 against the motion.

Meanwhile, though Congress declined to give official recognition to Washington's birthday, each year the city of Washington had a parade on that day, and a birthnight ball, the latter usually being attended by the president, the diplomats, and military officers, and frequently by the chief justice.[8] John Quincy Adams noted in his *Memoirs* on February 22, 1828, how, having company to dinner on that day, he observed to Chief Justice Marshall that

> it was not customary at this house to drink toasts; that since I had been here there had been to this rule only one exception — it was on the 6th of September, 1825, the last day that General La Fayette passed in the United States, and it was his birthday. We had then drunk one toast — which was, "The 6th of September and the 22d of February." I now proposed again the same toast, only with inverted order, and we drank in champagne, "The 22d of February and the 6th of September."

As the year 1832 approached, however, proposals for a celebration by Congress of the centenary of Washington's birth began to be made. No period could have been less auspicious for obtaining any united or harmonious congressional action on any subject. Discord and dissension were rife throughout the country. Two years before, in describing the great Senate debate on the Foot Resolution and the speeches by Webster, Hayne, Benton, Holmes, and others, John Quincy Adams had written in his *Memoirs* (February 23, 1830): "This debate is a symptom of the times. Personalities, malignities, and hatreds seem to take the place of all enlarged discussions of public concerns." The Democratic *New York Evening Post* of February 6, 1832, said: "The madness of party at the present day spares nothing. No respectability of character or degree of public capacity or length of public service can escape it." And, as if to prove its own charges, five days later it termed Henry Clay "a wretched demagogue, broken down in body and mind by vice and profligacy." The *Albany Argus* of February 11, 1832, termed Clay a "malignant, apostate politician." On the other hand, a Washington correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 11, 1832, in comparing Clay with President Jackson described the latter as, "the ignorant, imbecile, and inefficient man who now unfortunately occupies the chair of Chief Magistrate."[9]

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[8] *National Intelligencer,* February 24, 1823, and February 23, 1829. John Quincy Adams wrote in his *Memoirs* on February 22, 1827: "The company of Washington Guards paid me a marching salute. At eight in the evening, the Marshal, Ringgold, came, and I went with him to the Washington birthnight ball, at Gadsby's Hotel, now first opened, in the Pennsylvania Avenue." On February 22, 1828, he wrote: "I attended in the evening the ball at Carusi's Hall with Mrs. Adams. The company was small; a sideboard supper; and we came home shortly after ten o'clock."

In the month before the Washington centenary the nullification movement in South Carolina was approaching its climax; Georgia was in open defiance of the United States Supreme Court with reference to her rights in Cherokee Indian lands; New York and New Jersey were at sword's points with each other and had brought suit in that court; so had Massachusetts and Rhode Island; the western states and the eastern states were bitterly opposed to each other on the subject of the sales of public lands. Moreover, the tariff issue was becoming more and more inflamed. On January 9, 1832, Clay had proposed a new tariff measure, even more objectionable to the South than the "Tariff of Abominations" of 1828; and had said that in pushing it through he would "defy the President, the Democratic party, and the devil." For six weeks prior to Washington's birthday this tariff fight had raged with constantly increasing bitterness.[10] And as a climax to all the other sources of hostility between the president and the opposing party the Senate had

[9] See the attack on Jackson by Senator James Noble of Indiana, February 22, 1830 (*Register of Debates*, VI. 168–172), and his eulogy of Washington, in which he said: "Hireling presses have spoken of a second Washington. Without intending to give any offence, and with great respect for the opinions of all, however they may differ from me, I must be permitted to say, if 'the hero of two wars' be called the second Washington, it is no more than a mere mockery of the tomb of Washington."

[10] The tariff debate began in the Senate on January 9, 1832, and continued on January 16, 20, 23, 30, and February 1 to February 14, and even on the day before the Washington's birthday celebration.

on January 25, 1832, refused to confirm President Jackson's nomination of Martin Van Buren as minister to Great Britain (in spite of the fact that he had been secretary of state and was already in London under a recess appointment). Van Buren's rejection by the casting vote of Vice-President Calhoun had infuriated Jackson, and he looked with contempt on what was termed the "unholy coalition of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun."

In these conditions it was unlikely that there would be much harmony of action in Congress at this time on any subject. And when Congress finally decided upon a celebration of the Washington centenary, the appointment of Clay and Webster by Vice-President Calhoun to head the Senate committee on the subject did not ameliorate the situation. Nor did the project start under very favorable auspices, for six men appointed on the committee refused to serve — including Littleton Waller Tazewell of Virginia, who said that "Man-worship, how great soever the man, . . . he would ever oppose"; and Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey, who took the position that while he "hoped the Senate would adjourn . . . and unite with other citizens in the usual observances of the day . . . he could see no good reason why Congress" should do anything further.[11]

The plan of celebration which was finally agreed upon by the Senate committee (jointly with a House committee) consisted of an adjournment of the Senate from February 21 to February 23, divine services at the capitol on the twenty-second, an oration before Congress by Chief Justice Marshall, and the removal of Washington's body from Mount Vernon to a crypt in the capitol (which had been constructed under the rotunda between 1818 and 1829) — the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to prescribe the order of the ceremonies.[12]

A vigorous debate ensued in both branches of Congress over the proposal for the removal of Washington's body. In the Senate, Henry Clay argued that no time could ever occur, at least during the present generation, more proper for redeeming the unfulfilled pledge made by the Congress of 1799. Webster agreed, saying that no greater opportunity to give imposing solemnity to the proceedings could occur than at this centenary celebration. On the other hand, Tazewell and John Tyler of Virginia strongly opposed the plan, the former saying that it was contrary to Washington's own last will, that the Congress of 1799 had acted " under the fervor of excited feelings," and that " no statues are necessary to commemorate the virtues that are recorded on more imperishable materials." " Once commence this Romish rite," said he, " and you will canonize as many patriots as there are saints in the Romish calendar, and associate Washington with any *patriot* whom party may blindly elevate." " Will you make the odious distinction between the elder Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe, and decree to one a national tomb, passing by the others? " John Forsyth of Georgia said that he could not consent to any burial in the capitol, and that Washington's character was beyond any action of Congress. " When foreigners inquire of us, where is his monument? — our answer is, in our hearts — our deep, all-pervading, overwhelming gratitude to the great benefactor of our country."

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[11] John Forsyth and George M. Troup of Georgia and Hugh L. White of Tennessee expressed similar views and declined to serve; and Samuel Smith of Maryland declined on account of his age and health. The members of the committee who finally served were Clay, Webster, Ezekiel F. Chambers of Maryland, George M. Bibb of Kentucky, and George Poindexter of Mississippi. *Register of Debates,* VIII. 295, 296, 297, 367–377, 390–391.

[12] It has been frequently stated in histories, biographies, and guide-books that this crypt was built for the purpose of receiving Washington's body; but this is an error, for at the time of its construction there was no such plan under consideration by Congress.

To this opposition answer was made by Peleg Sprague of Maine, who said that the proposed ceremony was not so much to " honor the dead, as it was to show the gratitude of the living." George M. Bibb of Kentucky also said that it was " to exhibit to the world the bright example " of his life, and not to advance his fame. John Holmes of Maine charged that the debate was simply a contest between the State of Virginia and the United States. Clay answered Tazewell by saying that " although he knew too well that the last great man was always considered the greatest; and the disposition of the people was to make idols of their favorites; but he would himself discriminate between Washington and any man who had lived, from Adam down; and he was willing to trust to his successors for the continuance of that veneration of Washington's character which would forever place him incomparably higher in their estimation than any other man who had as yet risen among them." The resolution was finally adopted by the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to fifteen — very largely a party vote, as most of those who voted against it were Democrats.[13]

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[13] *Ibid.*, 378. Alexander Buckner of Missouri, George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, John Forsyth of Georgia, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, Robert Y. Hayne of South Caro-

In the House, on February 13, an exceedingly heated debate occurred over the proposed celebration, more than twenty-five members taking part. Representatives from the southern states, Virginia included, were, in general, violently opposed. William F. Gordon of Virginia said that it was "a vulgar honor," and "degraded Washington to the measure of little men, who needed a monument to preserve their name . . . an empty pageant, unchristian in its character, and every way in bad taste. . . ." [14] Augustus S. Clayton of Georgia said that "all reverence . . . would be lost in the same reckless levity that is witnessed every day at the pictures in the rotundo." [15] Erastus Root of New York said that it was incongruous to remove the remains on a day of celebration and rejoicing, and that it was introducing "the services of Good Friday upon Christmas morn." [16] Benjamin C. Howard of Maryland said that "from the first ages of the world, the records of all time furnished only two instances of birthdays being commemorated after the death of the individual: those two were the 22d of February and the 25th of December." [17]

In addition, however, to opposition based on these grounds, on Virginia's state pride, and on arguments derived from the wording of Washington's will, a more ominous note was heard. The shadows of nullification and secession crept over the debate. In arguing against removal of Washington's body, Richard Coke, Jr., of Virginia said: [18]

> There were at the present time, in the flag of the confederacy, the glittering stars of twenty-four sovereign and independent States; but the time might perhaps arrive, when, at some distant period, these stars should be dimmed of their original brightness, and present to the view twenty-four fragments of a great and powerful republic, warring the one with the other. At that lamentable time, . . . should Virginia, in offering homage to the memory of the mighty dead, be forced to pay a pilgrimage to the remains of her own son, through scenes of blood, shed perhaps by kindred hands?

And Wiley Thompson of Georgia said: [19]

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lina, Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, William R. King of Alabama, Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, William L. Marcy of New York, Stephen D. Miller of South Carolina, Samuel Smith of Maryland, Littleton W. Tazewell of Virginia, George M. Troup of Georgia, John Tyler of Virginia, and Hugh L. White of Tennessee were those voting in the negative.

[14] *Register of Debates*, VIII, Part ii, 1785.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1797.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1805.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1808.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1785.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1788.

> I presume there is scarcely an individual within this Hall, or within the United States, at all conversant with passing events and political aspects, who does not feel compelled to look to the possibility of a severance of this Union. Indeed, some profess to think that such an event is probable. God forbid. May this Union be continued through all time! Remove the remains of our venerated Washington from their association with the remains of his consort and his ancestors, from Mount Vernon and from his native State, and deposite them in this capitol, and then let a severance of this Union occur, and behold! the remains of Washington on a shore foreign to his native soil.

These suggestions as to the possibility of a severance of the Union disturbed many congressmen. Charles C. Johnston of Virginia remarked that he was sorry to hear Thompson's argument, and that he himself " was not willing to acknowledge this danger; we ought not to allow our minds to glance that way for a moment, particularly on the present occasion." [20] William Drayton of South Carolina advanced the view that

> . . . the preservation of our constitution and of our Union are inseparable. The disappointed hopes, the crooked policy, the reckless ambition of selfish demagogues, or the narrow prejudices, the infuriated passions, or the clashing interests of different sections of our confederacy, may gradually undermine and ultimately prostrate our constitution. . . . Whatever may be our fate hereafter, we ought to perform our duties now.[21]

Charles A. Wickliffe of Kentucky said:

> . . . the gentleman from Georgia had spoken of the possibility, nay, the probability of the disunion of these States. Sir, the sacred name of Washington should never in debate or in thought be connected with the idea of a dissolution of this happy Union. Disunion of these States, sir! I will not permit my mind to dwell on so dire a calamity; it never can happen while the name of Washington is spoken and his memory revered. . . . I have no such gloomy forebodings. . . .[22]

Jonathan Hunt of Vermont argued that " no act can be done by the Government that would have so deep and permanent a moral influence in uniting the people and cementing the Union of this confederacy, as the burial of Washington in the capitol." Charles F. Mercer of Virginia also thought that such action by Congress " would tend to consolidate the Union of these States." William S. Archer of Virginia said that the opinion had been expressed that such action " would be a cement to union, from its appeasing influence on the distractions of excitement. The opinion [he thought] had been stated perhaps too strongly . . . however, it was not without justice. Almost in the immediate presence of this awe-inspiring deposit, the utmost fury and tempest of excitement must stand in some degree subdued." [23] To this point of view William F. Gordon of Virginia retorted that " the way to cement the Union was to imitate the virtues of Washington; to remove not his body, but, if possible, to transfer his spirit to these Halls." [24]

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[20] *Ibid.*, 1800.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1795–1796.

[22] *Ibid.*, 1793.

In addition to the argument based on possible secession, a novel plea was brought forward by Wiley Thompson, based on the possible transfer of power from the East to the West and the probable removal westward of the site of the capitol. Said he: [25]

> . . . in the march of improvement, and the rapid progress of the increase of population in the United States, it is probable that our settlements will not only extend to the Rocky Mountains, but reach beyond, stretching down to the Pacific coast. But say that the foot of the Rocky Mountains will form their western boundary – and we may reasonably suppose that this will happen at no distant period – then bring the great, the powerful West to act upon a proposition to remove the site of the Federal Government, and who can doubt that a location more central will be found and established on the banks of the Ohio? Shall the remains of our Washington be left amidst the ruins of this capitol, surrounded by the desolation of this city?

To this, Joel B. Sutherland of Pennsylvania aptly retorted: " If our population is to reach to the Western Ocean, and the seat of Government is to be removed, when we carry away the ensigns of power from this place, we will carry with us the sacred bones of Washington." [26]

The tone of the debate became so caustic and the opposition so insistent that Samuel P. Carson of North Carolina termed the contest " disreputable," and James M. Wayne of Georgia said that, while differences of opinion were to have been expected, he regretted the debate. Nevertheless, as he pointed out, there had been a " beautiful harmony " in the " intense devotion of every speaker to the dead, and though composed of different materials, the monument to his memory, made by this day's discussion, shall go to the world and to posterity, as another proof that Americans are not ungrateful, and have not degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors." [27] The committee's plan for a celebration was finally adopted by a vote of 109 to 76, those voting in favor being largely northern Whigs and those opposed mainly southern Democrats and southern Whigs.

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[23] *Register of Debates,* 1807.

[24] *Ibid.,* 1784.

[25] *Ibid.,* 1788–1789.

[26] *Ibid.,* 1798.

[27] *Ibid.,* 1806.

On the next day, in the House, it appeared that the wording of the committee's plan had aroused still further party feeling owing to the extraordinary omission by Clay to provide for any part to be played in the ceremonies by President Jackson. To calm the Democratic antagonism, John Adair of Kentucky now moved that the president and the Cabinet be invited to attend and to superintend deposit of the remains. John Quincy Adams concurred, saying that " a very solemn act was about to be performed on the part of the representatives of the people, and he thought it would appear better before the world, and before posterity, that these invitations should be given by a direct act of the House." [28] William Drayton of South Carolina also said that though he was " perfectly sure that not the least disrespect toward the President of the United States had been intended by the mover of the resolution; yet such an inference might be drawn on the part of the world. It was a great occasion — such a one as would probably never occur again, and he thought it not decorous in the House to leave to its presiding officer an act which had better be done by itself. It would be more respectful to the Chief Magistrate to adopt the resolution." [29] Drayton's belief that the omission of the president had not been intentional on the part of Clay was not entirely shared by those who knew the bitter feelings existing between the two. Representative Wickliffe then moved to include in the invitation to attend, the judges of the Supreme Court and Charles Carroll. John Quincy Adams moved to include James Madison, and Churchill C. Cambreleng of New York moved to include " the late President of the United States." Adams said that he hoped that the last motion would be withdrawn, that " he was sufficiently honored in the fact that such an invitation had been proposed; whatever he might have been, he held at present what he considered the most honorable station that could be conferred on him as one of the representatives of the people of the United States." [30] These various motions prevailed in the House; but the Senate, by a vote of thirteen to fourteen, refused to invite Jackson, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, Carroll, and Madison. Clay and Poindexter termed it " a novel and extraordinary measure — to issue cards of invitation by a joint resolution of Congress."

[28] *Ibid.*, 1810.

[29] *Ibid.*, 1810.

[30] *Ibid.*, 1811.

All this debate had occurred within a short nine days of the date of the proposed celebration, and without any assurance that the Washington family would assent to the removal of Washington's body. The first accident which happened to the plan was the declination of Chief Justice Marshall, who wrote on February 10: "The addition of my exertions, feeble as they might be, to those of Congress 'in honoring the memory of the father of his country,' of the man whom language cannot exalt, would be an act on which I should long look with pride. Could I undertake to deliver a public address on any subject, all my feelings would impel me to comply with a request which does me so much honor and is so grateful to my heart." He regretted, however, that he was physically unable — "my voice has become so weak as to be almost inaudible even in a room not unusually large. In the open air, it could not be heard by those nearest me." [31]

The second accident was the receipt by Congress, on February 16, of a letter from John Augustine Washington, then the occupant of Mount Vernon and representative of the Washington family, flatly refusing assent to the removal of the body (though George Washington Parke Custis, writing from Arlington House, assented). Little now remained of the congressional celebration, the only feature left being the divine services at the capitol at eleven o'clock in the morning. These were performed by the chaplains of the House and Senate and were attended by Vice-President Calhoun, Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House, members of the Congress, and citizens, the House being "well filled but not crowded." John Quincy Adams set forth his views of the occasion in his *Memoirs* (VIII. 478–479) as follows:

> 22d. Centennial birthday of Washington. The solemnities intended for this day at this place lost all their interest for me by the refusal of John A. Washington to permit the remains of George Washington to

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[31] A letter from Washington to the *Portland Advertiser*, dated February 1, 1832, published in the *New York Evening Post*, February 24, 1832, described Marshall's "quavering, feeble, and weakened tones that age has evidently affected. You can barely distinguish them across the [Court] room."

John Quincy Adams noted in his *Memoirs*, February 9, 1832, that at the meeting of the House committee, John Bell of Tennessee expressed the opinion that if Marshall should decline, "there was but one other person to whom with any sort of propriety application could be made" — Adams himself. But on February 10, on motion of Drayton of South Carolina, the committee resolved that it was inexpedient to have any oration and that the celebration be confined to a divine service, "also that the members of Congress should unite with their fellow-citizens in other festivities [a ball]."

> be transferred to be entombed under the Capitol — a refusal to which I believe he was not competent, and into the real operative motives to which I wish not to enquire. I did wish that this resolution might have been carried into execution, but this wish was connected with an imagination that this federative Union was to last for ages. I now disbelieve its duration for twenty years, and doubt its continuance for five. It is falling into the sere and yellow leaf. For this, among other reasons, I determined that my celebration of this day should only be by sharing in its devotions. I attended the performance of divine service at the Capitol, where a very ordinary prayer was made by Mr. Post, the Chaplain to the House of Representatives, and a singular, though not ineloquent sermon was delivered by Mr. Durbin, Chaplain to the Senate. . . . It was extemporaneous, and yet well suited to the occasion. It exalted the character of Washington perhaps too much. There were close approaches to the expression of a belief that there was something supernatural in his existence. There seemed little wanting to bring out a theory that he was a second Saviour of mankind. That he had a charmed life, and was protected by a special Providence, was explicitly avowed as a belief.

President Jackson showed his resentment at having been ignored by Congress in its centenary plans by refraining from attending the service at the capitol, and none of his Cabinet was present. In answer to criticisms of his course, the administration newspaper printed the following amusing commentary: [32]

> We perceive that the Washington letter writers are filling the papers at a distance with conjectures with regard to the cause which prevented the President from attending " divine services " in the Capitol on the 22d of February. We heard the President casually remark, on the evening of that day, that he had devoted the leisure of it in reading the Farewell Address of the father of his country — and he expressed the fervent wish that every member of Congress — the men to whom the destinies of the country are committed — had also read it and impressed upon their hearts the spirit of patriotism and the devotion to the Union which it is so well calculated to inspire. From this, we inferred that General Jackson considered this day consecrated to Washington and preferred holding a communion with his thoughts rather than with those of any man living. On the Sabbath following, the President attended " divine services " — as is his custom on every Sabbath.

The corporation of the city of Washington, having decided hurriedly, on February 20, to hold their own celebration, arranged for a firing of 100 guns at sunrise, a military parade, and a birthnight ball at Carusi's Salon; and private citizens advertised a military birthnight ball at Masonic Hall.[33] The newspapers described the military parade of the volunteer companies, which, " being joined by the elegant company of Philadelphia volunteers on their return from their visit to Mount Vernon, repaired to the Capitol Square where they were reviewed by the Major General of the District, Walter Jones." The ball at Carusi's was " numerously and brilliantly attended — the Vice-President, the Speaker, the Secretary of State, many members of Congress and a number of distinguished officers of the Army and Navy " being present.

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[32] *Washington Globe,* March 3, 1832.

" By far the most interesting part of the celebration," however, said the Whig *National Intelligencer,* was a dinner, instituted on only two days' notice, at Barnard's Hotel (on the site of the present Willard Hotel) by a few members of Congress, at which Daniel Webster acted as president and delivered an oration. The whole atmosphere of this occasion was political and anti-administration; and almost all the one hundred present were Whigs or Calhoun partisans and hence anti-Jackson.[34] Both the president and the vice-president declined to attend to listen to Webster's oration. The *National Intelligencer* of February 24, describing the occasion, said that " the dinner and wines, however excellent, were but small part of the entertainment which was, in every sense of the phrase, 'the feast of reason and the flow of soul.' The toasts, regular as well as volunteer, were admirable, adapted to the occasion, but still more inspiring were the strains of eloquence." Twenty-one formal and several volunteer toasts were drunk, each responded to by a speech of more or less Whig tendency. The last toast, transmitted by John Quincy Adams (who had declined to attend on account of his health) was: " Progressive improvement in the condition of man from Washington's birthday to this —

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[33] Mayor John P. Van Ness announced in the newspaper the " extreme regret that the same unexpected event which has prevented the National authorities from celebrating that day in the manner comtemplated has also prevented the City Authorities and the People of Washington from participating therein as proposed." The committee, however, directed that, in addition to the military parades of the day and the amusements of the evening for which arrangements had been made, offices be closed, and recommended that citizens abstain from business.

[34] The vice-presidents of the meeting were also Whigs — Charles F. Mercer of Virginia, Walter Jones of the District of Columbia, and Joseph Vance of Ohio. Among the speakers, in addition to Webster, were Charles F. Mercer; Walter Jones; John S. Barbour of Virginia; Jabez W. Huntington of Connecticut; Thomas Newton of Virginia; John Holmes of Maine; Bellamy Storer of Ohio; Peleg Sprague of Maine; Edmund H. Pendleton of New York; Asher Robbins of Rhode Island; Richard S. Coxe of the District of Columbia; and Joseph H. Crane of Ohio.

May its march to the next Centennial Anniversary be, Forward! "[35]

The great event of the afternoon was, of course, Webster's oration, which " was heard with the most profound and enchanted attention and frequently applauded."[36] Later in the proceedings Webster gave a second striking toast, which, since it is not published in his *Works,* is well worthy of reproduction now in these days of depression of spirit:

> If it had been allowed us as intelligent agents to choose at what time or place we would pass the portion of time allotted for us by Providence in this world, we could not, I think, have selected otherwise than the kindness of Providence has selected for us. At what period could we have chosen to live – in what spot – on what orb would we have preferred to dwell, rather than now, on this earth, and in this spot? When I contemplate the times I live in, and the place I live in, I am grateful to the Almighty disposer of all things, and am compelled to view myself as among the favored of the human race. There is so much in this age to gratify and to ennoble an immortal mind – so much to swell and delight the patriotic heart, the time, the place, are so full of fruition and of hope, that for the few days which may be permitted to me, I thank God my lot has been cast when it has been cast, and where it has been cast; and as an honest expression of this sentiment, I offer you, gentlemen, the following toast:
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> " Our times and our Country."

A correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (an ardent Clay proponent) used the oration, which he termed Webster's " most triumphant effort of eloquence: a masterly commentary on the life and admonitions of Washington," as a text for a political diatribe against Jackson:[37]

> Would to God, that every man, from the shores of the ocean to the base of the Rocky Mountains, – from the Saint Croix to the borders of Mexico, could have listened to the stirring energy of his oration: with one voice, they must have proclaimed, the Republic shall be maintained, the honor of the country shall be vindicated, the reign of terror and misrule shall end: the demagogues and minions of faction, who

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[35] John Quincy Adams wrote in his *Memoirs* (February 20): " I had received an invitation from E. F. Chambers and others, committee of a party for a public dinner at Barnard's on the centennial day, to attend the dinner as a guest. J. S. Johnston told me that they wanted me not only to attend, but to make toasts for them, and a speech. I said my health would not permit me to attend, and that I was a bad toast-master, as he knew. I might have added I was a worse speech-maker."

[36] The *National Intelligencer* of March 5, 1832, published the oration in full, as well as the many toasts.

[37] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* March 2, 1832.

> now disgrace the Republic, shall be hurled from their stations; a universal lustration shall be performed: that high minded son of the West, Henry Clay, and his worthy, great, and numerous co-patriots shall guide the destinies of these United States and save us from utter ruin.

Another correspondent did the same: [38]

> The *moral* of this discourse lies in the contrast which every unprejudiced mind must make between events and men of this day and of Washington, his associates, and the events of their day. Selfish ambition: how poor and paltry does it look by the side of Washington's portrait. Accidental elevation, arrogant pretending; how very little do they look in the presence of this great man. The bustle, and the sound of office; how insignificant do they seem compared with the modest, but conscious dignity of Washington. . . . It is a dark and gloomy hour for this nation; but let us not despair. . . . If we are not now at the worst we must soon be there; and a change must come. . . . Such efforts as Mr. Webster's on this and other occasions, prepare us for better days.

The *New York American* of March 8, 1832, said that " Webster's speech was worthy of him and worthy of its high theme. It is delightful and refreshing to turn from the paltriness of such politics as now prevail in the land, from the doctrines and examples of the ' banditti school ' to the lofty sentiments with which a thorough appreciation of the unparalleled character and services of Washington, inspired Mr. Webster on this occasion."

The Democratic papers, however, were not so enthusiastic. The *New York Evening Post* of March 2, 1832, said satirically:

> The *National Intelligencer* dilates on the interesting nature of the proceedings of the festivity and in particular extols an eloquent address with which the President of the day prefaced the first toast, and in which, says the *Intelligencer,* he excelled even himself. . . . The pregnant remark which the showman placed under the picture of his elephant, — " this is the greatest elephant in the world except himself " — is now proved by the instance furnished by the *National Intelligencer* to include a most cautious and conscientious distinction.

A correspondent of the *Albany Argus* of April 3, 1832, wrote that Webster's speech rather " favors the exaggerated, bombastic, and flowery style of the Asiatic than the chaste, plain, and demonstrative language inherent to rational liberty and correct republicanism."

The political character of the Barnard Hotel dinner was noticed by various newspapers. The Democratic *Albany Argus* termed it "an altogether anti-Van Buren concern, entitled to be visited by public indignation," and it wrote on March 13, 1832:

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[38] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* March 16, 1832.

> The design seems to have been, under the smoke and pretension of a regard to the "memory of Washington," to conceal the character and anti-American conduct of certain Federal friends of the Hartford Convention. Accordingly, those who profess a horror at the thought of the possible existence of "party spirit" and who were recently so "pained" at the necessity of performing an act of unexampled party intolerance and proscription,[39] converted an occasion, which of all others should be freest from party feeling, into a political feast. On this occasion the "god-like man" presided; assisted by four gentlemen of the opposition from different states. . . . The whole complexion of the thing was political and federal, and the speakers, omitting the Calhoun faction, were much the same as the speakers on a previous secret occasion in the Senate Chamber. It is true the President of the United States was invited to attend this dinner; and it is equally true, and by no means strange, that he declined the invitation.

To this, the Whig *National Intelligencer* retorted on March 19:

> Considering that in the creed of "the party," the President can do no wrong, it is not surprising that the *Argus* applauds his refusal of the invitation to the Washington dinner. The President, however, had he attended, could not but have risen from that table, a wiser, if not a better man than he sat down to it. If there be anything in the purest aspirations of patriotism or the loftiest flights of eloquence to move the soul and convince the understanding, no man who had a place at that feast but must have risen from it a more ardent admirer of the character of Washington, a more enlightened politician, a better American in every sense.

The *Albany Argus* replied on March 26:

> The *National Intelligencer* is evidently annoyed at the exposition of the character and objects of the political dinner given at the seat of government, on the late Centennial anniversary. The *Intelligencer* says the *Argus* "seems to consider that entertainment to have been altogether *an anti-Van Buren* concern." Most certainly we did so consider it. . . . The whole complexion of the thing, presiding officers, speakers, etc., was *ultra federal.* Of course, it was anti-Van Buren. We confess that we considered it by no means strange that the President of the United States declined to sanction by his presence this conversion of an occasion which of all others should be free from party feeling, into a political feast. . . . In the estimation of the people of this country, Andrew Jackson is wise and good enough for their purposes,

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[39] Referring to the recent rejection by the Senate of Van Buren's nomination as minister to Great Britain.

without any such improvement as may be derived from the dinner inspirations of John Holmes or Daniel Webster. But did all partakers in "that entertainment" rise from the table wiser or better men? Rumor tells another tale. Rumor says that the *finale* of "that entertainment" was little else than a Bacchanalian revel, gross and foul as the hypocrisy of the dinner orators on that occasion or even the Jesuitical cant of their eulogists of the *Intelligencer.* Is it not true that, heated with the libations of the table, these *party* revellers "to the memory of Washington," repaired to the ball; that there Gen. Walter Jones, the particular friend of the "god-like man," fell into a quarrel with another citizen, and threw at him a decanter, which, hitting him also on the head, was broken into a thousand pieces; that the "god-like man" exclaimed, on being informed that Jones and his antagonist were in a quarrel – "I am for Walter Jones, right or wrong" – and when it was repeated to him, that the parties were about to settle their differences, did he not say – "If Jones makes up, I will kick him out of the world." Verily, so far as we look for the exhibition of character, *in vino veritas* is a true saying.

Such were said to have been the scenes or the consequences of "an entertainment" from which, in the language of the courtly *Intelligencer,* our venerated Chief Magistrate "could not but have risen a wiser if not a better man"! An intelligent people will distinguish between the hypocrisy which assumes an honored name and a hallowed occasion to conceal old political delinquencies and that just estimate of the character of such persons which declines a participation in their designs.

The *New York Evening Post* (March 27, 31, 1832), erroneously inferring from the *Argus* article that the fracas took place at the dinner instead of at the ball following, wrote:

The *National Intelligencer,* a few days ago, alluding in its sly way to the fact that the President did not attend the *party* Centennial dinner in that City on the 22d ultimo, stated that had he done so, "he could not but have risen from that table a wiser, if not a better man than he sat down to it." We supposed at the time of reading the remark that it had reference to the illumination which would have been shed upon General Jackson's mind by the orators who made speeches on that occasion, particularly Mr. Webster. . . . The *Albany Argus* of yesterday, however, gives an account of certain little matters which took place at the Washington Centennial dinner which probably the *Intelligencer* had in view, when it regretted the opportunity the President had missed of obtaining an increase of wisdom if not of goodness. If the story told in the *Argus* is correct (and the *Argus* is an authentic paper and not apt to speak on insufficient information), it must be confessed that that dinner gave rise to circumstances of a very edifying description. Breaking bottles and decanters over each others' heads was no doubt very pleasant amusement for those concerned, and the part said to have been taken in the affray by him who had " excelled even himself " was well calculated to make the beholders " wiser if not better men." The President, had he attended, would probably have learnt one lesson of wisdom — namely not to be caught in the same company again.

The Whig *New York American* answered the *Argus* on March 28, admitting the fracas, but denying the remarks of Mr. Webster:

> The ethics of the political press in this country, instead of improving, seem really to become more and more vitiated daily, and, so that a distinguished adversary can be reached, no expedient is thought too base to be resorted to, no falsehood too gross to be adopted. . . . Offence seems to have been taken at the idea that Andrew Jackson could be enlightened or improved by listening to the eloqence of Daniel Webster.
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> . . . Can anyone who knows Mr. Webster, his habitual and perfect self command on all occasions, hesitate an instant in pronouncing this whole (*Argus*) story utterly false?
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> . . . It is true, we presume, as has been stated in several papers, that at a ball on that evening, General Jones and Mr. Thornton, one of the Auditors, had a disagreeable controversy such as men are sometimes, in the heat of the moment, betrayed into, Mr. Thornton being, according to all the representations we have heard, the agressor; but what have the public to do with that? What have the citizens of New York to do with a personal squabble at Washington? But above all, by what rule of right is Mr. Webster's name connected with the squabble? . . . The *Argus* and *Post* . . . have not scrupled in this instance to circulate the slanders derived from pimps and spies, who, at Washington as elsewhere, and even more than elsewhere, infest the path and watch the movements of eminent men.

To this admission that there was an actual fracas at the ball, and to the attempted exculpation of Webster, the *Argus* replied editorially on April 3, 1832: " We assure the *American* . . . that, for once, Rumor and Truth have been identified and that the relation of the latter scenes of the *party* revel on the occasion alluded to was a true relation."

So much for the celebration in Washington. Throughout the Union parades and speeches took place, about which a few things may be mentioned. In the neighboring city of Baltimore the following scene was described by the *National Intelligencer* (February 25, 1832) : " The venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, was stationed at the door of the second story of his dwelling, surrounded by his family, when *the citizens passed him uncovered amid the waving of banners and martial music.* The whole scene is said to have been interesting and impressive and we can well believe it."

New York had a procession, an oration by Major-General Morgan Lewis, balls, and illuminations. In City Hall Park there was erected the tent (loaned by George W. P. Custis) which General Washington used during his campaigns, and in which he entertained General Cornwallis after the latter's surrender; and in front of it there stood as sentinel one of Washington's own bodyguard — one Reed. In the Superior Court room in the City Hall there were exhibited the flag used at Washington's inaugural, a dress sword, a waistcoat, and a pair of pistols belonging to him — also a small piece of his coffin.[40]

In Boston there were two official celebrations of the day — one by the legislature, consisting of a procession from the State House, and an oration in the Old South Meeting House; the other by the city (Charles Wells, mayor; Thomas C. Amory, chairman of the committee of arrangements), consisting of the ringing of bells for one-half hour at sunrise and sunset, a parade of the fire department at eight o'clock in the morning, and a dinner at Faneuil Hall after an assembly at the City Hall at three o'clock in the afternoon.[41] The legislative procession, headed by Alexander DeWitt as chief marshal, left the State House at noon. In the line were all the state, city, and federal officials, followed by members of the Suffolk Bar; then the president and fellows of Harvard College, and officers and clerks of state institutions; then members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Massachusetts Medical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Marine Society, and the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. Then there were listed other societies, lyceums, teachers of youth, the fire department, and the warders and inspectors of the state prisons; then directors of banking and insurance companies; and finally other citizens.[42] Of this part of the celebration the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 24 said that " the weather . . . proved extremely favorable. . . . Nearly the whole population of the city devoted themselves to the occasion, and business was generally suspended." The " procession was escorted by the military corps ordered for that duty by the Governor . . . companies of Light Infantry . . . seven in number, appeared with full ranks, and some of them in new and rich dresses, and made a very handsome display. The Independent Boston Fusiliers was the only company present which performed escort duty on the visit of General Washington to this city in October, 1789. This company was then commanded by *Captain Lieutenant* Lawton, and the escort by Mayor [Harrison Gray] Otis, the late Mayor."

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[40] *New York Evening Post,* February 24, 28, 1832; *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 25, 27, 1832. The *New York American* said (February 23, 1832): "The celebration was favored by a clear, bright sky and went off satisfactorily. Even the ridicule of exhibiting some old clothes could not impair the general feeling of respect."

[41] The Boston centenary celebration was concluded by evening festivities, described by the *Daily Advertiser* of February 25 as follows: "In this city, at the Federal Street Theatre, which was fitted up in beautiul style, there was a splendid Military Ball and supper and the Washington Light Infantry also made use of Concert Hall, which was handsomely decorated, for similar purposes. The Tremont was crowded to excess, and the Prize Address written for the occasion by Mr. George W. Hyatt, Comedian, was delivered by Mr. Barrett, Stage Manager."

At the Old South Meeting House the services were " solemn and impressive," but of an extreme length; for they did not close until four o'clock — one hour after the city's rival celebration was supposed to have begun in Faneuil Hall. The orator of the day was Francis Calley Gray, whom the Massachusetts Historical Society had chosen to deliver an address before its own members in honor of the day but had relinquished on being informed that the legislature had also selected him as its orator.[43] Opinions as to Mr. Gray's two-hour discourse evidently varied according to the political predilections of his hearers. The *Daily Advertiser* (February 24) reported it as " able, appropriate and interesting . . . listened to with profound attention by a very numerous audience, who gave satisfactory demonstrations of entering into the feelings and being impressed by the sentiments of the Orator." The Democratic newspaper, the *Boston Statesman,* commented (March 16) on the length of the oration, which, it said, treated of " divers subjects, even from the manufacture of nails to the doctrine of nullification. . . . Some thought, when two thirds through that the rest should be printed."

Owing to the long session at the church, the city's dinner in Faneuil Hall, with its seven hundred guests, did not begin until late — after four o'clock. It was " worthy of the occasion, and of the hospitality of the city. The Hall was handsomely decorated, and the tables were richly provided," said the *Daily Advertiser*.

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[42] The route of the procession was — Park, Tremont, Court, State, Broad, State, and Washington Streets to the Old South Meeting House.

[43] 1 *Proceedings,* I. 450.

"Both song and sentiment abounded, and all seemed to enjoy themselves," said the *Statesman.*

The episode for which the dinner became famous, as well as severely criticized in some quarters, was the attack made upon President Jackson for his Cherokee Indian policy. The fact that a celebration of Washington's birthday could be turned into an anti-Jackson occasion is an interesting commentary on the times. All went smoothly during the dinner while the thirteen regular formal toasts were being drunk and responded to as follows: (1) "The *day* and the *place* — In the Cradle of Liberty we honor her darling child"; (2) the president of the United States; (3) the United States; (4) the governor; (5) the orator; (6) John Marshall, "the historian of Washington, he has imbibed the virtues of the character he describes — and has transmitted them to posterity in the records of our Jurisprudence"; (7) the state judiciary; (8) the United States Army and Navy; (9) our literary institutions; (10) Lafayette; (11) Poland. "Liberty weeps over the graves of its defenders; Glory has made their memory immortal"; (12) the mother of Washington. "A nation which has been blessed in the fruit, should venerate her who watched over the blossom"; (13) the militia system. Various impromptu toasts followed. Alexander H. Everett stated that he wished to propose another sentiment in connection with an anecdote of the Marquis de Chastellux, who, he said, visited this country not long after the war and "called at the residence of Mrs. Washington to present his respects to her. In the conversation which passed between them, he, of course, enlarged a good deal upon the brilliant achievements of the American Hero. Mrs. Washington listened to him with complacency, and when he had finished, said to him, in reply: *I have never been surprised at what George has done: he was always a good boy.*" Everett went on to say that "If sublimity consist in expressing the noblest thoughts in the simplest and most natural style," he had "met with few things more sublime than this, among the most remarkable of the recorded sayings of ancient or modern times." In conclusion he proposed the following toast: "The memory of Mary Washington — *the good mother of a good boy.*"

In others of the volunteer toasts the anti-Jackson sentiments of Boston began to crop out.[44] Some of these toasts were innoxious:

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[44] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 25, 1832.

" The memory of Gen. Kosciusko "; " The delegates of Massachusetts in the Congress of 1775, by whose influence and exertions George Washington was nominated and appointed to the command of the armies raised and to be raised for the defense of the country "; " The Mayor . . . a working man, he has built up a reputation which will bear a critical architectural examination "; " The City of Boston "; " Mount Vernon "; " Ward and Washington "; " The glorious 17th of March, 1776 "; " The Century which has passed "; " The 22d of February 1932, and the century which that day will close; may it possess many virtues, and have many glories to celebrate; but the Firmament has but one Sun, and Time can have but one Washington " (proposed by the president of Harvard College). Two toasts were proposed to Daniel Webster, one including with him " all Statesmen, who, like him, are more anxious to serve their Country than to be served or exalted by it."

And then the toasts approached dangerous ground. The president of the Senate proposed: " Cherokee Patriotism, which has determined the People never to be driven from their country — never to sell the sepulchres of their fathers." Later there was a toast to " The original proprietors of this happy land." At this point two Cherokee chiefs, Boudinot and Ridge, who had been leaders in the struggle between that tribe and the state of Georgia, addressed the assemblage. How delicate a subject was then introduced will be seen when it is recalled that President Jackson's active opposition to the claims set up by the Cherokee Indians was well known. The Indians' speeches were reported by the *Daily Advertiser* as follows:

> They claimed continued possession of their country, under treaties signed by Washington, and which he assured their fathers would last as long as the earth. They expressed their hopes of justice from the U. S. Supreme Court. Mr. Ridge, in a toast, said Washington never spoke to their ancestors with a forked tongue.
>
> Mr. Boudinot gave: " George Washington — first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen, and first in affections of the Cherokees."

John Pickering offered a number of " appropriate observations " respecting the Indians, and gave as a toast: " The Policy of Washington towards the Cherokees. It cannot be forgotten, except by those who have forgotten its author." The tone of these speeches and of the toasts and the manner of their reception clearly showed the Whig character of the gathering.[45]

The failure of the plan for removing Washington's body did not put an end to the desire of Congress to pay national honors to him. The House, shortly before the birthday, after considering the claims of various artists — Sully, Inman, Allston, and Harding — had voted to employ John Vanderlyn to paint for $1,000 a full-length portrait (copying the head of Stuart's Washington), to be hung in the House opposite the portrait of Lafayette.[46] The Senate, on June 30, voted to purchase the Rembrandt Peale portrait.[47] Congress also voted in 1832 for the execution by Horatio Greenough of a "full length marble pedestrian statue" of Washington, to be placed in the rotunda of the capitol.[48] "Of the many illustrious men to whom their country owed a debt of gratitude," said Clay, "Washington was the only one to whom he would think it prudent to pay the homage now contemplated. An image — a testimonial of this great man, the father of his country, should exist in every part of the Union, as a memorial of his patriotism, and of the services rendered his country. . . ."[49] This statue, when finished, though termed "a pedestrian statue," represented Washington as seated and unclothed above the waist. It was erected in the rotunda in 1841, removed to the plaza east of the capitol in 1842, and from there transferred to the Smithsonian Institution building in 1908.

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[45] The *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 27, 1832, said: "The favorable impression which was produced by the addresses of the Chiefs at the late Centennial dinner, has suggested the expediency of giving them an opportunity to plead their cause in person at a public meeting." A meeting was held in the Old South Meeting House on March 7, at which John Ridge spoke. See *ibid.,* March 14, 1832, for his speech.

[46] An interesting discussion took place as to the likeness. Charles F. Mercer of Virginia said that "Stuart's head . . . though a fine painting, was not the best likeness which had been taken. That painted by Mr. Peale bore a closer resemblance, especially about the eyes. This had been the opinion of the late Judge Washington, and, if he was not mistaken, it was also that of Judge Marshall." John W. Taylor of New York quoted a resolution of Congress in January, 1826, by adoption of which the House had expressed its opinion that Stuart's portrait was the "standard likeness" of Washington.

[47] Senator Frelinghuysen read testimonials to the "spirit and accuracy" of the likeness from Chief Justice Marshall and others. Senator Samuel Smith of Maryland raised an objection to the purchase price of $2000 on the ground that Stuart got only $1000 for his best portraits. Webster, on the other hand, stated that a Stuart head of Washington had sold recently for $1500, "and the purchaser would not listen to an offer of $5,000 for it." *Register of Debates,* VIII. 867, 1155.

[48] Act of July 14, 1832 (4 Stat. 581), appropriating $5000 "to enable the President to contract with a skilful artist to execute in marble a pedestrian statue of George Washington, to be placed in the centre of the Rotunda of the Capitol." On May 24, 1832, a committee of the Senate was ordered to inquire into the expediency of a bronze equestrian statue of Washington, to be erected in the square east of the capitol.

[49] *Register of Debates,* VIII. 1127.

These very restricted congressional honors to Washington did not satisfy the general public. On October 21, 1833, the Washington National Monument Society was organized with Chief Justice Marshall as its president, and through it collections were taken throughout the country for the erection of a proper marble monument. The money came in very slowly, only about $56,000 being raised by the year 1848.[50] Congress in that year donated a site, and the cornerstone was laid on June 7, 1848, with Robert C. Winthrop as orator of the occasion. By the year 1856 the monument had reached the height of 174 feet and had cost $230,000; but work then ceased, and it was not until 1876 that its erection was resumed, when Congress took over the project, which was thenceforward pushed to completion, the capstone being put in place on December 6, 1884, and the monument being formally opened to the public in 1888, at a total cost of $1,230,000.

After the Washington centenary in 1832, a movement began in Massachusetts to make the birthday a public state holiday, and in 1856 it was so established by statute. In 1857 an article in the *North American Review* said that " it would augur well for the Republic to observe it as a universal holiday." After recalling the movement to purchase Mount Vernon, Edward Everett's famous oration on Washington, the multiplication of copies of the Stuart portrait, the " splendid memorial " in Virginia, and the recent " new and admirable " biographies, it said:

> These and many other signs of the times prove that the fanaticism of party strife has awakened the wise and loyal to a consciousness of the inestimable value of that great example and canonized name, as a bond of union, a conciliating memory, and a glorious watchword. The present, therefore, is a favorable moment to institute the birthday of Washington, hitherto but partially and ineffectively honored, as a solemn national festival . . . consecrate that day with a unanimity of feeling and of rites, which shall fuse and mould into one pervasive emotion the

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[50] The lack of enthusiasm to contribute may be seen from the amount of funds the Society reported on the following dates: $22,238.64, February 1, 1837; $28,578.87, June 30, 1838; $39,700.47, February 27, 1841; $41,370, January 17, 1842; $47,061.85, February 26, 1844; $55,859.66, November 21, 1846; $56,289.66, January 1, 1849. In the House, Henry May of Maryland moved, February 22, 1855, that $20,000 be paid to the Monument Association, but the motion was not acted on. The Washington National Monument Society was incorporated by Act of Congress, February 26, 1859 (11 Stat. 386).

divided hearts of the country, until the discordant cries of faction are lost in the anthems of benediction and of love, and, before the august spirit of a people's homage, sectional animosity is awed into universal reverence.[51]

Following this article, the states of the Union very generally constituted the birthday a public holiday by statute. On February 19, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation recommending that the people " assemble in their customary places of worship . . . and celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Father of his Country, by causing to be read to them his immortal Farewell Address." Finally Congress, in 1879, made the twenty-second of February a public holiday for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Bliss Perry read a paper entitled " Richard Dana's 'Trap,' " a chapter from the biography of the late Richard Henry Dana which he is preparing.

Mr. Tuttle communicated copies of three letters from Andrew Watkins to his brother, William Watkins, written on board the frigate *Hero* at Marblehead, August 7, 18, and 22, 1777. The original manuscripts have been presented to the library by Mr. William L. Palmer.

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[51] " Holidays," *North American Review,* CLXXV (April, 1857), 363. On February 15, 1832, the *Boston Advertiser* stated that on Wednesday evening, February 22, at the Boston Lyceum, there would be a discussion of the question: " Ought the birthday of Washington to be celebrated as a public holiday? "

JANUARY MEETING, 1933

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 12, 1933, at 3 P.M., President **ENDICOTT** in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the estate of the late **WINSLOW WARREN**, a member of the Society from 1873 to 1930, four volumes of Warren family papers containing the correspondence of James Warren of Plymouth, who succeeded General Joseph Warren as president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1775, and of Mercy Otis Warren, sister of the patriot, James Otis. This collection contains more than three hundred letters, 1767–1819, of exceptional social, political, and historical interest and importance. Among the correspondents are John Adams, Samuel Adams, Abigail Adams, John Dickinson, Catharine Macaulay, Elbridge Gerry, John Hancock, George and Martha Washington, James Bowdoin, James Winthrop, John Glover, Richard Henry Lee, James Lovell, Arthur Lee, Benjamin Lincoln, Nathaniel Gorham, Henry Knox, Samuel A. Otis, Harrison Gray Otis, Alexander Hamilton, Arthur St. Clair, Judith Sargent Murray, Jabez Bowen, Thomas Jefferson, Harrison Gray, and Samuel Latham Mitchill.

From Dr. Timothy Leary, copies of orders of the collector of the port of Salem and Marblehead to land waiters, etc., April 27, 1769, to March 10, 1775.

From Miss Lucy Houghton Eaton of Boston, a letter of Alden Bass to his wife, dated at Three Rivers, January 29, 1776.

From Miss Lucy Douglas Tuckerman of Brookline, the receipts and expenses kept by Nathaniel Willis of the *Boston Recorder* and the *Youth's Companion,* 1831–1856.

From Winthrop Wetherbee of Boston, manuscript verses by Colonel John Thacher, New Year's Day, 1759.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From President **ENDICOTT**, two of the Tercentenary Medals designed for him by Mrs. Laura Gardin Frazer of New York and struck by the Medallic Art Company of New York in 1930 to commemorate John Endecott as governor of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England before the arrival of Governor John Winthrop.

From the *Boston Evening Transcript,* the medal struck to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1830.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, a piece of the pulpit of Falls Church, Virginia, where George Washington worshipped, picked up by M. L. Lovejoy from material removed by the Union troops in December, 1861, when they used the building as barracks.

From Mrs. Annie Lyon Spurr of Dorchester, an engraving of "Washington Irving and His Literary Friends at Sunnyside," 1864.

From SAMUEL E. MORISON, an engraving of the Reverend John Clarke, D.D., drawn and engraved by S. Hill, Boston, with a different inscription from that in the frontispiece of Clarke's *Sermons* (Boston, 1799). The death of Dr. Clarke on April 2, 1798, was the first in the Society's membership.

The chair announced the death of the Honorable CALVIN COOLIDGE, a Resident Member, on January 5, 1933.

It was *voted,* at the suggestion of the Council, that in view of the present financial condition of the Society an assessment of $10.00 be asked of each Resident Member for the fiscal year beginning April 1, 1933.

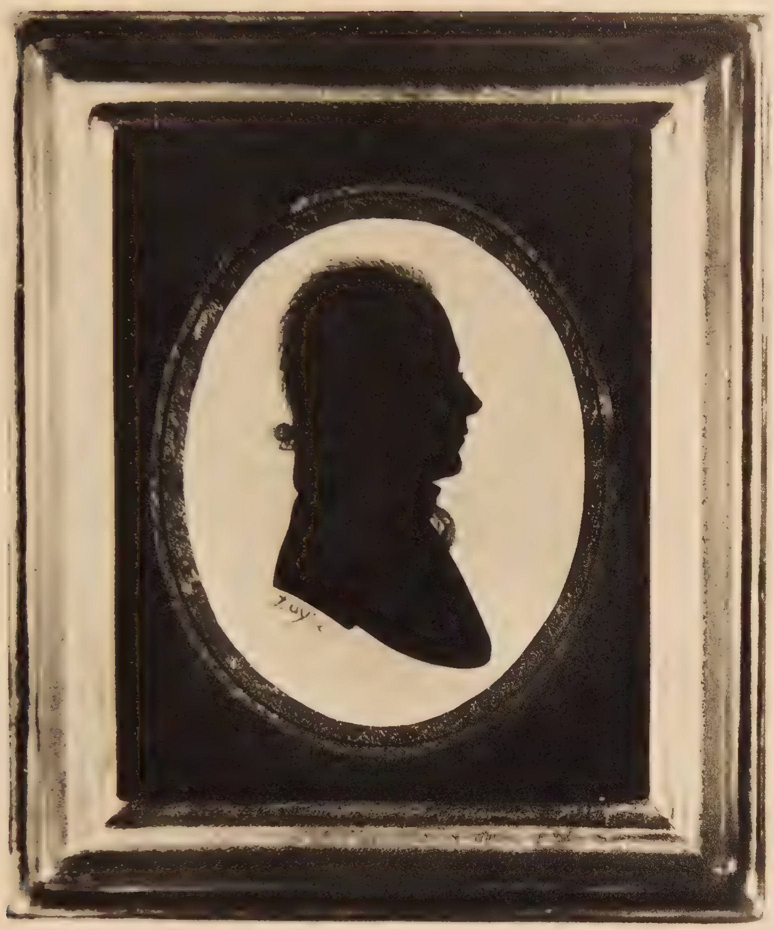
The Reverend ROBERT H. LORD read a paper on

JEAN LEFEBVRE DE CHEVERUS, FIRST CATHOLIC BISHOP OF BOSTON

On the threshold of the history of the Catholic Church in New England stands a serene and radiant figure, so resplendent with the beauty of holiness, so richly endowed with virtues and talents, so winning and lovable in personality that he has always aroused the admiration and affection of Catholics and Protestants alike.

I confess that I first approached this figure with a certain skepticism. The things that were said about him seemed too good to be true and sometimes savored of the legendary. Moreover, most of them appeared to come from one book, a biography written nearly a century ago by a French priest, and written in so enthusiastically eulogistic a tone as to raise doubts whether it could be considered sober history.

Engaged for some time, in collaboration with my colleague, Dr. Sexton of Brighton, in bringing together the documentary sources for the history of the archdiocese of Boston, I have had the opportunity to collect hundreds of Cheverus letters — new for the most part — from the ecclesiastical archives of this country and Canada, from Rome, and from the Archives Nationales in Paris. I have striven to run down the accounts of, and the innumerable allusions to, Cheverus in books and magazines, and have delved much though by no means exhaustively, in the newspapers of his time.



John Cheverus

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Incomplete as these researches are, they have brought me to the conviction that the traditional view of the man, his character, and his activities is substantially true, and needs to be not so much corrected as amplified and supplemented. The aim of what follows, therefore, is not to present any strikingly new conception of Cheverus, but rather to confirm, as far as I can, the picture that Samuel L. Knapp,[1] the Abbé Hamon,[2] and John Gilmary Shea[3] have drawn of him, with particular attention to certain points on which I should like to adduce new facts or new documents.

An outline of his career will be helpful to start with. Jean Louis Anne Magdeleine Lefebvre de Cheverus was born January 28, 1768, at Mayenne, in northwestern France, of a family long distinguished in the society and magistracy of the province of Maine. As the gentle, serious, studious boy grew up, he was sent to Paris to be educated at the Collège Louis Le Grand and the Seminary of St. Magloire. Ordained a priest in 1790 and soon after raised to be vicar-general of the diocese of Le Mans, he seemed embarked upon a brilliant ecclesiastical career at home until the revolutionary hurricane drove him in 1792, an exile, to England. After four years of brave and fruitful labors there, he yielded to the appeal of an old friend and to the desire for more strenuous missionary activity; and on October 3, 1796, he landed in Boston.

The first Catholic congregation in this city, as is well known, was formed in 1788. After unfortunate experiences under the earliest pastors — two unworthy French priests, the Abbés La Poterie and Rousselet — and under the Reverend John Thayer, who by his tactless impetuosity antagonized both Protestants and Catholics — progress commenced with the arrival here in 1792 of another French émigré priest, the learned and genuinely saintly Dr. Francis Matignon, and with the coming of Cheverus four years later.

These two admirable Frenchmen were the true founders of the Catholic Church in Boston and New England. For twenty-two years, down to Matignon's death in 1818, they labored together with the happiest results, united by a singular identity of tastes, ideals, and methods and by a friendship that reminded contemporaries of David and Jonathan. In this collaboration Matignon steadily strove to give all the credit and more and more to turn over the reins to his younger and more brilliant colleague; while nothing could exceed the affectionate deference and the delicate attentions of Cheverus towards him whom he always called his "dear and venerable friend." In 1808, when Boston was erected into a diocese embracing all New England, the episcopal mantle fell, through Matignon's insistence, upon Cheverus, though, because of delayed communications with Europe, the new bishop was not actually consecrated until November 1, 1810. His episcopate here lasted thirteen years. In 1823 he was recalled to France, by the insistent command of Louis XVIII, to become bishop of Montauban. Three years later he was transferred to the archbishopric of Bordeaux; in 1836 he was made a cardinal; and on July 19 of that same year he died.

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[1] In his much-quoted "Memoir of Bishop Cheverus," *Boston Monthly Magazine,* I (June, 1825), 2–21.

[2] The principal biography: J. Huen-Dubourg (pseud.), *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus* (Paris, 1837; 7th ed., the one to which my subsequent references are made, Paris, 1883); translated into English by E. Stewart (Boston, 1839), and by Robert M. Walsh (Philadelphia, 1839).

[3] In volumes II and III of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1888 and 1890).

Cheverus's stately features are sufficiently familiar from the portraits by Stuart and others. What the painters do not reveal is his exceedingly short stature. His Boston friends called him "the dear *little* Bishop"; and he himself was fond of relating that on the day of his consecration a jesting colleague had told him: "Remember, my dear fellow, that you are the least of bishops." [4] Well-nigh down to his fiftieth year he seems to have enjoyed a rugged constitution, which allowed him to stand all manner of exposure and fatigue; but then there set in the asthma and the hacking cough which hampered him in his later years here and were one of the chief reasons for his return to the milder climate of France.

His intellectual attainments were of a high order. To a naturally clear and quick mind and a remarkable memory he added the love of study and the principle of never wasting time. Indeed, his industry might strike one as a bit inhuman. He never played games: he knew none, he said, and did not wish to know any. As an old man he declared that he had never in his life taken so much as a quarter of an hour's walk merely for pleasure.[5] His method of relaxation was a change of occupation. Thanks to such assiduity, he became, if not a great scholar, at least a well-read and highly cultivated man and an accomplished linguist. Latin he wrote and spoke so well that he declared that if he had to plead for his life before a court, he would prefer to do so in that language. English he learned so thoroughly that after his return to France he complained that he still thought and even dreamed in English and had to translate his ideas into French. Greek, too, was familiar to him, and he had some knowledge of Hebrew. He appears to have been well versed in all branches of theological learning, particularly in apologetics and in Scripture — his favorite subjects. He supported himself in England by teaching mathematics. But next to the sacred sciences he loved literature and history. He knew his Greek, Latin, and French classics as only gentlemen of the old school did, seldom allowing a day to pass without refreshing his mind with them; and he is said to have read widely in English literature. The books which he gave to the library of the Boston Athenæum attest the breadth of his intellectual interests. While predominantly of a theological character, they include French and Latin classical authors, works on history, politics, medicine, and travel, a Hebrew Bible, and two Syriac dictionaries.

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[4] Cheverus to Archbishop Maréchal, November 3, 1817.

[5] Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus*, 287.

With so much learning at his command, it is regrettable that Cheverus published virtually no literary work of his own. Apart from one short article in the *Monthly Anthology* of April, 1807 (IV. 187–190),[6] whatever things he put through the press were intended only for the practical needs of his flock. They include a prayer book (the *Roman Catholic Manual*), which he prepared and issued in Boston in 1803; a revised French edition of the New Testament (Boston, 1810); and a *Short Historical Catechism*, translated from the French and revised by him (Boston, 1813).[7]

Distinguished on the intellectual side, it was as a moral personality that Cheverus rose to grandeur. A deep, solid, and ardent piety was the core of his character and the mainspring of all his actions. It was a piety of a specifically French flavor, the joyous, smiling piety of a Fénelon, a St. Francis de Sales, a St. Vincent de Paul. Its geniality sprang, of course, from no mere cheerful acceptance of this world as relatively good and no mere natural satisfaction with the pleasant things of life. It was rather the joyousness that comes after a long and harrowing process of self-conquest, self-immolation, when one has surrendered oneself completely into the hands of God.

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[6] "To the American Traveller, on His Second Letter," signed, "A Roman Catholick."

[7] Joseph Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, 190–191, 39–40, 119–120.

The strength and temper of that piety are best reflected in two of Cheverus's favorite maxims. The one was, *Christus non sibi placuit.* Hence his conception of life as one uninterrupted succession of duties; hence those days of his which from long before dawn until late at night were given only to prayer, work, study, and the service of others, with never a thought of doing anything just to please himself; hence his modesty, his humility, his utter lack of any personal ambition, his detestation of ecclesiastical honors, each of which, as it was forced upon him, seemed to cut him to the quick. Hence he who was of gentle birth and refined tastes and fitted for the highest social circles, gladly devoted his life to ministering, amid every kind of hardship and privation, to little handfuls of Catholics scattered over vast distances in a strange land, and to serving especially the poorest of the poor, the sick, the outcast, Negroes, and Indians. *Christus non sibi placuit.*

The second maxim — always on his lips as on those of St. John the Apostle — was, "Let us love one another." Love, he liked to say, was the whole of the Christian religion. Love filled his sermons, drew out his heart to every human being, vibrated in his voice, shone in his eyes. In part this came naturally to one of his gentle and affectionate disposition. He had something of the eighteenth-century "sensibility." His tears flowed easily; he loved friendships; and perhaps his nearest approach to a human weakness was the pleasure he took in signs that other people loved him. But in the main this attitude of his was a matter of reasoned conviction and sustained effort. "If our charity," he said, "were only for the persons who please us, or for the moments when we feel ourselves naturally inclined to be amiable, it would have no merit." [8] Those who differed from him in their view on any subject, those who bored, importuned, attacked, or inwardly incensed him, remained, nevertheless, his brothers in Jesus Christ, and must be honored accordingly.

Hence that unfailing kindness, that imperturbable amiability, which characterized his relations with all with whom he had to deal. I have not heard of his ever losing his temper, showing anger or even impatience. It seemed impossible to insult him. On one occasion when some excited person came to him and overwhelmed him with reproaches, Cheverus patiently heard him through to the end, and then merely replied with perfect good humor: "I thank

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[8] Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus,* 178.

God, sir, that He has given me the grace not to answer you in the tone in which you have spoken to me." [9] One day at Montauban, when the people were all on their knees to receive the bishop's blessing, they were somewhat scandalized to see one individual remain ostentatiously bolt upright. Cheverus went straight up to the man, warmly pressed his hand, and said: " At least, sir, if you will not publicly profess yourself one of my flock, you will allow me to have you as a friend." [10] Another day, when a soldier had been put in prison for refusing to present arms to the bishop, the latter hurried to the captain to beg for the offender's release. The captain was inflexible. " Well, then," said Cheverus, " I am going to put myself in prison along with the soldier, and I will leave only with him." Thereupon the captain yielded, and Cheverus rushed to the captive to announce his pardon and to tender him five francs to make up for the trouble he had caused him.[11]

This kindness comes out, too, in the bishop's aversion to speaking ill of anyone if it could possibly be avoided. In the letters of his that I have read it is only in the rarest cases that anyone is ever criticized, and then only when duty required it. Ordinarily everyone mentioned is referred to as " the worthy " or " the respectable " or " the dear " Mr. So-and-so.

His universal charity knew no distinction of religion, race, politics, or social standing. " If it were permitted," he said, " not to love a man because he has erroneous opinions or doesn't see things as we do, charity would be banished from the earth; for it is only in heaven that people do not make mistakes." [12] " I have met good, charitable, obliging, amiable men in all religious sects and in all political parties." [13] Wherever he went, therefore, he was the friend of Protestants, not less than of Catholics. In his first address to his people at Montauban, he declared:

> There is one interesting portion of the inhabitants of this diocese who, although strangers to our communion, ought not to be strangers to our affections: to them, too, I wish to be a father, a friend; and happy should I be if it were one day given to me to reunite them all in our faith as we ought to embrace them without distinction in our charity.[14]

The sincerity of those words he demonstrated not long afterwards when, on the occasion of a great inundation in the city, he opened his episcopal palace as an asylum to hundreds of poor people without regard to creed, promising to share his last crumb with them. It is related that when one Protestant woman hesitated at the door, not quite daring to enter the house of a Catholic bishop, Cheverus hastened out to welcome her with the words: "Come, we are all brothers, especially in misfortune." [15]

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[9] *Ibid.*, 207–208.

[10] *Ibid.*, 159.

[11] *Ibid.*, 159.

[12] *Ibid.*, 309.

[13] *Ibid.*, 309.

[14] *Ibid.*, 149–150.

This warm and universal charity explains his enormous power of making friends. Indeed, how could people resist a man who came to them with nothing but good will in his heart, words of kindness on his lips, warmly outstretched hands, and such an eagerness to serve them, or merely to be friends with them; and one who added to all this so much wit and wisdom, an agreeable presence, exquisite tact and manners, and a keen sense for every situation? It does not seem too much to say that he knew how to adapt himself to, and to win all kinds and conditions of men; and that whereever he labored, he left only golden memories and nothing but friends.

It was a dismal prospect which Matignon and Cheverus faced when they began their work here. All New England was left in their charge, but in all New England there were only a few scattered and feeble nuclei for a future Catholic Church. At Boston there was a congregation of a few hundred souls, worshipping in a dilapidated, disused Huguenot meeting-house leased to them on School Street. In Maine there were two small tribes of Indians long ago converted by French missionaries and ever since staunchly attached to the religion of the "blackgowns": the Penobscots, gathered around Oldtown, and the Passamaquoddies, around Pleasant Point. In the coast towns from Maine to Connecticut and here and there inland there were handfuls of Catholics, nowhere concentrated enough to own a church or support a pastor. Apart from the Indians, these diaspora were made up either of Frenchmen, largely refugees from the revolution at home or in the West Indies, or of immigrants from Ireland. As was only natural, most of these people were decidedly poor.

The first great success of the new pastors was to secure for the Boston congregation an adequate and handsome church of their own. The building, between 1799 and 1803, of the Church of the Holy Cross on Franklin Street — the first Catholic church erected in New England, and one that was later to be famous as "the old

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[15] Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus,* 164.

Cathedral " — that is a story that has been told so often that there is no need to repeat it here. As the financing of that enterprise has been somewhat diversely reported, it may be of interest to point out that, according to the records preserved in the diocesan archives, the local Catholics raised $10,771.69 (which was doing extremely well in the circumstances) ; that other Catholics, from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere as far as Martinique, contributed $1,948.83, largely as a result of a collection tour of Father Matignon to the South in 1802; and that a subscription list circulated among the well-to-do Protestants of Boston brought in $3,433. As is well known, President John Adams headed that list, in August, 1800, with a gift of $100. Among the other contributors were such men as John Quincy Adams, Thomas Amory, Joseph Coolidge, John Lowell, Harrison Gray Otis, Josiah Quincy, Thomas Russell, and the Reverend William Bentley. I hope that some day this list will be published *in toto*. And, although the fact has not hitherto, I believe, been brought out, this was not the first occasion when generous Protestants had come to the aid of this struggling Catholic congregation. At the beginning of his work in Boston, when hard pressed for current expenses, Dr. Matignon received contributions amounting to $290 from a group of liberal-minded Protestants including Thomas Russell, Thomas Perkins, Joseph Coolidge, Theodore Lyman, and Samuel Eliot.[16]

As curate and later pastor of the Boston congregation, Cheverus showed himself a model shepherd of his flock, indefatigable in preaching, catechizing, administering the sacraments, caring for the poor and the sick. Of his sermons only fragments have come down to us. He could, when he deemed it necessary, take a stern tone with his auditors. He is said one day to have begun his discourse to the Catholics of Boston: " I am now addressing a congregation which has more thieves in it than any other assembled in this town." [17] Speaking in a Protestant church at Northampton to a crowd largely composed of women who had gathered to see and, as he thought, to gloat over the execution of two condemned criminals, he burst out: " I am ashamed of you: your eyes are full of murder." [18] Of his addresses in general a Protestant Bostonian who often heard him writes:

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[16] Boston Diocesan Archives.

[17] Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past* (8th ed., Boston, 1892), 312.

[18] Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus,* 74–75.

> His eloquence was of the most persuasive order; his manner was sincere and devotional; his style pure and refined; his voice was clear and melodious – and everything he said, seemed to flow from pure and elevated feelings, and reached every fibre of affection in the breast of his hearers. . . . [His sermons] were succinct and sweet effusions of piety and affection; at times, however, he poured out his feelings and reasonings in all the graces of composition and the charms of eloquence. The seraphim seemed to have touched his lips with a coal from the altar of the Most High.[19]

What impressed people even more than his eloquence, however, was the life of poverty and self-abnegation to which he condemned himself for the sake of his flock. His " episcopal palace," as he called it in jest, was a small two-story cottage behind his cathedral, which he shared with whatever other priests, theological students, and guests might be in the neighborhood. He himself lived in one room: bedroom, study, and reception room combined. There were so few chairs that guests frequently had to sit on the bed. His table was frugal enough, but, such as it was, all comers were welcome to it, and on Sundays he kept for dinner all his parishioners who cared to stay. Even Bostonians brought up in the horror of " prelacy " might have to change their opinion when they saw this bishop who split his own firewood, stinted himself on clothes and other necessities, never dreamed of luxuries, and sometimes walked as far as Salem on foot in order to save money for the poor. Three hundred dollars a year of private income, derived from France, covered all his personal expenses. Whatever he received for his ministrations went for the needs of the church or for charity.

One of Cheverus's account books, preserved in the diocesan archives, gives interesting evidence of his direct, paternal relations with the poor. For Christmas, 1820, for instance, we have his list of those to whom alms should be given, of whom these are typical examples: " Polly Tucker, widow and infirm "; " Violette, woman of colour, lame "; " O'Neil, poor and infirm "; " Connor, from State prison "; " Danvers poor house "; " Widow Daly "; " Haberman blind." From December 27, 1820, to April 2, 1821, he gave $244 in charity — a formidable sum for his slim purse.

Even more than to the poor, he devoted himself to the sick. During the yellow fever epidemics of 1798 and 1802 he and Dr. Matignon seem to have made a splendid record — that was, perhaps, the beginning of their great popularity.[20] There is a whole cycle of stories about Cheverus's care for the sick, tales which have been told often enough, but two of which may, perhaps, bear repetition as samples. One relates how he went night after night for a long time to nurse and tend with his own hands a penniless Negro lying sick and covered with sores in a hovel on the outskirts of town, for whom no one else would do anything.[21] The other, which is particularly well attested, deals with a poor sick woman on Water Street, to whom Cheverus sent a load of firewood. It lay for some days at her door, no one volunteering to cut and carry it in. Thereupon one morning long before dawn a neighbor, aroused by noise, went down to find that it was the Bishop of Boston, who was busily sawing away and who explained that he had come to do the job under cover of darkness in order to conceal the fact that he, the bishop, had had to do what charitable neighbors ought to have done.[22]

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[19] *Boston Monthly Magazine,* I. 9.

No office of mercy was, indeed, too mean for him. At all hours of the day or night he was at the service of all the world, and at any distance. Familiar, but very characteristic, is the story told by the younger Josiah Quincy that his father, driving into Boston one day from Milton in a pelting storm, overtook a drenched and bedraggled pedestrian whom he invited into his carriage, only to discover that it was Cheverus walking back from Hingham, whither he had tramped to attend some parishioner.[23] That was the beginning of the long friendship between the future Catholic bishop and the future mayor of Boston and president of Harvard.

Throughout his twenty-seven years here Cheverus divided his time between pastoral work in Boston and missionary travels which carried him through the greater part of New England. A special object of his care was the faithful Maine Indians; and for a time he spent some months each year with them, learning their language, sharing their bark huts and their terrible meals, jesting that vermin were the only fees he brought back from these excursions, but loving his savages none the less and beloved by them in turn. From 1799 on he managed to give them a resident priest of their own, but he continued to visit them occasionally.

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[20] Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus*, 58–59.

[21] *Ibid.*, 86–87.

[22] Stewart's translation of Hamon, *Vie du cardinal de Cheverus*, appendix, 379–380.

[23] Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, 311–312.

On his first trip to the Indians, in 1797, Cheverus unearthed a small colony of Catholics around Damariscotta and Newcastle, Maine, gathered about two well-to-do and devout families, the Kavanaghs and the Cottrils. Here, too, he began to make protracted visits, continued almost annually as long as he remained in the United States. The fruit of them was the erection of the second Catholic church to be built in New England, at Newcastle (dedicated in 1808), followed by another at Whitefield (1822), fourteen miles away, and the establishment of a resident pastor to serve both churches (1818).

Salem, Massachusetts, was about the only other place which in Cheverus's earlier years here offered any possibility of forming a congregation. He and Matignon ministered to the little group of Catholics there by frequent trips from Boston, and by 1821 there was built a small, unpainted, and unplastered wooden chapel as an earnest of better things to come.

In the bishop's later years extraordinary things were happening in Claremont, New Hampshire. Two ministers, the Reverend Daniel Barber and his son Virgil, were converted to the Catholic faith about 1818, and they were followed by fifteen members of their family. The example spread widely around the neighborhood, and by 1822 Claremont had a Catholic congregation of about 150, chiefly made up of converts.

Elsewhere in New England we can trace missionary visits by Cheverus to a dozen towns in Maine; Portsmouth and Bedford, New Hampshire; Vergennes, Vermont; Newburyport, Northampton, Plymouth, Carver, and Scituate, Massachusetts; Providence, Bristol, Portsmouth, and Newport, Rhode Island; and Hartford, New Haven, and New London, Connecticut.[24] What this incessant travelling meant — on foot, on horseback, by stagecoach, by canoe, by sailing vessel, only in the later years by steamboat — it is not easy for us today to imagine.

The results of all this activity were not very impressive when measured statistically. Catholicism grew but slowly in New England throughout the Cheverus period. Because of the Napoleonic wars and the depression that followed them, Catholic immigration attained no great dimensions, and native converts made but a thin stream of new recruits. By 1823, the end of Cheverus's episcopate, the number of Catholics in New England is usually estimated at only about 3,500, the great majority of them being in Boston. There were but five priests in the entire diocese, and eight churches or chapels. One convent existed: that of the Ursuline nuns, who, coming here in 1820, had been established by Cheverus on Franklin Street, alongside the cathedral, and who, when later transferred to Charlestown, were to have so tragic an experience in 1834. In general, New England in Cheverus's day still ranked with the South as a portion of the United States in which it was most difficult for Catholicism to penetrate.

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[24] Cheverus's baptismal, marriage, and confirmation records in the diocesan archives.

At all events, the Church had become firmly established in Boston. In every state of New England the seeds of future development had been sown. And perhaps the greatest of Cheverus's achievements for his faith was his success in breaking down old barriers and old antipathies between the incoming Catholic population and the older Protestant stock. The change that took place in this respect was summed up by the bishop himself in a report to Rome in 1817 as follows: " In this city and in other places where a few years ago the name of the Catholic Church was, so to speak, held in infamy and the name of priest a thing to be shuddered at, they now treat us with veneration and friendship, they think kindly of us, they act kindly towards us." [25] Doubtless other factors helped to produce this change, but among its chief causes were the impression produced on the whole population by the truly apostolic character and lives of Cheverus and Matignon and the excellent relations which they succeeded in establishing with non-Catholics.

Cheverus's great popularity with the Protestants of Boston is so abundantly attested that there is no need to bring new evidence. Indeed, every contemporary utterance I have ever seen about him from Protestant sources is couched in a tone of praise, and often of enthusiastic praise. Protestants constantly flocked to the Catholic church to hear him preach. Occasionally, in towns outside of Boston, where there was no Catholic church, he preached in Protestant churches. He had a large circle of Protestant friends, both lay and clerical. Among them were such men as Harrison Gray Otis, Josiah Quincy, Charles Bulfinch, Theodore Lyman, John Lowell, William S. Shaw, Samuel L. Knapp, Bishop Griswold of the Episcopal Church, the Reverend Charles R. Lowell, and the

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[25] Cheverus to Cardinal Litta, February 7, 1817. Archives of the Propaganda.

Reverend Doctors Bentley, Gray, Harris, and Pierce. Of his feminine clientèle a contemporary writes:

> Bishop Cheverus numbered among his most intimate friends, a large circle of intellectual females of the Protestant faith, and many of them moving in the higher walks of life. In his judgment and friendship, they reposed implicit confidence; and not only consulted him themselves, but taught their children, that in every painful or delicate exigency of their lives, to call on him for counsel and direction. . . . In truth it may be said, that he had as many confidential communications out of the confessional as in it.[26]

His absorption in the work of the ministry and his sense of the fitness of things prevented him from appearing often in large social gatherings; but whenever he did appear, he was cordially welcomed and treated with high respect. I strongly doubt, however, the constantly repeated story that at a large civic banquet in Boston, Cheverus, then only a newcomer here, shared the honor of being the principal guest with John Adams, then president of the United States.

A few examples of his other civic activities should be cited. From 1806 on he was a fairly regular attendant and speaker at the annual dinners of the Charitable Irish Society, then chiefly under Protestant management.[27] In 1821 we find him attending throughout the day the meetings held by the Charitable Mechanic Association and giving the benediction at their dinner.[28] He seems to have participated in those annual visitations of the Boston schools by all the civic dignitaries and clergy of the town which were such great occasions in those days.[29] It is well known that he was a zealous friend of the Boston Athenæum in its early years. We find him thanked in the newspapers as one of the most munificent donors to that institution, along with the two Adamses and Governor DeWitt Clinton.[30] Indeed, from the sum total of his contributions (99 volumes), it would appear that he gave more books to the Athenæum in those years than any other man except John Lowell (106 volumes).[31]

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[26] *Boston Monthly Magazine,* I. 11.

[27] *The Constitution and By-laws of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston* (Boston, 1876), 35–36.

[28] Joseph T. Buckingham, *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston, 1853), 181.

[29] Ellen S. Bulfinch, *Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch* (Boston, 1896), 165.

[30] *Columbian Centinel,* January 5, 1820.

[31] *The Athenæum Centenary* (Boston, 1907), 75 ff.

Cheverus's aversion to any dabbling in politics was so great that I have been rather amused to find that on one occasion he was a (doubtless involuntary) candidate for public office. At the Boston town meeting of October 16, 1820, held to elect delegates to the approaching constitutional convention, someone evidently put up the bishop's name, which received 410 votes. As 855 votes were necessary for a choice, Cheverus was defeated, along with many other illustrious persons, such as William Ellery Channing and Harrison Gray Otis, who received three votes each.[32] At any rate, since there were probably far from 410 qualified Catholic voters in Boston at that time, that vote seems a not uninteresting tribute to Cheverus on the part of his fellow-citizens.

Of his American patriotism and his determination to instill that into his flock, the bishop gave many examples, the most striking of which is his performance during the War of 1812. It is well known that when in the autumn of 1814 a British attack on Boston was feared, the authorities here called on all men of good will to help in constructing fortifications on the islands of the harbor and at South Boston. According to a tradition of which I was at first skeptical, Bishop Cheverus turned out at the head of his flock and trundled a wheelbarrow. I have since found in the newspapers a letter from the selectmen of Boston thanking and listing the various groups of volunteers that had taken part in the work. There appears: " Bp. Cheverus and congregation, 250 men." [33] It is the largest group in the list except for two military regiments and the " school-masters of Boston," who also sent out 250. It is the only religious society that took part except for the West Parish of Dorchester, and Cheverus is the only individual mentioned by name.

Doubts have been expressed in recent years by some historians as to the truth of the traditional account of Cheverus's departure from Boston in 1823. From the documents now in my possession, especially the dossier from the Archives Nationales containing the correspondence of the French government on the affair, I feel in a position to say that the traditional account is to be relied upon in practically every detail. It is true that the bishop's health had declined so far that in the autumn of 1822 he had half-resolved to resign and retire to private life in France. But when in the spring of 1823 the summons came from the French government to accept the see of Montauban, although every consideration of health and family prompted him to consent, he still decided, out of a sense of duty, to refuse. What finally broke down his resistance was a rather stern letter, hitherto unpublished, from the Prince de Croy (July 12, 1823) threatening him with the severe displeasure of Louis XVIII and serious consequences for his family and friends if he persisted in his refusal. During this crisis, as has often been related, 226 of the leading Protestant citizens of Boston joined in a memorial to the French government begging it not to take away from them a man who had been " a blessing and a treasure in our social community," and who, " if withdrawn from us, can never be replaced." While the text of this memorial has long been known, the list of the signatures has never been published. It includes federal, state, and city officials; bankers, merchants, editors, lawyers, and doctors; the ministers of King's Chapel, the First Church, the Brattle Street Church and the Hollis Street Church; in short, almost every prominent citizen of Boston at that time from Daniel Webster and Harrison Gray Otis down.

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[32] *Records Relating to the Early History of Boston,* XXXVII (" Boston Town Records 1814–1822 "), 160–162.

[33] *Columbian Centinel,* October 15, 1814.

Determined, nevertheless, to go, out of a feeling so ingrained in the French clergy at that time that loyalty to their king was a sacred obligation, Cheverus proceeded to give away whatever he had acquired here to the church, to his friends, or to the poor, taking with him only his pectoral cross, his chalice, cruets, and the old trunk with which he had arrived in Boston twenty-seven years before. At the moment of his leaving, writes one contemporary, " public admiration outran the power of language." [34] " The parting scene I shall never forget," writes another.

> At an early hour in the morning, the vestry was filled with Protestants and Catholics, dissolved in tears to think they should never see him again. It required all his firmness to support himself in bidding them farewell. As he left the house for the carriage, lisping infancy and silver-haired age rushed forward to pluck *his gown* and *share the good man's smile;* and the last accents of his blessing were mingled with the moans of grief at his departure.[35]

Overwhelmed in France later on with honors and with universal love and veneration, Cheverus never ceased to regret his " humble dwelling " and " happy days " in Boston. It was, he said, his dearest wish to have lived and died in the city that he called " the home of my heart."

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[34] [Charles B. Fairbanks], *Aguecheek* (Boston, 1859) , 243.

[35] *Boston Monthly Magazine,* I. 6.

Nor was he forgotten here. Everyone has heard of the splendid tribute to him delivered by William Ellery Channing in 1829. When the cardinal died in 1836, eulogies were pronounced in many a Protestant church. And long afterwards many an old Bostonian loved to remember that short, benign figure, tirelessly trudging through the streets on errands of mercy — clad in the somewhat shabby black suit, with the long stockings and buckled shoes of the elder generation — while " children used to run after him . . . delighted to receive a smile and a kind word from one whose personal presence was like a benediction."[36]

Mr. William Cameron Forbes deposited with the Society, in behalf of the family of John M. Forbes, several hundred letters bearing dates from 1808 to 1902, and spoke briefly of their interest.

Mr. Morison remarked upon the methods of several genealogical and quasi-historical organizations in historical racketeering, and warned the members of the Society against participating in such enterprises.

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[36] Fairbanks, *Aguecheek,* 242.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 9, 1933, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Charles F. Fitz of Watertown, through the courtesy of Miss Josephine E. Rayne, librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, seventeen papers, 1796–1826, mostly of the Boston Bank, including letters from Albert Gallatin, William H. Crawford, William Gray, president of the United States Bank in Boston, and Harrison Gray Otis.

From Charles Stewart Davison, several papers, 1719–1807, including a Massachusetts commission to Samuel Barstow, June 27, 1772.

From Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb, typewritten copies of letters written in 1785, 1786, and 1792, from London, England, and Dunkirk, France, by William Rotch to his sons, Samuel and William, and his son-in-law, Samuel Rodman, of the firm of William Rotch & Sons of Nantucket, about their whaling ventures, and the trade conditions affecting their output in various markets.

From Mrs. E. N. Marshall of Cambridge, papers of the Webb family of Weymouth, 1665–1894.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb, two daguerreotypes of General John Adams Dix, and several photographs of him by Brady of New York and J. W. Black of Boston.

The Society elected Joseph Warren of Brookline a Resident Member, and Charles Kingsley Webster of London, England, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. CLAUDE M. FUESS read a paper on "Henry Cabot Lodge as a Man of Letters."

OF
HISTORICAL

MHS

Gamaliel Bradford

GAMALIEL BRADFORD · A MEMOIR

BY

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

THE union of the two names Gamaliel and Bradford suggests to the modern only one person, the " naturalist of souls." But the combination has been known to New England for generations, and even to the Society for which this memoir is written, since Gamaliel Bradford the writer was the fourth of the name on its rolls. Governor Bradford of Plymouth had a great-grandson, the Hon. Gamaliel Bradford (1704–1778), who was destined to be the first of seven Gamaliels in succession.

The father of Gamaliel Bradford the biographer was a very Galahad for political reform, a public-spirited citizen who, as it has been said, " raised the commonplace level to a larger average and keyed the tone of public morals to a higher tension." He was also a passionate lover of sunsets and devoted to music. These qualities are to some extent found in his famous son.

The Gamaliel of our day was born in Boston, October 9, 1863, on the northerly corner of Bowdoin and Allston Streets. His mother was Clara Crowninshield Kinsman of Newburyport, whose father, Henry W. Kinsman, was a law partner of Daniel Webster. She lived to enjoy only five years of marriage, leaving two sons (one of whom passed away at the age of nine) as heritors of her frail constitution. She died from consumption at the age of twenty-nine, attaining even then a greater age than any others in her family of eleven children. Her sensitive regard for beauty came to her surviving son; and from her also came the inheritance which freed him from financial worry.

The frailty of Clara Bradford lay heavily on her husband, and when he became a widower, his solicitude for his two sons led him to buy a house in Grantville, West Needham, now Wellesley Hills; they settled there in 1866. Mr. Bradford's *Early Days in Wellesley* (1928) gives an appealing picture of his childhood. A paraphrase of his own words would rob the story of its charm.

> I remember so well for two winters trudging twice a day, day after day, through the snow-drifts that piled up on the "plain," as we used to call the region where Croton, Elm, and Pine Streets are now, but where at that time there was hardly a single house. . . . In the autumn we used to look eagerly for the signs of approaching winter in the great cart-loads of sleighs, many-colored, red, blue, green, and yellow, that were transported through the streets from the factory somewhere up country. . . . Huge droves of cattle passed at all times of year, but I chiefly remember them in mid-winter, because at that time the streets were narrowed by impending snowbanks, and to meet one of those disorderly hordes of wild-looking creatures, and to have to get by them somehow, was a nerve-racking experience for an anxious and timid child.
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> My own wood wanderings were greatly enriched by my intimate friendship with Isaac and Marvin Sprague. Their father, Mr. Isaac Sprague, was . . . a skilled naturalist, who had accompanied Audubon in some of his western expeditions. The sons learned a good deal of a scientific nature from their father and they imparted to me as much of this as my indolent and impatient temperament was capable of absorbing.

As he grew older, the winters were spent in Washington to avoid the chill east winds. In 1878 Bradford was taken to Europe for a year, and from this sojourn came his knowledge of French, German, and Italian. But he returned in such physical distress that his life was in immediate danger. A riding horse purchased by his father aided in the slow recovery of his strength. He became familiar in these months with the best literature. Another source of pleasure was found in rides with a neighbor of his own age, Miss Helen Ford. She too was in very poor health, and they found mutual interests in their restricted lives, especially in piano duet playing, continued from 1879 to the time of his death. They studied together and read aloud when the weather prohibited outdoor activity.

Bradford's education had been irregular; he could meet the college entrance requirements in some subjects but not in all. Professor Perrin, his senior by only eight years, was engaged as a tutor. Perrin stimulated his mind and guided his steps in these early years. They took the cows to pasture and hunted the woods over for wild flowers and birds' eggs. The younger lad had a remarkably accurate memory and a discernment for the inner meaning of things. Said he one day: "Pericles looked outside and Socrates looked inside; that's what made them what they were — wasn't it?" Personalities began to attract him.

Bradford found the large classes at Harvard distracting and withdrew at the Thanksgiving recess of his freshman year. He then studied with Perrin for about three years, always doing more than was asked of him in the way of lessons, and ever seeking the divine purpose beneath the dry track of events. For a few hours each day in his father's office he devoted himself to a study of business, but his heart was not in the work, and he turned to writing, which had been his dream since childhood. When he was thirteen years old or thereabouts, he had written a tragedy, the first fruits of a great ambition. He says: " There is perhaps some exaggeration in the verses I once wrote on the subject, but there is a vast deal of truth ":

Ever since I can remember I have thirsted after glory,
And my earliest desire was to have a name in story.

Meanwhile his attachment for Helen Ford, whom he met constantly at neighborhood parties, began to be noticed. His father, who felt the tragedy in his own marriage, was sorely troubled, although he was very fond of the girl. Her family also looked upon the affair with alarm. But it was one of those cases where the practical and the spiritual contend for the mastery. The young people were determined to make the adventure — and what a beautiful adventure it turned out to be!

On October 30, 1886, he married this friend of his childhood, Helen Hubbard Ford, daughter of the Reverend Lucian Collins Ford, of Cincinnati, Ohio. Never was a woman more fitted by temperament and character to fortify a life plagued by ill health and supported by the highest of ideals. The summer following was spent in a general continental tour lasting for five months. Later, in 1896, they had six happy months in Florence and Rome, with short visits to other historic Italian cities. On the return voyage the sea was very rough and both suffered severely. The steward said that he had never seen so cheerful a person as Mr. Bradford. He was never too ill to joke or write verses.

The long winter evenings at Wellesley Hills were enlivened by frequent visits from friends, and as Mr. Bradford became better known literary celebrities came. He was greatly concerned with local affairs, and served the town on several committees. The schools and the Public Library he added to his other cares. His activity did not extend to the larger problems of national politics, but in his novel *Matthew Porter* (1908) he has discussed his father's theories of government. In passing, it may here be noted that the book was not successful. In a letter to Mr. F. W. Buxton he says: " My creative work has failed from my utter lack of contact with the surface of life, which is so necessary to give a novel or play the appearance of veracity." In the same letter he queried half humorously whether he ought to give up biography because Senator Beveridge had insisted that no one ought to write biography unless he had been in the Senate " or something equivalent."

A club of neighbors met every fortnight at Mr. Bradford's home to read plays. They took up Elizabethan drama for their reading and then modern plays. Some withdrew and others came into the circle. Mr. Bradford remained a member until two years before his death. He was the first president of a local organization known as the Maugus Club. He had also the meetings of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the Examiner Club — thirty congenial spirits — the Saturday Club, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Society of the Cincinnati to draw him further afield when his health permitted. He turned also to pictures and music, devoting an hour each day to duets.

He tried his hand at lectures, but found the strain intolerable. Later an affliction in his ear brought on vertigo at long intervals. Dean Swift, he used to say, had the same handicap. Much of Mr. Bradford's time was passed in a hammock, where he could watch the changes of season, the light and shade, with a familiar home view. Day after day he went along the near-by wood paths, and especially to the hill of Maugus. He loved to watch the return, season after season, of the familiar flowers and fruits. The changes of foliage in the trees interested him. He studied the habits of insects so that he might know the life story of those that buzzed about his hammock.

For nearly half a century he shared his life with his neighbors, with nature, and with the great characters of all ages, writing poems, plays, novels, editorials, essays, and biographies. So closely was he absorbed in his work that he once said that ten years of living with Robert E. Lee made him a better man, and six months with Mark Twain a worse one.

Mr. Bradford has recorded that he first made a business of writing as early as 1890. He began with poetry and soon learned that as a means of material success and as a livelihood poetry is impossible. He next took up fiction and had three of his eight novels published.

" I believe in them," he wrote, " but apparently no one else does." Play-writing followed. About fifteen plays were completed, and one was printed, but he could not get any of them produced. The glamor of the stage drew him as it did the leaders of literary production in England. This impressive output came from ten or fifteen minutes of labor a day in periods of illness, much of the time being spent in bed, and from two hours of work a day in better runs of health. The text was struck off on the typewriter, with scarcely a word of revision.

His first published work bore the title *Types of American Character* (1895), and discussed the pessimist, the idealist, the epicurean, the philanthropist, the man of letters, the American out of doors, and the scholar. In his preface he refers to the far-reaching philosophical problems encountered in his study, confesses himself unable to solve them, and falls back on " the two things most desirable and most to be cultivated in this world, love and joy."

It was now the first decade of the present century; he had experienced failure after failure, and at the age of forty and more was about ready to abandon literature. The success of a venture into biography astonished him. He adds: " I should prefer to write great novels, but we do what we can, not what we should like." Thus it was he became a " naturalist of souls." The whole confession, printed in the *Nation* for April 27 of the year of his death, is a revelation. In *The Haunted Biographer, Dialogues of the Dead* (1927) he wrote: " The souls of men and women crowd about the biographer's couch, sometimes menacing and sometimes mocking, and often so real that he is quite terrified at the throng of haunting shapes that he has conjured up."

The breadth of his vision of the biographer's world is shown by his statement that " every aspect of human interest and effort is the field of biography." If a mere bibliography would picture Mr. Bradford's ceaseless activity as a writer, it could be attempted here, although many of his writings — a journal, 2,000 poems, plays, novels, dialogues, and an autobiography — are not yet in print. Fugitive pieces are in magazines and newspapers. He wrote editorials and nature sketches for the *Youth's Companion* and later for the *Boston Herald;* they were not gathered together into a book during his lifetime although he proposed as a title *Women and Some Other Things*. Exquisite plays for children are still in perishable form.

Two dozen and more books followed the *Types,* chiefly composed of penetrating dissections of the souls of eminent men and women of varied eras and countries; the last, *Saints and Sinners,* appeared at the very close of his life. There were one hundred and five of these "psychographs," which to him were so different from the old biography that he thought they deserved a " distinctive if quite minor classification."

In his *Union Portraits* (1916) Mr. Bradford makes this statement which is his biographical creed:

> From the complex of fleeting experiences that make up the total of man's or woman's life he [the psychographer] endeavors to extricate those permanent habits of thought and action which constitute what we call character, and which, if not unchangeable, are usually modified only by a slow and gradual process. His aim further is to arrange and treat these habits or qualities in such a way as to emphasize their relative importance, and to illustrate them by such deeds and words, as, irrespective of chronological sequence, shall be most significant and most impressive.

The actual working out of his method, as seen by a literary critic, is given by H. L. Mencken in a review of the *American Portraits* (1922). It was not until the appearance of Mencken's article that Bradford began to see the road to great popularity. This appreciation was, he said, " certainly the making of me." [1] Mencken writes:

> The aim of the formula is twofold. On the one hand, it tries to clear biography of its usual burden of chronological puerilities — its cluttering mass of dates, carbon copies, pronunciamentos, fulminations, and official lies, mostly borrowed from history proper. And on the other hand, it seeks to let some light into the more private and elusive nature of the man under examination — in brief, into the motives and habits of mind, often strangely naïve and disconcerting, that determined his overt acts. Thus the biographer is led into dark and secret waters. . . . Bradford, when he prepared for his volume on Robert E. Lee, did not go to the records of battles and sieges, nor to the polemics sprung from them; he went to Lee's own rare confidences, to the babblings of those who stood closest to him, and above all, to the professional opinions (often curiously heterodox) of the generals who fought with him and against him. . . . I like these Bradford books. They make dead men seem real to me — and often surprisingly likable.

A survey of the periodical reviews of his books during the last decade of his life gives the impression of a hymn of praise. But the discerning ear will detect a note of reserve. It is futile here to speculate on his literary methods and their effect on the ultimate standing of his " psychographs," as he called his studies of people. But it may safely be asserted that the future scholar, writing of one of these subjects, will not overlook the Bradford analysis. His technique is well-nigh perfect, and perfection has its reaction as the great wave has its undertow. A reviewer in the *Nation* (July 3, 1929) expressed what no doubt some readers have felt when he wished that Mr. Bradford " for once — just once — would forsake his everlastingly competent craftsmanship and emit one bloodthirsty Menckenian war whoop." The lack of consecutive narrative and the elimination of debatable matters must at times annoy the plodding biographer of the old school. Mr. Bradford knew too well the difficulty of satisfying everyone in his chosen field. " It is a common error," said he, " to suppose that biography is an easy form of literary work."

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[1] Bradford to F. W. Buxton, March 2, 1929. Mencken's review is in the *Literary Review,* April 8, 1922.

On account of his physical restrictions his life was detached from the world to a degree that must have had an influence on his estimate of the motives of men in the rough arena of affairs. This was conspicuous in the case of Mr. Blaine. The Blaine chapter, when read aloud at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society on October 14, 1920, led to one of the tensest moments ever noticed there. It aroused the late Charles P. Bowditch to excoriate Blaine. Senator Lodge was presiding, and a hush followed Bowditch's speech; no one replied.

Although he wrote several complete biographies, such as the *Robert E. Lee,* the *Samuel Pepys* and the *D. L. Moody,* Bradford used to say that he preferred the short biography because it did not permit the author to " work himself into a state of partiality." He often spoke of his sketches of Mrs. Benjamin F. Butler and Mrs. James G. Blaine. He enjoyed his French characters especially. In his *Portraits of Women* Madame de Choiseul delighted him. All his life he read Thomas à Kempis, and turned to Leopardi, Senancour, and Heine as to friends.

Toward the close of his career he was urged to write of living people. A request came in June, 1929, from Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* for a sketch of Calvin Coolidge. An excursion into the lives of people of his own time troubled him, for he preferred " the comfortable skeletons of five hundred years ago." He became intensely interested in Coolidge, and had long discussions with Senator Morrow, Frank W. Stearns, and other notables. He wanted to meet Mrs. Coolidge but feared the " normal wifely hatred " that he felt must follow publication. The avalanche of contemporary material to be sifted — some by the victim — was " terrible, as arid and barren as a hot week in haying time."

A reading of his chapters on Charles Sumner and Lee, the American, will show by contrast the biographer's own ideals of character. The glamor in Sumner's conspicuous career made no appeal to the thoughtful student of souls. Lee stirred the finer impulses in Bradford, and the South came to look upon him as an understanding friend. Washington and Lee University recognized this fact by conferring an honorary degree on the author.

He allowed himself literary recreation in the writing of light verse (" one of my greatest amusements," he said) , and dialogues as a vehicle for contrasting famous characters, such as " Al and Cal," Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth, or Emily Dickinson and Julie de Lespinasse. His own dialogue with Abraham Lincoln begins:

> *Lincoln:* After all, she was my wife, you know.
>
> *G.B.:* I know. But I haven't meant to be cruel to her. I hadn't a thing in the world against her.

The " Imaginary Dialogues " gave their author great pleasure, but they did not " catch on " with editors and the public, who could not appreciate the delicacy of their satire. Indeed, he never reached a success freed from disappointments. His life should be an inspiration to those who want a literary career, for he was the author's author, not so much in what he wrote as in his relation to writing and writers. In " The Fight for Glory " (*Harper's,* August, 1929) he shows how early the literary passion took hold of him, and with what undiminished ardor it persisted through every variety of drawback that could be conceived.

Mr. Bradford had what might be called the great primary virtues — patience, sympathy, tolerance, unselfishness, and thoughtfulness for others. The servants no less than the village squires were devoted to him. He was a peacemaker, a wise counsellor, whose thoughtful face seemed to brood over the troubles all about him.

There was a poise and a self-control that invited confidences. His intimates could not recall half a dozen occasions when Mr. Bradford had lost his temper. One case, however, brought much amusement to his friends. At a ball game between Needham and Wellesley Mr. Bradford noticed what seemed to him an unfair play by Needham, and he became so aroused that a policeman in his wisdom laid the gentle hand of the law on his shoulder. It has been recorded that he acquired his discriminating taste largely from his mother. From the paternal side he received his lively concern for truth, which seemed to his dearest friends exaggerated in its manifestations. For years he overpaid the government on his income tax, and an experienced lawyer found it difficult to quiet his too sensitive conscience.

His personal philosophy is expressed all through his works. He was ever trying to answer the great riddles of life, and the greatest of these is the place of God in the universe. He may have echoed his own convictions in the imaginary conversation in *Dialogues of the Dead* which he puts into the mouth of Thoreau as Dwight L. Moody the evangelist asks him if he is a Christian.

> *Moody:* But don't you want to live with God?
>
> *Thoreau:* I do. What's more, I do live with Him, every day. That's just why I don't talk about Him: I don't need to. There is more of God in that pine warbler, in those reeds waving and tossing by the river, than in all your vain chatter. Good day to you, my good sir. If you really want to learn something about God, come spend a month with me, and I will teach you divine lore that you never imagined. You will forget all about your damnable meetings and God will be in your heart.

The problems of religion are discussed reverently but frankly in his *Life and I* (1928). He concludes that the human being asks but one thing, " illimitable hope, which no power in the universe can altogether deny."

In several of his works Mr. Bradford refers to the love he had for the Boston Athenæum library, where in periods of good health he did much of his work, and his appreciation of its " warmly human influence." A member of the staff once watched with alarm the Athenæum cat as she nosed her way into his green baize bag for a protracted nap. He looked on with no indication that the incident was in the least unwelcome. In his *Quick and the Dead* he mentions the Library. He always favored the purchase of source material for the study of character, and it did not matter if the ideals of people so pictured were utterly at variance with his own. In his sonnet to Sainte-Beuve he referred with approval to him who could "pray with saints yet press the sinner's hand." He continued throughout his life a custom followed by his father, and at Christmas each year sent a barrel of apples to the staff.

He was very fond of detective stories, and had to stand some chaff from the trustees. Here is an example:

E.M.P.: Here is a book for Mr. Bradford. It is called *Murder for Profit.*

G.B.: No. I prefer *Murder for Pleasure.*

In requesting a book to be selected and mailed to him he wrote: "There is nothing so soothing as murder."

Any review of Bradford's life would be incomplete without at least a passing reference to his great contemporary biographer Lytton Strachey. Professor Robert E. Rogers, at the time of Bradford's death, wrote: "Although Strachey was the finer and the more exquisite artist, Bradford was the more profound student of history, and of the human soul, a greater heart, and a more serious philosopher of life." Mr. Bradford felt that there was little resemblance between Strachey and himself. His style, spiritual tone, and above all his biographical technique were totally different.

A scholar himself, he has given in the closing paragraph of his analysis of the American scholar (*Types of American Character*) an expression of his own philosophy of a career:

> Yet, after all, he goes on his way and fulfils his destiny, sometimes with hope again and confidence in himself, sometimes indifferent, sometimes with vast scorn for the futility of knowledge and the mockery of life. He goes on, on still, utterly unable to resist the overmastering intellect, which always craves and hungers after more, in the wild desire to get beyond the limits of this earthly body, to enfranchise, to depersonalize, and so to eternalize itself.

The home life of Mr. Bradford from year to year was on the whole uneventful. A son died in early manhood, and a daughter, Sarah Rice, became the wife of Professor Carroll Goulding Ross of the Mt. Hermon school in Massachusetts. She with Mrs. Bradford survives him.

Mr. Bradford was an inch short of six feet tall. During the later years he had a slight stoop which seemed to blend in with his dignity and age. His blue eyes were ever kindly but discerning. Toward the close of his life he encountered alarming illnesses on three or four occasions. In the early winter of 1931–1932 he was again very ill. Weakened by his inherited disease, he did not want to recover, and after four months of prostration he died at his home in Wellesley Hills, April 11, 1932. Burial was at Mt. Auburn in Cambridge. The grave is on Magnolia Avenue.

Mr. Bradford's disability, shutting him off, secluded and buried in his own thoughts, was, as he said, queer tissue to weave success out of. His inferiority complex was merely "the reverse side of an intense devouring ambition to do something big in the world." This is all expressed in the epitaph which Mr. Bradford chose for himself, and it is a fitting close to any account of his life: "*A vita maiora efflagitavit*" — "From life he demanded the highest things."

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 9, 1933, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. HOWE, Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Foster Stearns of Hancock, N. H., a copy of *The Last Will and Testament of Thomas Johnson, of Greenfield, County of Franklin: in favour of the Trustees of Amherst College* (Brattleboro, 1827). Thomas Johnson's brother Adam died in 1821, a bachelor, giving a good part of his property to Amherst College for a chapel. Thomas, with his surviving brothers and sister, objected to the will and the probate judge sustained their objection. The trustees carried the case to the Superior Court, which reversed the Probate Court's judgment. Thomas, not satisfied, wrote this burlesque will, condemning the robbery of the poor and the covetousness of the rich. This represents a feature of struggle in early Amherst College history.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from JOSEPH WARREN accepting Resident Membership, and from CHARLES KINGSLEY WEBSTER accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Society elected Horace Henry Morse of Northfield a Resident Member, and Joseph Grafton Minot of Santa Barbara, California, a Corresponding Member.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, SAMUEL E. MORISON, and JOHN WOODBURY.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: ALLAN FORBES and JOHN WOODBURY.

Mr. GEORGE F. DOW read a paper on "Massachusetts and Virginia Houses, A Contrast," using lantern-slide illustrations.

Mr. HENRY G. PEARSON read extracts from the diary of Frederic Tudor for March and April, 1837, describing the excitement in Boston over the suspension of specie payments by banks in Boston and New York.

ANNUAL MEETING

April, 1933

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 13, 1933, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

It was *voted*, that during the illness of Mr. HOWE the Editor should serve as Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford, by deposit, the journals and correspondence of her late husband, long a Resident Member of this Society.

From FRANK W. GRINNELL, by deposit, the notebook (1727–1780) of his ancestor, the Reverend Christopher Sargent, father of Chief Justice Sargent of Haverhill.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Dr. ROBERT M. LAWRENCE, a photographic view, taken by A. H. Folsom in 1865, looking across the Back Bay from Tremont Street, Roxbury.

From the estate of Miss Lucy H. Eaton, through Mrs. Charles Morss of Chestnut Hill, a bull's-eye watch in a gold case, made by Herring of London, and said to have been worn by Sir George Brydges Rodney.

From Dr. MALCOLM STORER, a one-dollar scrip issued by the *Arizona Star* during the bank holiday.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from HORACE HENRY MORSE, accepting election as a Resident Member, and from JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT, accepting election as a Corresponding Member.

The chair announced the death of WALDO LINCOLN, a Resident Member, on April 7, 1933.

It was *voted*, to amend the by-laws of the Society as follows:

Chapter I, Article 2. In the last sentence strike out the words, "nor shall more than one nomination for membership, of the same class, be reported or acted upon at any one meeting," so that this sentence shall read, "No nomination of any member shall be made except by a report of the Council at a stated meeting of the Society, nor be acted upon at the same meeting to which it is reported."

Chapter II, Article 2. Strike out the last sentence.

The Society elected Samuel Atkins Eliot of Cambridge a Resident Member, Bernard Faÿ of Paris, France, a Corresponding

Member, and Benedetto Croce of Naples, Italy, an Honorary Member.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. GREENOUGH read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

General conditions have affected somewhat the output of the Society's publications. Volume LXIV of the *Proceedings,* including meetings from October, 1930, to June, 1932, was issued on December 1, 1932; and Volume LXV will include meetings from October, 1932, to June, 1934.

Volume XIII of the *House Journals* was published in July, 1932, under the acting editorship of Allyn B. Forbes, and had as a frontispiece a photogravure reproduction of the portrait of Governor Jonathan Belcher by Thomas Hudson in the possession of Harvard University. The frontispiece of Volume XII was a photogravure print of a mezzotint of Belcher by I. Faber given to the Society on July 26, 1796, by D. MacNeil, Jr. Volume XIV is in preparation.

Volume III of the *Winthrop Papers* is also in preparation. Search is being made for additional original Winthrop material in the possession of libraries or individuals so that our edition of this family's papers may be as complete as possible.

The publication of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates,* Volume IV, which will complete the classes to the year 1700, has been delayed. It is now in page proof, and its issue may be expected within a few months. Volume LXXVIII of *Collections,* to comprise the logs of the *Columbia* on the Northwest Coast, is still awaiting preparation. Mr. David M. Matteson is continuing his work on the index to the *Proceedings,* Volumes XLI–LX.

The Society's Editor, Mr. Stewart Mitchell, returned to his position on November 1, 1932, after a year's leave of absence. The immediate work to be undertaken by the Publication Committee, under a vote of the Council, is the preparation of a handbook of all the Society's publications since 1792, which will furnish much-needed information of its extensive work.

In February the last photostatic prints of a long series of the *Boston News-Letter* were delivered to the twenty-two subscribing libraries and individuals, thus completing the file of all the known originals since April 24, 1704. Against the total expense of the photostat machines since their installation twenty years ago — more than $100,000 — the *News-Letter* alone has brought more than $28,000 into the Society's treasury, besides the value of the negatives in hand. Of the *Virginia Gazette,* prints of the years 1772 and 1773 of the Purdie and Dixon issues have been furnished to twenty-six subscribing libraries and individuals. This series has brought into the treasury nearly $13,000. The Americana Series, which was completed in July, 1930, added more than $18,000. Other photostat work, if listed, would show this venture of the Society to have been decidedly profitable.

A beginning has been made in the use of the old coal room for the storage of duplicates. One tier of metal shelves, as a unit, has been installed, and the arrangement of this material is still in progress. The Council by a recent vote has left to the House Committee, with power, the matter of the removal of the old sectional boiler which was in operation when the Society opened this building in April, 1899.

The Council is only waiting for the return of more prosperous times to make a variety of appeals to the generosity of our members. Even as times are today, we can not forego some mention of three crying needs:

1. At least one full-time cataloguer of manuscripts. In present conditions those who use our library for research must either wade through manuscripts which are perhaps wholly uncatalogued, or must depend upon Mr. Tuttle to give them information which, in part at least, might be made accessible on cards. It is no exaggeration to say that at least ten years of highly profitable work could be spent in this way alone.

2. A great deal of binding and re-binding is needed to put and keep our library in sound condition. This item will, of course, become larger and larger the longer we have to delay beginning to meet the need. For some fifteen years, because of lack of funds, this matter has not had attention.

3. A printed catalog or handbook, not minutely descriptive, of our manuscripts would be a great convenience to many, especially for those who find it difficult to visit the Society frequently. Such a handbook would, it is believed, lead to a wider use of our manuscripts and to many requests — which the Society always welcomes — for photostatic copies.

Chester N. Greenough
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Two legacies received within the year, $50,000 under the will of Henry Winchester Cunningham and $25,000 willed by Frederic Winthrop, raised the aggregate of the Society's funds principal to $805,412.20. The income of the Cunningham Fund is unrestricted; it may be "used for any purpose connected with the work of the Society." The Frederic Winthrop bequest is on substantially the same terms as the successive gifts in memory of Robert Winthrop, and so long as there are Winthrop papers available for publication, the income is to be used in furtherance of that object. The Adams Fund was increased by $127.41 received in royalties.

In the market value of the Society's investments, with a few gratifying exceptions, the downward spiral continued. As compared with March 31, 1931, the index for the consolidated market value of both bonds and stocks a year ago was 65.1. After making allowance for new funds invested for the greater part in securities perhaps less susceptible to changes in market value, a similar index for March 31, 1933, would be expressed by 58.5. This figure, it should be stated, however, compares with market values on March 31, 1931, marked as 100, a time when the Society's securities showed a materially enhanced market value over book value. The investments that showed gains over the year previous were two railroad issues — Oregon Short Line 5's, 1946, and Pennsylvania Company 4¾'s, 1963 — several utilities bonds, the two Boston bank stocks — Second National and Merchants National — and United Fruit Company.

Net income, other than gifts through the Five Year Income Fund, was $2,581.24 less than for 1931–1932. Income credits were apportioned at the rate of .0487, comparing with .0584 a year ago, although it should be mentioned that deductions for amortization of bond premiums were much heavier than in 1932. $6,203.30 of income was diverted to the cumulative funds under the terms that apply in particular instances — the Anonymous Fund, the Building Fund, the Lodge Fund, and the J. L. Sibley Fund. Responses to the second call for subscriptions to the Five Year Income Fund amounted to $1,050.

The Society's accounting has been modified to the extent of including accrued items, such as payables and receivables; and, further, by dealing with prepaid insurance and prepaid photostat supplies as resources, and certain publication charges in advance of completed volumes as deferred charges, it has been possible to compress net operating expense to a point $63.10 less than available current income, without drawing upon the $1,368.03 balance in the Five Year Income Fund. For a share in this outcome the Society owes its acknowledgment to members of the salaried staff who from the first of January graciously accepted reduced compensation.

The schedules submitted contain the usual data in respect to the Society's property and the operation of its services.

April 13, 1933 G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1933

Schedule of Bonds

	Interest Rate	*Due*	*Book Value*
Government and Municipal			
Boston Met. Dist. T. E. ser. B	4¾	1962	$ 10,565.55
New York City Corp. Stock	4½	1957	9,100.00
U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan	4¼	1933	10,234.86
			$ 29,900.41
Railroad			
Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	5	1938	$ 10,100.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Registered	4½	1944	6,000.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	4½	1946	10,000.00
Chesapeake Corporation	5	1947	4,000.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co.	4¾	1949	10,150.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co.	4½	1961	9,525.00
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1935	4,807.87
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1936	4,796.32
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.	6	1948	25,000.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad 1st	5	1946	10,000.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	4¾	1963	8,779.25
Pere Marquette Railway Co. 1st	5	1956	15,000.00
			$118,158.44
Public Utility			
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. s. f.	5	1960	$ 9,807.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co.	5	1939	9,975.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Central Georgia Power Co.	5	1938	9,950.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	8,640.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	4½	1951	10,067.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,012.50
Florida Power & Light Co.	5	1954	9,400.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	19,025.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n	6	1953	5,190.00
International Tel. & Tel. Corp'n	4½	1952	9,682.50
Massachusetts Gas Companies	5	1955	7,840.00
Carry forward			$112,589.50

Brought forward			$112,589.50
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.	5	1950	4,987.50
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.	5½	1952	9,800.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1937	9,565.00
Western Union Telegraph Co.	5	1938	8,716.53
			$145,658.53
Industrial			
American Sugar Refining Co.	6	1937	$13,456.50
Chic. Jct. Rwys. & Union Stock Yards	5	1940	9,919.44
Crucible Steel Co. of America	5	1940	5,970.00
International Paper Co.	5	1947	9,770.00
Quincy Market Cold Storage & W. Co.	5½	1946	10,000.00
Standard Oil Co. of N. J.	5	1946	14,591.11
Warren Brothers Co.	5½	1937	9,975.00
			$ 73,682.05
Foreign			
Kingdom of Denmark Ext.	6	1942	$ 9,502.50
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,616.50
			$ 25,119.00
Total Bonds			$392,518.43 [1]

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

Railroad	*Shares*	*Book Value*
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Rwy. Co., pfd.	158	$ 15,800.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, prior preference	90	9,000.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, 1st pfd. "A"	25	2,725.00
		$ 27,525.00
Public Utility		
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co., pfd. "A"	10	$ 880.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, 4½% prior pref.	100	6,050.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., $6 pfd.	300	31,900.00
Engineers Public Service Co., $5 pfd.	100	10,000.00
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd.	52	5,460.00
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	16,925.00
		$ 71,215.00
Industrial		
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	$ 7,800.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50	5,781.25
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	15,450.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302	23,556.00
United States Steel Corp'n, pfd.	60	8,490.00
		$ 61,077.25
Total Preferred Stocks		$159,817.25 [2]

COMMON STOCKS

Railroad	*Shares*	*Book Value*
Boston & Albany Railroad	35	$ 7,315.00
Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	40	5,140.00
Old Colony Railroad Co.	25	4,200.00
Southern Pacific Company	375	46,494.38
		$ 63,149.38

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[1] The market value on March 31, 1933, was $299,655.00.

[2] The market value on March 31, 1933, was $84,247.50.

Public Utility		
American Telephone and Telegraph Co.	255	$ 31,265.62
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	100	6,192.50
Detroit Edison Co.	18	1,525.50
New England Telephone and Telegraph Co.	60	5,850.00
Western Massachusetts Companies	197	12,483.75
Western Union Telegraph Co.	40	4,657.50
		$ 61,974.87
Industrial		
General Electric Co.	940	$ 16,156.88
General Electric Co., special	10	0
Pacific Mills	400	19,860.00
Pullman, Inc.	50	4,316.25
United Fruit Co.	263	10,858.25
United States Steel Corp'n	200	30,950.00
		$82,141.38
Real Estate		
Boston Ground Rent Trust	100	$ 11,775.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	60	6,720.00
Boston Wharf Co.	125	13,800.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	410.00
Western Real Estate Trustees	100	18,370.00
		$ 51,075.00
Insurance and Banks		
Boston Insurance Co.	20	$ 6,600.00
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	24,332.50
Second National Bank of Boston	200	13,500.00
		$ 44,432.50
Total Common Stocks		$302,773.13 [3]
Total Stocks (common and preferred)		$462,590.38 [4]

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31, 1933

Resources:		
Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$ 1,151.28	
Petty cash on hand at 1154 Boylston St.	200.00	$ 1,351.28
Investments — Bonds	$392,518.43	
— Stocks	462,590.38	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,452.29	856,561.10
Real Estate		97,990.32
Deferred Charges: Prepaid insurance	$ 1,263.25	
Prepaid publications	2,133.51	
Prepaid photostat material	336.05	
Prepaid postage	108.76	3,841.57
Accounts Receivable		607.35
		$960,351.62
Liabilities:		
Funds — Principal (Ellis House Fund not included)	$780,412.20	
Funds — Income (Five Year Income Fund not included)	18,728.87	
Five Year Income Fund	1,368.03	$800,509.10
Carry forward		$800,509.10

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[3] The market value on March 31, 1933, was $146,484.75.

[4] The market value on March 31, 1933, was $230,732.25.

Brought forward	$800,509.10
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston St.	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve[5]	60,671.20
Gain and Loss	725.80
Accounts Payable	455.20
	$960,351.62[5]

Investment Account

Balance, March 31, 1932				$777,565.42
Acquired by purchase:				
Bonds:				
$11,000	Boston Met. Dist. T. E. ser. B 4¾'s, Mar. 1, 1962	$10,565.55		
10,000	U. S. Fourth Liberty 4¼'s, Oct. 15, 1933–38	10,362.50		
10,000	New York City 4½'s, May 1, 1957	9,100.00		
14,000	Standard Oil Co. of N. J. deb. 5's, Dec. 15, 1946	14,636.68		
16,000	American Sugar Ref. Co. 6's, Jan. 1, 1937	16,846.38		
10,000	Detroit Edison Co. gen. & ref. 5's, Oct. 1, 1952	9,950.00	$71,461.11	
Acquired by bequest under the will of Henry Winchester Cunningham:				
Stocks:				
55 shs.	American Tel. & Tel. Co.	$ 5,891.87		
20 "	Boston Insurance Co.	6,600.00		
40 "	Boston & Providence R. R. Corp'n	5,140.00		
18 "	Detroit Edison Co.	1,525.50		
100 "	Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, 4½% prior preference	6,050.00		
540 "	General Electric Co.	8,100.00		
60 "	New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5,850.00	39,157.37	
Acquired through distribution by General Electric Co.:				
157 shs.	Radio Corp'n of America, com.		0	
	Book value of securities acquired, 1932–33		$110,618.48	
Called, matured, or sold:				
Bonds:				
$ 7,000	New England Tel. & Tel. Co. 5's, Oct. 1, 1932	$ 7,000.00		
10,000	Detroit Edison Co. 5's, Oct. 1, 1952	9,950.00		
10,000	Detroit Edison Co. 5's, Jan. 1, 1933	9,500.00		
6,000	American Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's Jan. 1, 1937	6,018.50		
	Book value of securities disposed of, 1932–33		32,468.50	
	Increase in book value of securities		$ 78,149.98	
	Less amortization of premiums on bonds		606.59	77,543.39
Balance, March 31, 1933				$855,108.81

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[5] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

Gains and Losses on Sales of Securities for the Year ended March 31, 1933

	Book Value	Sales	Gains
Gains:			
Bonds:			
$10,000 Detroit Edison Co. 5's, 1933	$ 9,500.00	$10,000.00	$500.00
10,000 Detroit Edison Co. 5's, 1952	9,950.00	10,044.30	94.30
6,000 Am. Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's, 1937 . . .	6,018.50	6,150.00	131.50
	$25,468.50	$26,194.30	
Total Gains			$725.80

No losses through sales.

Amortization

$10,000 Boston & Albany R. R. 5's, 1938	$ 25.00	
10,000 Chicago & Northwestern Rwy. 4¾'s, 1947	10.00	
10,000 Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951	4.00	
5,000 Dedham Water Co. 5's, 1935	12.50	
5,000 Illinois Power & Light Corp'n 6's, 1953	10.00	
15,000 City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	56.00	
10,000 U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼'s, 1933–38	127.64	
16,000 American Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's, 1937	315.88	
14,000 Standard Oil Co. of N. J. 5's, 1946	45.57	
		$606.59

Funds Principal Accounts for the Year ended March 31, 1933

Added:	Royalties	Gifts	Income	
Adams	$127.41			$127.41
Anonymous			$ 763.81	763.81
Building Annex			2,495.65	2,495.65
Henry Winchester Cunningham . .		$50,000.00		50,000.00
Lodge			52.43	52.43
J. L. Sibley			2,891.41	2,891.41
Frederic Winthrop		25,000.00		25,000.00
	$127.41	$75,000.00	$6,203.30	
Increase in Funds Principal balances				$ 81,330.71
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1932				724,081.49
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1933				$805,412.20

Receipts and Disbursements for the Year ended March 31, 1933

Receipts:			
Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on bonds bought		$36,976.98	
Interest on bank balances, other than savings accounts . .		22.10	
Interest on H. W. Cunningham bequest		928.24	$ 37,927.32
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			1,050.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			127.41
Cash portion of H. W. Cunningham legacy			10,842.63
Frederic Winthrop legacy			25,000.00
Securities sold, called, or matured:	Bonds	$33,194.30	
	Stocks	0	33,194.30
			$108,141.66
Cash on hand, March 31, 1932			568.75
			$108,710.41

Disbursements:

Net operating expenses, as shown in schedule		$31,104.30	
Adjustment by reason of "Accounts Payable" and "Accounts Receivable"		152.15	$ 31,256.45
Repayment on 31 days' loan			1,000.00
Deferred charges, prepaid items			3,841.57
Securities acquired	Bonds	$71,461.11	
	Stocks	0	71,461.11
			$107,559.13
Cash on hand, March 31, 1933			1,151.28
			$108,710.41

Income Summary for the Year ended March 31, 1933

Receipts:

Income from securities		$37,702.81	
Less:			
Accrued interest on securities bought	$725.83		
Amortization of bond premiums	606.59	1,332.42	
		$36,370.39	
Interest on bank balances		22.10	
Interest credited by Savings Banks		49.97	
Five Year Income Fund		1,050.00	
Interest on H. W. Cunningham bequest, $50,000 @ 4%, October 27, 1931, to April 13, 1932	$922.22		
and on $10,842.63 @ 4%, April 13, 1932, to April 18, 1932	6.02	928.24	$38,420.70

Deduct income added to cumulative funds:

Anonymous Centenary	$ 763.81	
Building Annex	2,495.65	
Lodge	52.43	
J. L. Sibley	2,891.41	6,203.30
Current Income available for operating expenses, including Five Year Income Fund		$32,217.40
Operating Expenses (net) charged to Funds Income		31,104.30
Unexpended current income:		
So far as derived from Funds Income	$ 63.10	
Five Year Income Fund	1,050.00	$ 1,113.10

Net Operating Expenses for the Year ended March 31, 1933

Bindery:			
Salary		$ 1,414.29	
Supplies		8.46	$ 1,422.75
Building:			
Cleaning:			
Janitor, H. C. Fuller	$1,668.15		
Labor, H. C. Fuller	294.39		
Supplies	54.96		
Towels	88.89		
Vacation and illness supply	38.00		
Windows, floors, etc.	86.40	$ 2,230.79	
Carry forward		$ 2,230.79	$ 1,422.75

Brought forward		$ 2,230.79	$ 1,422.75
Electricity for elevator and light		218.17	
Elevator, insurance included		134.37	
Furnishings, care, replacement		61.85	
Grounds, care, etc.		43.38	
Heating:			
Gas for heating water	$ 20.28		
Gas heater, repairs	.50		
Heating contract	1,100.00		
Radiator valve	6.00		
	$1,126.78		
Less credit	.02	1,126.76	
Insurance:			
Fire, building and contents	$ 554.49		
General liability, compensation	137.87	692.36	
		$ 4,507.68	
Less debits to " Prepaid Items "		1,263.25	
		$ 3,244.43	
Repairs		1.50	
Telephone		180.79	
Water		23.00	3,449.72
Cabinet			52.46
Editor Emeritus, Editor, Acting Editor, and Assistant			7,599.97
Engrossing: diplomas			2.00
Fares			10.70
Legal expenses, J. M. Wilbur case			44.22
Library:			
Binding		$ 12.00	
Equipment		85.53	
Librarian and staff		10,312.56	
Purchases, books, serials, etc.		1,008.62	
Shipping		43.24	
Supplies, net amount		62.56	11,524.51
Meetings			136.52
Photostat:			
Binding		$ 318.00	
Cleaning:			
Photostat room	$ 3.60		
Towels	88.86	92.46	
Collection charges		.75	
Electricity, Federal tax included		218.17	
Gas for heating water, and repairs		83.12	
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,550.03	
Purchases:			
Chemicals	$ 124.98		
Negatives, etc.	17.82		
Sensitized paper, etc.	2,656.97		
	$2,799.77		
" Accounts Payable "	455.20	3,254.97	
Repairs and replacement		25.18	
Shipping		37.11	
Supplies, Hewitt tube, etc.		18.42	
Water		69.00	
Carry forward		$ 6,667.21	$24,242.85

Brought forward		$ 6,667.21	$24,242.85
Less sales:			
Collected	$4,653.25		
" Accounts Receivable "	582.95	5,236.20	
		$ 1,431.01	
" Prepaid Items "	$ 336.05		
Cash discount	.10		
Transfer, Library negatives	166.60	502.75	928.26
Postage		$ 266.58	
Less " Prepaid Items "		108.76	157.82
Publications:			
House Journals, Vol. 13 (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income):			
Composition, etc.	$1,693.00		
Portrait, shipping, etc.	145.36		
Volume change, two instead of one	136.00		
	$1,974.36		
Less sales	822.20	$ 1,152.16	
Proceedings, Vol. 64 (Peabody Fund Income):			
Alterations	$ 493.45		
Binding, etc.	311.00		
Collection charges	.85		
Composition, press work, etc.	2,281.86		
Illustrations	238.54		
Separates, additional proofs, etc	654.54		
Shipping	83.83		
	$4,064.07		
Less credits, gifts, sales	302.46	3,761.61	
Proceedings, Vol. 65 (Waterston No. 3 Fund Income):			
Composition, etc.	$ 133.79		
Less debit to " Prepaid Items "	133.79	0	
John L. Sibley's " Sketches of Harvard Graduates " continuation (J. L. Sibley Fund Income):			
Vol. 4			
C. K. Shipton, research, etc.	$ 616.73		
Other searchers	194.52		
Vol. 5			
C. K. Shipton, research, etc.	760.07		
Other searchers	428.40		
	$1,999.72		
Less debits to " Prepaid Items "	1,999.72	0	
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 2 (Robert Winthrop Fund Income):			
Cartons	$ 2.49		
Research on errata	164.25		
	$ 166.74		
Less sales, collected and uncollected	122.40	44.34	
Sundry collections charges		.20	
Volumes purchased for stock		40.00	
		$ 4,998.31	
Less sales of sundry issues		309.60	4,688.71
Stationery			73.88
Carry forward			$30,091.52

Brought forward		$30,091.52
Subscriptions:		
Bay State Historical League	$ 2.00	
" Writings on American History "	50.00	52.00
Treasurer:		
Accounting services	$ 600.00	
Audit of Accounts, April, 1932	54.83	
State Street Trust Co., agency fee	193.29	
Sundry supplies	64.94	
Surety bond, premium	25.00	
Tax on checks	6.42	
Typing	4.40	
Voucher boxes	11.90	960.78
Total Net Operating Expenses		$31,104.30

Schedule of Funds Principal and Funds Income
March 31, 1933

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1932	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1933	Funds Principal
Adams		$ 2,115.53	$ 2,115.53		$ 43,494.20
Amory		146.35	146.35		3,000.00
Appleton		595.29	595.29		12,203.00
Bigelow		97.56	97.56		2,000.00
Billings		487.82	487.82		10,000.00
Boit	$ 3,173.10	243.91		$ 3,417.01	5,000.00
Brattle Street	100.74	7.57		108.31	100.00
Chamberlain		60.12	60.12		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		3,271.64	3,271.64		50,000.00
Dowse		487.82	487.82		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	3,544.53	1,219.56[6]	1,152.16	3,611.93	25,000.00
Ellis		1,544.77	1,544.77		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		243.91	243.91		5,000.00
Five Year Income	318.03	1,050.00		1,368.03	
Frothingham		146.35	146.35		3,000.00
General		2,830.05	2,830.05		58,013.66
Hunnewell	6,394.88	243.91	25.00	6,613.79	5,000.00
Lawrence		146.35	146.35		3,000.00
Lodge		209.68	209.68		5,425.48
Lowell		146.35	146.35		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		97.56	86.53	11.03	2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		487.82	487.82		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		487.82	487.82		10,000.00
Parker	201.58	42.40		243.98	1,000.00
Peabody	916.02	1,079.21	3,452.01	−1,456.78	22,123.00
Salisbury		243.91	243.91		5,000.00
Savage	497.17	292.69	279.40	510.46	6,000.00
Schouler		139.03	139.03		2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		243.91	243.91		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,098.06	1,098.06		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	672.40	8,674.23	7,813.82	1,532.81	239,978.61
Slafter		48.78	48.78		1,000.00
Smith		731.73	731.73		15,000.00
Warren		48.78	48.78		1,000.00
Washburn		121.96	121.96		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,325.20	243.91	125.00	3,444.11	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	864.15	487.82		1,351.97	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	1,493.28	487.82		1,981.10	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−2,528.70	189.04		−2,339.66	3,875.14
Frederic Winthrop					25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	11.42	731.73	1,044.34	−301.19	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		585.39	585.39		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		115.35	115.35		2,364.66
William Winthrop		243.91	243.91		5,000.00
	$18,983.80	$32,217.40	$31,104.30	$20,096.90	$735,336.22
Anonymous		763.81[7]			16,421.43
Building Annex		2,495.65[7]			53,654.55
Lodge		52.43[7]			
J. L. Sibley		2,891.41[7]			
Total Funds Income		$38,420.70			
Total Funds Principal					$805,412.20

[6] Does not include $822.20 representing sales of House Journals, 13.

[7] This income included in Funds Principal in right-hand column.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

ALLAN FORBES
JOHN WOODBURY
Committee

April 12, 1933

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 12, 1933

MESSRS. ALLAN FORBES AND JOHN WOODBURY,
Examining Committee

Dear Sirs:

At your request I hereby certify that I have audited the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1933. I find that all payments have been posted, and they are supported by the proper vouchers, and receipts entered and deposited. The schedule of investments I compared with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company, and they agreed.

Respectfully yours,
E. E. JOBLING
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The growth of the library during the past year has been as good as circumstances would permit. Nearly two thousand titles have been received, and more than one hundred broadsides and maps. With these additions have come gifts and deposits of valuable manuscript material reported in detail at the regular monthly meetings. Noteworthy among these is the gift from the Lucy Jackson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of the papers of Samuel Brown, United States naval agent at Boston in the early years of the last century, relating to the repairs on the frigate *Constitution* and other vessels at the navy yard. Other important papers may be mentioned: those of Thomas Lamb, Boston merchant, given by Mrs. Horatio A. Lamb; those of the business houses of Cabot and of Perkins, given by Henry L. Shattuck and greatly extending the recent gift from George E. Cabot of similar papers of a century and a half ago. Within a few days Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford of Wellesley Hills has placed in the care of the

Society the journals and correspondence of her late husband, long a Resident Member of the Society.

Thus our large collection of source material is steadily becoming a richer depository, which is being sought by students and researchers from all parts of this country and elsewhere. On one summer day alone twelve such inquirers spent the day with us and found their research satisfied through the resourcefulness of your library staff. But the catalog of our valuable collection should promptly give all the needed information. With the increasing number of additions through these recent years, and with only one person assigned to index the manuscripts, it is impossible to keep this service complete to date. There is enough material waiting to take the time of an additional helper for at least ten years to catch up. The late Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck paid for a capable person during nearly two years to index his family collections of the Caleb Davis and the Shattuck papers, more than eighty volumes in all. This matter may await good times for its accomplishment. In the meantime, the projected handbook of manuscripts will be a welcome source of information.

At this critical period in the Society's history the printed part of our library is in need of many good historical and biographical works, to be at the ready use of the Editor and also to meet the varied demands of the daily searchers. An urgent appeal is made to members to give such volumes as they can for this purpose. Several members are already making numerous contributions, and their efforts are greatly appreciated. The Librarian would also be grateful for any suggestions which may lead to the gift or deposit of family collections. Oftentimes a chance bit of information may lead us to the discovery and securing of a valuable lot of papers.

Another valuable source of additions to the library, in both printed and manuscript pieces, is the Society's photostat. During the year 31,427 impressions have been made, with total cash receipts for prints furnished of nearly five thousand dollars, and with an addition to the library of inestimable value. Two notable series of prints have already been completed: the Americana Series, on July 1, 1930, consisting of 261 numbers, and the *Boston News-Letter,* 1704–1776, including all the known issues of the paper, on January 10, 1933, both together bringing into the Society's treasury nearly one half the cost of the photostat during its twenty years of existence. These issues and the other extensive output of the two machines measure up to a great opportunity for service to historical scholarship and to our collection as well. Many rare or unique titles are thus obtained where it is impossible to secure, or difficult to consult, the original.

The bindery continues to do excellent service. Photostats received are trimmed, arranged in convenient cases, properly labelled, and kept with the manuscript and printed material. The Sedgwick papers have been arranged and placed in cases made for the purpose, and the papers of Thomas Lamb are in process of treatment in the same way. The large number of photostats of Winthrop papers owned by other libraries and individuals have been similarly arranged in cases and added to our collection of Winthrop originals. Much important work has been done in backing broken and fragile manuscripts, in making labels, in repairing books, printed and manuscript, and in arranging and tipping in manuscripts for binding. The backing and repairing of torn photographs and engravings are timely in their helpfulness. The sixteenth-century volume on alchemy in the Winthrop collection, whose pages have long been weakened by slow disintegration, is having both sides of each leaf covered with silk.

The steady demand in the research work done in the library has drawn upon the staff for a large amount of time and of patient, painstaking service. The telephone, too, has brought many calls for much needed and important information. Typical subjects of study have been the lives of Tutor Henry Flynt, Thomas Mayhew, Noah Webster, Fisher Ames, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Richard Henry Dana, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Jefferson Davis, Edward Everett, Henry T. Tuckerman, John Davis Long, and Henry Cabot Lodge; religious views in the American Revolution; activities of New England radicals before the same period; constitutional history of the American colonies; colonial diaries before 1750; colonial newspapers; the federal constitution; Boston bankers and capitalists; shipping and commerce in New England after the War of 1812; and Robert Rantoul and the Whigs.

To all the varied demands upon them, my associates have responded with their usual loyal interest and devotion.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions of twenty-one medals to the general collection, and eleven to the Massachusetts part; also two bills, one a very rare Massachusetts bill of 1789 for advance pay to officers. He also states that he is trying to assemble as much as he can of the scrip issued during the bank holiday.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected: —

PRESIDENT
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

VICE-PRESIDENTS
HENRY LEFAVOUR
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

RECORDING SECRETARY
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

TREASURER
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

LIBRARIAN
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

CABINET-KEEPER
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
CLARENCE HENRY HARING
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM
GEORGE READ NUTTER
HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Mr. ALLAN NEVINS read a paper entitled " The Disputed Election of 1876."

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 11, 1933, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Newton Mackintosh of Roxbury, a collection of manuscripts, 1753–1914, comprising mainly the papers of William Bentley Fowle (1795–1865), noted educator.

From Mrs. Dudley L. Pickman of Boston, a letter-book, 1806–1835, of her grandfather, William R. Rodman of New Bedford.

From Francis H. Bigelow of Cambridge, a letter of Theodore S. Woolsey, November 6, 1914.

From Miss Margaret E. Allen of Brookline, by deposit, the papers of the Joseph Allen family of Northborough, and of the Henry Ware family of Cambridge, 1782–1881.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Davenport Brown of Boston, seven pieces of French paper money.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary reported the receipt of letters from SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from BERNARD FAŸ, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected William Leonard Langer of Cambridge a Resident Member.

It was *voted,* that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, LAWRENCE S. MAYO, HENRY W. FOOTE, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* WORTHINGTON C. FORD, JULIUS H. TUTTLE, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Library: CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Chairman;* DANIEL B. UPDIKE and KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

House: JOHN WOODBURY, *Chairman;* ALLEN FRENCH and JOHN W. FARLOW.

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES F. ADAMS.

Meetings: STEWART MITCHELL, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART and CLAUDE M. FUESS.

Mr. THEODORE CLARKE SMITH read a paper on

SECRETARY OLNEY'S REAL CREDIT IN THE VENEZUELA AFFAIR

A recent writer on world disarmament has observed that international conferences of all kinds are hampered by "a popular tendency to foreshorten the view and romanticize the action of a diplomatic gathering." "The public," he continued, "aided and abetted by the press, tends to disregard everything except conclusions and plenty of them, and to get peevish at the necessary processes of reaching agreement."[1] The same comment might be applied to the habitual attitude of the American public towards any international dealings, an attitude which seems to have communicated itself to most American historians, for with few exceptions they minimize the diplomatic aspect of any foreign relations and limit themselves to discussing the merits of the question and the nature of the outcome. At the same time they eagerly seize upon any striking sentences or aggressive words which can be used for "human interest," and not infrequently end by exalting them into an altogether false prominence.

It is this inveterate habit of dramatizing diplomacy that has allowed the single sentence of Charles Francis Adams concerning the consequences of permitting the Laird rams to sail, to obscure in popular histories everything else in his long and extraordinary career in England during the Civil War. It has made the fame of Blaine rest on a defiant observation concerning Bismarck or a haughty retort to the Italian government, to the obscuration of his actual achievements in the Samoan and Italian lynching affairs. It has established the legend of Roosevelt's "calling down the Kaiser" in the Venezuela affair of 1902–1903 when there is grave doubt whether any such episode took place, but every reason, on the contrary, to credit Roosevelt with wise and successful diplomacy in the same connection.

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[1] Denys P. Myers, *World Disarmament* (Boston, 1932), 19, 20.

In the case of the Venezuelan crisis of 1895–1896 between the United States and Great Britain, this tendency has led to the creation of a legend which differs so widely from the actual diplomatic history of the affair that it has seemed worth while to review it in the following pages for the sake of placing the negotiations in a more accurate perspective and rescuing the actual achievement of Secretary Richard Olney from undeserved oblivion.

Olney appears in our histories almost solely as a man who put forth extravagant claims of American pre-eminence in the Western Hemisphere in his Venezuela note of 1895, thus establishing what has been called the Olney Doctrine — an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. The tale as it appears in practically every recent history includes a brief introductory summary of the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela with emphasis upon the refusal of the British to arbitrate. It then dwells at length upon Olney's dispatch of July 20, 1895, in which he asserted that the Monroe Doctrine, plus the practically sovereign position of the United States on the American continent, entitled it to insist that Great Britain arbitrate the dispute. On this dispatch opinions differ. Some writers condemn it as extravagant, boastful, and undiplomatic; more approve its "sturdy Americanism" and justify its logic. The narrative then considers Salisbury's notes in reply, in which he rejected Olney's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and again refused to arbitrate, usually terming them supercilious and offensive. Next we hear how Cleveland, taking up Olney's position, asserted that it was the right and the duty of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine to protect Venezuela and that, since Great Britain refused to arbitrate, it must itself take steps to find the true boundary and maintain it at whatever cost. Here again discussion turns on the logic, wisdom, and real purpose of Cleveland.

The narrative next describes the outbreak of Anglophobia in the American press and in Congress and the amazement and even consternation in England, following which it usually points out that the uproar over the Jameson raid and the Kruger telegram of the Kaiser turned British anger eastward and induced the government to yield. Then it comes to a sudden stop. Here is an example of the way a recent text-book ends the story. "Salisbury, in chastened mood, informed Bayard, the American minister in London, that he had empowered Sir Julian Pauncefote, British minister at Washington, to discuss the question either with the representative of Venezuela or with the Government of the United States, acting as the friend of Venezuela. He thus conceded the whole American contention."[2]

In a dozen books which I have examined, including some specifically devoted to diplomatic history, substantially this same narrative is told. The affair is treated as an effort of the United States to assert its prestige, and the end is always described as the submission of Salisbury to our demand for arbitration. One writer says, for example:

> The decision of the tribunal which met in Paris gave a large part of the disputed area to Great Britain and this occasioned further criticism of President Cleveland's action in bringing the United States and England to the verge of war on what was termed an academic issue. The award was a matter of secondary importance. The principle for which the United States contended was vindicated when Great Britain agreed to arbitrate. It was a great triumph of American diplomacy to force Great Britain just at this time to recognize in fact, if not in words, the Monroe Doctrine. . . .[3]

It is unquestionably true that this way of regarding the affair does emphasize one unique feature — the calmness of Great Britain under provocation and the resulting enhancement of American prestige. No one will be disposed to question the importance of this aspect in the history of Anglo-American relations or of Latin American relations with the United States. Still less will one undervalue the significance of this new British attitude as a turning point in the history of British foreign policy. At the same time it is true that to focus one's attention on this one aspect to the exclusion of all else is to ignore the real nature of the dispute between the two countries, and to pass over the manner in which a solution was actually reached. In other words, it takes a general, journalistic view of the episode and omits to consider it for what it was — a stubborn diplomatic contest, in which the Cleveland message was only one step, important no doubt, but not contributing directly to the final outcome. Let us turn then to the actual situation.[4]

The first thing to notice is the nature of the dispute. There had never been any legally defined boundary between the Dutch colony in South America and the Spanish territory to the westward of it. When Great Britain annexed the western part of Dutch Guiana, and when the republic of Venezuela came into existence somewhat later, these two powers inherited the uncertainty. In 1840 an element of definiteness was injected into the affair by an effort of the British to lay down a boundary line which seemed to them fair and reasonable, known, from the man who made it, as the Schomburgk line. This was not claimed to be a legal line but simply a definite basis for a claim. It covered about what the English supposed the Dutch to have occupied. After forty years, however, this line came to assume in English minds the character of a settled thing, and to be spoken of by the Foreign Office as not open to further discussion. This last attitude was greatly strengthened by the circumstance that the Venezuelan government, doubtless as a diplomatic move, laid claim to the territory as far east as the Essequibo River, which included two thirds of the British colony. When the Venezuelan government repeatedly demanded a settlement of the problem by arbitration, the British government refused, naturally, to consider any submission of the extreme Venezuelan claim to arbitrators, and put forward the Schomburgk line as the eastern limit of the territory they were willing to submit.

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[2] Paul L. Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Time* (New York, 1920), 221.

[3] John H. Latané, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1927), 488.

[4] A full analysis of the problem as it appeared in American eyes is in Grover Cleveland, *Presidential Problems* (New York, 1904), 173–257.

This would not have seemed unreasonable had it not been for sundry steps taken by the British Colonial Office just before 1886, of such a character as to stir wild rage in Venezuela and to lead that government to make fervent appeals to the United States. In the official figures for British Guiana, published in 1885, its area was given as 76,000 square miles. A year later, without any explanation, it was swelled to 108,000 square miles, and presently it appeared that a British claim was being laid to the area drained by two rivers, western affluents of the Essequibo, covering a wide sweep of territory, in which, it was promptly rumored, gold had been discovered. A series of official acts indicated that the British colonial authorities intended to enforce this claim. A short time later, in 1889, a point near the mouth of the Orinoco River, hitherto a mere paper claim east of the Schomburgk line, was officially announced to be English territory.

The Venezuelan government, year after year, poured upon the resident United States minister and upon the State Department at Washington their complaints against this British encroachment and against the British refusal to arbitrate upon any terms that did not exclude the Venezuelan claims east of the Schomburgk line, while giving to the British a chance to get some, at least, of the region they were now claiming. This British position led the republic to break off relations in 1887, so that unless the United States should use its influence to bring about some sort of agreement, the situation was at a hopeless deadlock. Meanwhile the British presumably were extending their occupancy of the land "grabbed" in 1886.

What was the policy of the United States and upon what was it based? Upon being appealed to by Venezuela, the American secretaries of state from Bayard onwards made brief and courteous representations to the British Foreign Office, of which the following, in a dispatch from Blaine to Robert T. Lincoln, is a typical example:

> Mr. Lincoln is instructed to use his good offices with Lord Salisbury to bring about the resumption of diplomatic intercourse . . . as a preliminary step towards the settlement of the boundary dispute by arbitration. . . . He is requested to propose to Lord Salisbury, . . . that informal conference be had in Washington or London of representatives of the three powers. In such conference the position of the United States is one solely of impartial friendship toward both litigants.[5]

There was no hint of any special American interest in the welfare of Venezuela, much less of any compulsion arising from the Monroe Doctrine. After the British action of 1886–1887 the American notes began to display increasing disquietude and to raise somewhat pointed questions as to the British position. Bayard, while still assuming to be neutral, made the following observation in a dispatch of February, 1888, which, by the way, was never presented but was published and served to indicate the American attitude. After noting the sudden extension of the British claims he instructed Edward J. Phelps, the American minister, to "express apprehension lest the widening pretensions of British Guiana to possess territory over which Venezuelan jurisdiction has never heretofore been disputed may not diminish the chances for practical settlement."[6] Blaine and Gresham followed, growing increasingly concerned. The latter commented with some asperity upon Salisbury's and Rosebery's declarations that Great Britain would arbitrate only west of the Schomburgk line. "I can not believe Her Majesty's Government will maintain that the validity of their claim to territory long in dispute . . . shall be conceded as a condition precedent to the arbitration of a question whether Venezuela is entitled to other territory which, until a very recent period, was never in doubt."[7]

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[5] Blaine to Lincoln, May 1, 1890. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (1890), 337.

[6] Bayard to Phelps, February 17, 1888. *Foreign Relations* (1888), 699.

Simultaneously with this note from Gresham, President Cleveland, in his annual message, December 3, 1894, announced his purpose to continue working for arbitration between Great Britain and Venezuela,[8] and Congress later in the session passed a joint resolution "earnestly recommending" arbitration to the consideration of both the parties. In neither the message nor the resolution, any more than in the dispatches of Bayard, Blaine, or Gresham, was there any intimation that the position of the United States was due to any peculiar national duty arising under the Monroe Doctrine or otherwise. This country was acting simply in the interests of equity.

During the same period the replies of the British foreign secretaries uniformly waved the matter aside, stating briefly the same position as to arbitration that they constantly expressed to the Venezuelan representatives. A quotation from Lord Kimberley, foreign secretary in 1895, may serve as a typical reply: ". . . that although Her Majesty's Government were ready to go to arbitration as to a certain portion of the territory, . . . they could not consent to any departure from the Schomburgk line."[9]

A wholly new element was injected into the discussion by Olney, who became secretary of state in June, 1895, after Gresham's death, and who attacked the Venezuela question as his first task. Olney's biographer shows that he did this at Cleveland's request, and that, from his study of the correspondence and the Venezuelan protests, he came to hold a thoroughgoing distrust of British sincerity in the whole affair, and to feel strong indignation at the apparent British intention to keep, whatever the circumstances, every foot of land which had been claimed. What particularly irritated him was the manoeuvre of 1886–1887, which struck him as a barefaced seizure of land to which a weaker power had fully as good a claim, if not a better one. Under the sway of these feelings he wrote the famous dispatch of July 20, 1895, in which he invoked the rights of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine as entitling him to insist that Great Britain forthwith arbitrate the whole boundary controversy. The manner in which he endeavored to characterize the British policy as equivalent to conquest was a lawyer's effort to bring an act within the scope of a penal statute. After mentioning the British refusal to arbitrate except upon the condition that everything within the Schomburgk line be excluded, he used the following strong language:

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[7] Gresham to Bayard, December 1, 1894. *Foreign Relations* (1894), 252.

[8] *Foreign Relations* (1894), x.

[9] *British Parliamentary Papers* (1896), *United States*. No. 1. 5.

> It is not perceived how such an attitude can be defended nor how it is reconcilable with that love of justice and fair play so eminently characteristic of the English race. It in effect deprives Venezuela of her free agency and puts her under virtual duress. Territory acquired by reason of it will be as much wrested from her by the strong hand as if occupied by British troops or covered by British fleets. It seems therefore quite impossible that this position of Great Britain should be assented to by the United States, or that, if such position be adhered to with the result of enlarging the bounds of British Guiana, it should not be regarded as amounting, in substance, to an invasion and conquest of Venezuelan territory.[10]

He closed by instructing Bayard to call for " a definite decision upon the point whether Great Britain will consent or decline to submit the Venezuelan boundary in its entirety to impartial arbitration."

The sensational part of the message was, of course, the assertion of American rights under the Monroe Doctrine, but anyone can see that they were merely brought in to reinforce what had hitherto been only a request but was now turned into a demand — that England consent to arbitrate the boundary claims on an absolutely equal basis for the purpose of getting the recent " annexations " before impartial judges. It was not, as is often now stated, a demand that Great Britain recognize the Monroe Doctrine, nor was it a demand that it take the matter up with the United States.

Bayard presented this fierce note with some trepidation, but Salisbury listened with perfect coolness, remarked that it raised questions upon which he must consult the law officers of the Crown, and apparently pigeonholed it, for he let over four months pass before making any reply. This delay undoubtedly counted heavily in rendering Olney and Cleveland exasperated, since Olney had expressed a strong wish to get the British answer before the meeting of Congress in December.[11] It was not until December 7 that Pauncefote handed to Olney two notes dated November 26.

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[10] Olney to Bayard, July 20, 1895. *Foreign Relations* (1895), 561–562.

The first one dealt with the Monroe Doctrine, which Salisbury had no difficulty in showing to be wholly unlike what Olney asserted, and to be, moreover, a pure announcement of American policy, not in any sense " public law." Of course, he said,

> The United States have a right, like any other nation, to interpose in any controversy by which their own interests are affected; and they are the judge whether those interests are touched, and in what measure they should be sustained. But their rights are in no way strengthened or extended by the fact that the controversy affects some territory which is called American.[12]

As for the arbitration demanded by Olney and his predecessors, he showed considerable distrust of the method and doubted its general applicability.

> It has proved itself valuable in many cases; but it is not free from defects. . . . It is not always easy to find an Arbitrator who is competent, and who, at the same time, is wholly free from bias. . . . The only parties who are competent to decide that question are the two parties whose rival contentions are in issue. The claim of a third nation, which is unaffected by the controversy, to impose this particular procedure on either of the two others, cannot be reasonably justified, and has no foundation in the law of nations.[13]

The other note dealt with the Venezuelan boundary question by repeating what previous British foreign secretaries had said and reaffirming the British intention not to permit arbitration of regions which they considered to be British.

> Her Majesty's government . . . certainly have no design to seize territory that properly belongs to her [Venezuela], or forcibly to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population.
>
> They have, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their readiness to submit to arbitration the conflicting claims . . . to large tracts of territory which from their auriferous nature are known to be of almost untold value. But they can not consent to entertain, or to submit to the arbitration of another Power or of foreign jurists, however eminent,

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[11] Henry James, *Richard Olney and His Public Services* (Boston and New York, 1923), 114.

[12] Salisbury to Pauncefote, November 26, 1895. *Foreign Relations* (1895), 566.

[13] *Ibid.*, 565–566.

claims . . . involving the transfer of large numbers of British subjects, who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British Colony, to a nation of different race and language. . . .[14]

There were thus two definite reasons indicated in these dispatches for Lord Salisbury's unwillingness to do what Olney demanded that Great Britain should do — the first, a distrust of arbitration in general, except under ample safeguards; the second, an unwillingness to risk the interests of British settlers in the disputed territory. He further denied the right of any country to require another to accept the process of arbitration. At the same time it is to be noted that he did not specifically deny the right of the United States to act on a matter which it deemed to be of national interest. If Olney and Cleveland had not been so carried away by indignation at Salisbury's stubbornness, they could have noted this admission and acted upon it to renew their pressure on that basis. As it was, Cleveland was so stirred that he took the matter in his own hands and on December 17 sent his famous message to Congress, asking authority to survey and determine the legal boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela entirely on the basis of the rights and duties of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine.[15] By this action the controversy seemed to have been shifted from a boundary difficulty in South America to a direct issue of national will between the two powers on a matter of prestige.

With the newspaper excitement over Cleveland's message, the outburst of anti-British temper in Congress, and the authorization of the American commission for finding the true boundary it is not necessary to deal here. They take the central place in the customary narratives. Nor is it necessary to touch upon the British reaction to the American upheaval, with the vigorous anti-war movements in the press and among members of parliament. They constituted a momentary problem and, if the British government had chosen to maintain a stubborn attitude, might have led to awkward complications on both sides, not only between the countries, but between the Salisbury ministry and parliament, which had no desire for an American war on any such issue. The almost simultaneous explosion of anger against Germany, however, on the issue of the Kaiser's Kruger telegram, and the pressing questions raised by the Jameson raid turned the principal interest of the British public far from Venezuela and enabled the ministry to take steps to clear away the situation into which the two countries had been led.

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[14] *Foreign Relations* (1895), 575.

[15] *Ibid.*, 542–545.

The next stage to consider in this affair is that in which the British leaders coolly and cautiously started to disentangle the snarl and to find a way of satisfying the United States without making any undesirable concessions to Venezuela. We do not yet have the private papers of the leading statesmen involved, but from what they did it is not difficult to surmise their intentions. In the first place they smoothed matters over by what it is now fashionable to call a number of " gestures." Balfour, leader of the commons, Lord Salisbury, prime minister, and Chamberlain, colonial secretary, took occasion to make public statements waving aside the idea of war and expressing confidence in a satisfactory peaceful solution.[16] Next, on February 9, the Foreign Office freely offered material to the Cleveland commission of inquiry, which was supposed to have such hostile intentions, thereby calming tension and indicating a complete absence of resentment.[17]

At the same time they undertook, through indirect and unofficial approaches, to discover some means of bridging the gap between Olney's demands and their own position as heretofore laid down in many official pronouncements. With this they began what is completely passed over in the customary accounts: a diplomatic contest which continued in one form or another until the two sides came to an agreement ten months later. To ignore this is to omit the principal and the decisive element in the whole affair. It was a determined and hard-fought diplomatic battle, involving proposals, counterproposals, elaborate arguments, a great deal of secret diplomacy, the use of the press and of unaccredited agents, and, at the end, something closely approaching intrigue.

It was in this contest that the real test of Olney's abilities had to be met, for he faced the most experienced, skillful, and tenacious of a long line of British statesmen, Lord Salisbury himself, and his task was nothing less than that of forcing the prime minister of Great Britain out of a diplomatic position which he had inherited from his predecessors and on which he himself had taken positive ground in public. No doubt Salisbury, with the rest of the English people, was determined that there should be no war and that a way out should be found, but he was equally determined that in whatever he did or agreed to, he should safeguard what he considered the rights of Englishmen. No American secretary of state ever confronted a more difficult piece of negotiation.

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[16] James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States,* VIII (New York, 1919), 451.

[17] *Foreign Relations* (1895), 576.

The game was opened by Chamberlain, who, on January 12, through Lord Playfair, known to be a friend of the United States and of Bayard, the ambassador, submitted tentative proposals. The first was that a conference be called by the United States for the purpose of establishing the Monroe Doctrine as international law. The other was manifestly an effort to drop the insistence on the Schomburgk line which had so outraged Olney, and permit an arbitration under a reservation which would safeguard British interests in a different way. "Could not," the memorandum ran, "the general condition be accepted that all English and all Venezuelan settlements be excluded from arbitration, but that all the country between the settlements be settled by a Court of Arbitration, and a line be drawn by that court which shall be accepted by both countries? . . . I believe the English Government would accept such a proposal coming from the United States Government."[18]

The proposal was skillfully made, evidently for the purpose of discovering how much weight the United States government really laid on the Monroe Doctrine, and whether they would be satisfied by the elimination of the much-denounced Schomburgk line. But Olney saw in it a number of possible traps. He did not propose to have the Monroe Doctrine taken out of the hands of the United States, and he did not intend to agree to any formula which might be interpreted as preventing the area "grabbed" in 1886 from coming before an arbitral board. In his cabled reply, sent through Bayard and Playfair, he promptly ruled out the Monroe Doctrine, saying: ". . . The United States is content with existing status of Monroe Doctrine, which, as well as its application to said controversy, it regards as completely and satisfactorily accepted by the people of the Western Continents. It does not favor, therefore, proposed conference of powers."[19] With this brief interchange the Monroe Doctrine, over which the American press was fulminating, simply disappeared from the diplomatic situation. It was not again referred to and played no further part in the affair.

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[18] Thomas Wemyss Reid, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair* (New York and London, 1899), 417.

[19] Olney to Bayard, January 14, 1896. James, *Olney*, 229.

The real problem was that of the British proposal to eliminate "settled areas," and to this Olney next addressed himself by proposing as a substitute an arbitration which

> shall explicitly provide that long-continued occupation of territory by Venezuelans or by British subjects shall, with all the attending circumstances, be considered by tribunal of arbitration, and be given all the weight belonging to it in reason and justice, or by the principles of international law. Tribunal to consist of two members of present American Commission, of two persons chosen by Great Britain, and of a fifth agreed upon by the two Governments, or, in case of failure to agree, nominated by. . . .[20]

When this reached Chamberlain, he promptly objected. "It would not be enough," he wrote to Playfair on January 19, "merely to provide that the disputed boundaries should be 'taken into account.' In my view, occupied places and districts ought to be mutually excluded. . . . Assuming that there was agreement on this point, which is a point of principle, it would remain to define 'settlements' and to decide on the Commission." [21] To this Olney rejoined vigorously, January 22: "With sincerest purpose to do so, am unable to comprehend the justice or pertinency of the proposition that mere occupancy shall be decisive of title. The time, character, and all circumstances attending such occupation must necessarily be considered. . . ." [22] He had 1886 in mind.

All this would have been plain enough had not Ambassador Bayard chosen to interpose his own interpretation of the situation and his own view of the methods to be used. Bayard was exceedingly anxious to smooth over the controversy and to obliterate the bad impressions produced by Olney's and Cleveland's hectoring utterances, and when he found himself acting as unofficial intermediary, he deliberately prevented Olney's vigorous and downright language from reaching Chamberlain. He smoothed out Olney's positions, rephrased questions, and even omitted matter that he thought too drastic.[23] Conceiving it to be his task to bridge the gap between the two sides, he tried to find common ground between Chamberlain and Olney by attenuating the latter's utterances. Hence Chamberlain, listening to Playfair's reports, gained

[20] Olney to Bayard, January 14, 1896. *Ibid.*, 229.

[21] Chamberlain to Playfair, January 19, 1896. Reid, *Playfair*, 419. See also Bayard to Olney, January 20, 1896. James, *Olney*, 232.

[22] Olney to Bayard, January 22, 1896. James, *Olney*, 233.

[23] Alfred L. P. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy* (New York, 1928), 38, 39, 45–46.

merely the impression that Olney " was anxious that in the definition of settlement bogus claims should be excluded; but he stated that he quite understood that the principle of exclusion underlay our proposal." [24] Nothing could have been a more complete perversion of Olney's pointed cablegram.

The result was that not a particle of progress was made. Chamberlain became dissatisfied with Bayard's generalities and pressed for a yes-or-no answer. Olney sent increasingly stiff letters, none of which reached Chamberlain owing to Bayard's over-caution. Finally, on February 25, the British colonial secretary in a sharp letter accused Bayard of shifting his ground on the " exclusion of settled districts " and terminated the negotiation.[25] This coming to Olney's knowledge, he retorted with angry instructions to Bayard to deny positively that anything " emanating from this side of the water has given the slightest countenance to the idea that this Government would consider for a moment what Mr. Chamberlain calls the principle of exclusion — which . . . simply means that what Great Britain has already seized, or what her subjects have already squatted upon, she and they shall be allowed to retain. . . ." [26]

If the Playfair mediation was conducted to a somewhat ignominious end, the same was not true of another unofficial negotiation which was started by Olney himself. His biographer tells us that as early as January 22 he began to work through George Smalley, American correspondent of the *Times* (London), supplying him with arguments and information which Smalley transmitted to G. E. Buckle, the London editor, who " put himself in direct communication with Lord Salisbury so that his editorial comments and his private cablegrams to Smalley were understood by Olney to reflect the views of the British Premier." [27] An inspection of the *Times* files shows that Smalley sent dispatches in the last week of January which made it clear just what the American public wished and why it was that nothing but a complete arbitration would be acceptable. On its side the *Times,* as early as January 15, began to say substantially what Chamberlain was suggesting to Bayard: " We may again emphatically repeat that the only point on which the British Government can make no concession is the retention under British sovereignty of bona fide settled districts. If this can be secured there is no reason for standing by the Schomburgk line." [28] This it repeated a week later (January 22) and again two days later with increasing emphasis.

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[24] Reid, *Playfair,* 424.

[25] Chamberlain to Playfair, February 25, 1896. *Ibid.,* 425.

[26] Olney to Bayard, March 6, 1896. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy,* 57.

[27] James, *Olney,* 127–128.

Finally, on January 31, Smalley received for transmission to Olney a cablegram from Buckle which both interpreted as an offer from Salisbury. " Ultimate binding arbitration will be accepted provided that districts which have been *bona-fide* settled say for ten years by either English or Venezuelans were excluded. Note that we make two great concessions, first, practical admission of your right to intervene, second, abandonment of Schomburgk line." [29] This was in substance what Chamberlain had been offering through Playfair, save that a ten-year term for judging "settlements" was set up. On February 6 the *Times* again urged the same plan and in addition called upon Olney to make some definite proposal.

> Expressions of good-will . . . would be of greater practical value if they were accompanied by a substantial movement to meet us half-way. . . . What is the public position of the United States? When we are assured that arbitration on the whole controversy will be welcomed by the United States we are merely brought back to Mr. Olney's dispatch. . . . To renew that demand can hardly be regarded as a concession.[30]

At this point the matter came momentarily into the open when parliament met, February 11, and the ministry felt called upon to reassure British opinion. The queen's speech used the following carefully chosen words about the affair:

> The Government of the United States have expressed a wish to cooperate in terminating differences which have existed for many years between my Government and the Republic of Venezuela upon the boundary between that country and my colony of British Guiana. I have expressed my sympathy with the desire to come to an equitable arrangement, and trust that further negotiation will lead to a satisfactory settlement.[31]

In the debate which followed, Lord Rosebery, leader of the opposition in the House of Lords, and a former foreign secretary, asked Lord Salisbury to explain what lay behind the paragraph already quoted. " Something is evidently going on," he said, " or has gone on, and I for one will not be unduly optimistic in hoping that Her Majesty's Government may have some announcement to make about it even this very evening." [32] Salisbury, who realized how far the unofficial negotiations still were from any sort of agreement, replied in general terms.

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[28] *Times* (London), January 15, 1896.

[29] Buckle to Smalley, January 31, 1896. James, *Olney*, 234–235.

[30] *Times* (London), February 6, 1896.

[31] *Parliamentary Debates*, Series IV, Vol. XXXVII. 3.

> I do not like to go very far into the question the noble Lord has asked as to the state of the negotiations between the two countries, but I have derived an increasing belief during the last few weeks that we shall — it may be after long negotiation — find some settlement of the question which we shall all think satisfactory, and that all danger of conflict will be entirely removed.

In the same speech Salisbury took occasion quietly to eliminate one bugbear. " I do think," he observed, " the bringing in of the Monroe doctrine was, controversially, quite unnecessary for the United States. Considering the position of Venezuela in the Caribbean Sea, it was no more unnatural that the United States should take an interest in it than that we should feel an interest in Holland and Belgium." On the question of unrestricted arbitration he heartily approved of a statement of Rosebery to the effect " that any proposal which, at the will of an arbitrator, might hand 40,000 British subjects over to the Republic of Venezuela could not be accepted in this country." All he was willing to say as to a possible solution was this cautious sentence: " But I believe that means may be found by the combination of negotiation and arbitration to bring matters which are not really very recondite or difficult to a settlement." [33]

With this debate and with Salisbury's utterances the acute phase of the affair was terminated. It was manifest that Great Britain did not intend to take offence and was ready to welcome, on some undefined terms, American participation. But the difficulties as to methods still remained unsolved, and over them unofficial interchanges continued.

In answer to the suggestion of the *Times* in this veiled negotiation Olney now furnished Smalley with the substance of his arbitration plan of January 15, and the latter's report of it was taken by the *Times* as a definite American proposal.[34] The editorials which followed show clear signs of having been inspired by Salisbury. One spoke favorably of the plan but balked at the idea of a final arbiter: " What we feel very strongly, and what any sovereign state in our position would feel very strongly, is that it is a very hard measure to hand over to any arbitrator the disposal of the property and the whole existence of thousands of our fellow subjects." After speaking favorably of the proposal for a preliminary inquiry by a joint commission, it ended by saying: " General arbitration could never, any more than partial, induce either England or the United States to forego the right of sovereign States to define by negotiation the case to be submitted to the arbitrators." [35]

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[32] *Parliamentary Debates,* Series IV, Vol. XXXVII. 42.

[33] *Ibid.*, 53.

[34] *Times* (London), February 17, 1896.

Shortly after this the *Times,* still presumably reflecting Salisbury's views, had a leading article which impelled Olney to a new step. The *Times* said, after dwelling on the value of the American correspondence: " The Press has done its share; it is for the diplomatists to complete the good work the journals have begun and pushed forward until now. . . . By diplomatic usage the next move rests with Mr. Olney. It is for him to resume the correspondence. . . . The main lines of the proposal which the Government of the United States are ready to submit for our acceptance are clear." It then summarized the Smalley version of Olney's plan but assumed that the provision for a final arbiter could be regarded as withdrawn or " relatively unimportant." It assumed that there could be an agreement in advance upon some satisfactory definition of settled districts: " If these are the views of the Washington administration, as there is every reason to suppose them to be, it is only requisite to embody them in a dispatch and send them to our Government as speedily as possible." It also suggested Washington as the proper place for negotiations and, directly reproducing Salisbury's views, proposed that the commission begin work at once.[36]

Olney began to feel that the time had come to extricate matters from the increasingly awkward complications of shifting intermediaries and veiled spokesmen. On February 21 he cabled to Bayard noting the above suggestions of the *Times* that negotiations be transferred to Washington and saying it " must obviously be done when basis of settlement is agreed upon but which until then there is no object in doing." [37]

[35] *Ibid.,* February 20, 1896.

[36] *Ibid.,* February 21, 1895.

[37] Olney to Bayard, February 21, 1896. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy,* 40.

On February 27 Olney moved to terminate the indirect dealings by telegraphing Bayard:

> Is the present situation then that Foreign Office takes two positions — first, that settlements must be reserved from arbitration; second, that it refuses to say what it means by settlements? If so, there would seem to be no occasion for or utility in negotiations. Plain that informal negotiations only retard and confuse; plain also that negotiations should be conducted here, and the British Ambassador instructed accordingly. . . . Please communicate above to Foreign Office. . . .[38]

Bayard obeyed in a note which entirely omitted Olney's challenging question, but this was his last effort to obscure matters.[39] Salisbury promptly accepted the proposal and cabled his decision to Pauncefote, but in so doing he shifted to a new position, already hinted in the *Times,* by which he hoped to avoid the deadlock over "settled areas." Since there was already a fact-finding American commission in the field, it might be a solution of the problem to add to it British members so as to create a joint commission which should undertake to investigate the facts before any attempt should be made to settle things by arbitration. Salisbury was ready, he said, to consult the Colonial Office as to a definition of "settlements," but "he was not prepared in matters of high import to admit unrestricted arbitration." "I doubted," he said, "whether it was possible to obtain an impartial Arbiter. . . . But I proposed to him [Bayard] that we should obtain an authoritative statement of the facts either by two Commissions or by a Joint Commission. . . ." [40]

On February 28 Olney promptly rejected Salisbury's suggestion of a preliminary investigation and, the next day, again offered his arbitration plan of January 15. Salisbury in turn rejected Olney's plan on March 3 and in sending formal notification of the reopening of negotiations to Bayard he again suggested proceeding at once to fact-finding, leaving the decision as to arbitration to be taken up later. The note of March 3 was based on the statement in the queen's speech and concluded thus: "I have accordingly empowered Sir Julian Pauncefote to discuss the question either with the Representative of Venezuela or with the Government of the United States, acting as the friend of Venezuela." Three days after that the British government laid before parliament a voluminous Blue Book covering the whole history of the negotiations between Great Britain and Venezuela on the boundary question. Apparently Salisbury counted on this to overwhelm American opposition. "The papers . . . about to be laid before Parliament," he cabled to Pauncefote, March 3, "will show the Colony's strong claim."[41]

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[38] Olney to Bayard, February 27, 1896. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy*, 57.

[39] Bayard to Salisbury, February 27, 1896. *Correspondence between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States with respect to Proposals for Arbitration* (London, 1896), 1. Cited hereafter as *British Correspondence.*

[40] Salisbury to Pauncefote, February 27, 1896. *Ibid.,* 2.

It is obvious, I think, how absurd the assertion is that by this note of March 3, authorizing negotiations with the United States as the "friend of Venezuela," Salisbury "bowed to the American contention." Neither Olney nor any of his predecessors had demanded that Britain should take this step. What they had demanded was that Great Britain submit the boundary dispute in its entirety to arbitration, and this Salisbury, in this very note, absolutely refused to do. As for the Monroe Doctrine, that had simply been dropped out of the entire discussion. It can not even be said that by the unofficial negotiations Salisbury had agreed to Olney's conditions, for every effort toward a preliminary agreement upon a delimitation of the field of arbitration had broken down, and when Pauncefote received his authorization to take the matter up the deadlock remained unaltered. Neither Salisbury nor Olney had yielded an inch. The two sides stood as far apart as they did a year before.

The next stage in the affair ran from March until July, and, like the first one, was marked by English initiative and American resistance. On the main question, that of the Venezuela boundary, nothing resulted but flat deadlock. Olney had proposed a form of arbitration and had also requested a definition of "settlements," but the latter he never received, and as for the former, Salisbury had instructed Pauncefote to agree only to a joint preliminary investigation. After six weeks of almost daily discussion Pauncefote summed up the situation in the following report.

> . . . I have repeatedly pressed upon Mr. Olney the expediency of a preliminary inquiry to elicit the facts, and enable the parties to settle the bases of an Arbitration within reasonable limits. But I have entirely failed to shake his apparent determination not to discuss or entertain any proposal that does not provide for the submission of the entire

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[41] This interchange is in *British Correspondence*, 2–3.

> claim of Venezuela to Arbitration, and for its final settlement by the Arbitral Tribunal which may be constituted for that purpose.[42]

Meanwhile Salisbury had begun another flank move upon the American intrenchments by proposing a general arbitration treaty between the two countries which, if it proved acceptable, might be utilized to handle the Venezuela boundary. On March 5 he sent a complete draft, in which the fourth article — on the settlement of territorial questions — was manifestly drawn up with the existing controversy in mind. It provided for an appeal by either country from an arbitral decision to a joint commission of six judges, three from each country, the protest to stand unless overruled by a vote of five to one.[43] In other words, either country could refuse to accept an arbitral decision on a territorial question.

To this Olney at once objected (March 21), saying, as quoted by Pauncefote: " Under the IVth Article . . . all the cost and labour of an Arbitration might be lost by the refusal of one of the parties to accept the Award, and the difference would become more embittered than ever. He was of opinion that it is indispensable that finality should be secured in any scheme. . . ." [44] Olney's counterproposal was to add three impartial judges to the six, thus creating a second arbitration, remarking that, if the fourth article could be amended in his way, he saw no reason why the Venezuela difficulty could not be brought within the treaty.[45] In this the characteristic positions of the two sides were once more reasserted flatly.

Manifestly no progress of any sort had yet been made. Reflecting Olney's dissatisfaction, Smalley again entered the game with a warning dispatch of April 22, evidently intended to spur on the English. As summarized by the *Times,* it said:

> Our New York Correspondent says it is an illusion to suppose that the Venezuelan Boundary dispute has passed out of its dangerous stage. No agreement on principles has been reached, the effect of the British Blue Book has been far less favorable than was expected and negotiations are simply at a standstill. Our Correspondent says that the plan for a new Commission proposed by the United States some time ago was rejected by the British government. Lord Salisbury made a coun-

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[42] Pauncefote to Salisbury, April 14, 1896. *British Correspondence,* 10. See also Robert B. Mowat, *Life of Lord Pauncefote* (Boston and New York, 1929), 193.

[43] Salisbury to Pauncefote, March 5, 1896. *Foreign Relations* (1896), 222–224.

[44] Pauncefote to Salisbury, March 22, 1896. *British Correspondence,* 6.

[45] Olney to Pauncefote, April 11, 1896. *Foreign Relations* (1896), 228.

ter-proposal embodying a general arbitration treaty but not in a form which the United States would accept.[46]

What effect this may have had on Salisbury we can only conjecture, in all probability none at all. That seasoned debater was not to be disturbed by newspaper talk. But we do know that it stirred into action one Englishman for whom Salisbury and the Conservatives had a wholesome respect. This was Sir William Vernon Harcourt, leader of the opposition, whose relation to the affair should now begin to be noted. He had already shown in the debate of February 11 that he differed squarely with the Cabinet and stood exactly with Olney. His words are interesting. While supporting the government's intention to settle the matter fairly, he had taken sharp issue with its main contention.

> It is not for one party in a dispute to define what is the dispute. It is quite plain that both parties to the dispute will have different opinions upon the subject. . . . But mark this, if you choose to lay down a definite line which is to exclude the extreme claims of one party, do you think it reasonable that on the other side of the line your extreme claims should be left open, so that you may gain what you can in the arbitration and they can gain nothing?

Such language was a novelty in parliament, but it evoked "hear, hear."[47]

It was not only in public but in private that Harcourt began at an early date to press for an arbitral solution with members of the government as well as members of his own party. His biographer shows that he was much stirred by the Smalley dispatch. On April 23 Labouchere in the Commons asked the government whether the statements in the dispatch were authentic, to which Curzon, as under-secretary, refused any reply.[48] Harcourt immediately rose and gave notice that he would ask a question on the subject the next Monday and followed that with a letter to Balfour. He said plainly:

> The time seems to me to have come when I should not be justified in keeping silence any longer, and I think the public mind ought to be reassured by a statement on the part of the Government . . . in order to satisfy them that measures are being taken to secure at once *an arbitration on the Venezuela boundary,* which is a thing I am convinced is the only course which can result in a peaceful settlement and which

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[46] *Times* (London), April 22, 1896.

[47] *Parliamentary Debates,* Series IV, Vol. XXXVII. 89.

[48] *Ibid.,* Series IV, Vol. XXXIX. 1527.

> is desired by the great majority of people both inside and outside the House of Commons. I have therefore put upon the paper a question to which I hope you will be able to give a satisfactory reply on Monday.[49]

Harcourt put his question on April 27, but the only reply that Balfour could make was that negotiations were still in progress.[50] It does not appear that anyone in America was yet aware of the significance of Harcourt's support, but it was to appear in due time as of the first importance.

It was the latter part of May before Salisbury was ready for a new move, and then he advanced on both fronts, sending a note concerning the proposed arbitration treaty on May 18 and one on Venezuela on May 22. In the first he argued at length for preserving to a nation " some control over the ultimate result of any claim " by the right to protest and veto,[51] and in the second he met Olney's demand for a final arbitration by agreeing to it on the condition that in fixing a line " the tribunal shall not have power to include as the territory of Venezuela any territory which was bona fide occupied by subjects of Great Britain on the 1st January, 1887. . . ." [52] This was, of course, nothing other than the January 31 proposal for the " principle of exclusion," so-called.

Olney rejected both in unqualified language. In regard to the Venezuela proposal his note shows that he meant, specifically, to exclude the " grab " which would apparently be protected by the date chosen. On June 12 he said: " The decisive objection is that it appears to be a fundamental condition that the boundary-line decided to be the true one by the Arbitrators shall not operate upon territory occupied by a British subject, shall be deflected in every such case so as to make such territory part of British Guiana." After quoting the action taken by the British in 1886 in the " grabbed " region, he went on to make this unvarnished statement:

> In the opinion of this Government . . . bona fides on the part of the British settler is immaterial. So far as bona fides is put in issue, it is the bona fides of either Government that is important, and not that of private individuals. . . . Venezuela is not to be stripped of her

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[49] Harcourt to Balfour. Alfred G. Gardiner, *Life of Sir William Harcourt* (London, 1923), II. 401.

[50] *Parliamentary Debates*, Series IV, Vol. XXXIX. 1735.

[51] Salisbury to Pauncefote, May 18, 1896. *Foreign Relations* (1896), 228.

[52] Salisbury to Pauncefote, May 22, 1896. *Ibid.*, 248.

> rightful possessions because the British Government has erroneously encouraged its subjects to believe that such possessions were British.[53]

This was irritating language and probably intended so to be.

He dismissed Salisbury's arguments about arbitration in the same way: ". . . his lordship's real position is that there shall be no genuine arbitration at all. There shall be the usual forms and ceremonies, a so-called arbitral tribunal, hearings, evidence, and arguments, but as the grand result, instead of a binding adjudication, only an opinion without legal force or sanction, unless accepted by the parties." [54]

When one steps from the technical arguments to the general ones, it is easy to see that the two men regarded the whole question of arbitration and of boundary controversies from entirely different angles. To Olney, the Venezuela question was a single isolated situation in which he and Cleveland, with the backing of Congress and the American people, were determined to see that Great Britain did not appropriate land to which it had no legal claim. To Salisbury, it was merely an episode in the great process of boundary-adjusting which had been carried on vigorously ever since the early eighties and which had occupied a great deal of his time during his previous ministry. Nor was the process at an end. There were still pending questions of the frontiers of India and Egypt and elsewhere in Africa which needed adjustment. He did not propose by any action in the Venezuela case to furnish the other colonizing powers with a precedent which they could use to England's disadvantage.

> There are essential differences [he wrote] between individual and national rights to land, which make it almost impossible to apply the well-known laws of real property to a territorial dispute. . . . All the great nations in both hemispheres claim, and are prepared to defend, their right to vast tracts of territory which they have in no sense occupied, and often have not fully explored. The modern doctrine of "Hinterland," with its inevitable contradictions, indicates the unformed and unstable condition of international law as applied to territorial claims resting on constructive occupation or control.[55]

The same ideas colored his marked distaste for any kind of unrestricted arbitration.

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[53] Olney to Pauncefote, June 12, 1896. *Ibid.*, 251.

[54] Olney to Pauncefote, June 22, 1896. *Ibid.*, 233.

[55] Salisbury to Pauncefote, May 18, 1896. *Ibid.*, 230.

> It would be too invidious [he said] to specify the various forms of bias by which, in any important controversy between two great Powers, the other members of the commonwealth of nations are visibly affected. . . .
>
> That is the difficulty which stands in the way of unrestricted arbitration. By whatever plan the Tribunal is selected, the end of it must be that issues in which the litigant States are most deeply interested will be decided by the vote of one man, and that man a foreigner. . . . Nations cannot afford to run such a risk in deciding controversies by which their national position may be affected, or a number of their fellow-subjects transferred to a foreign rule.[56]

Olney tried to meet these arguments by pointing out that the treaty concerned only the United States and Great Britain, not other powers; that the doctrine of "hinterland" had no application to the Americas or any question that might arise between the two countries; and as for the danger of citizens being transferred to foreign rule, the proviso that excluded disputes which affected national honor or integrity ought to be a sufficient safeguard.[57] None of these considerations, of course, really met the English objections, which were focussed on the Venezuela problem, not on possible difficulties with the United States itself.

With these two dispatches both the direct and the indirect ways of handling the Venezuela situation proposed by Salisbury were squarely rejected by the stubborn secretary. Things were apparently at a complete *impasse*. Neither country had budged from its original position. The fact that this phase was at an end was marked by the decision of both governments to publish the correspondence to date. Pauncefote's biography shows that he gave Olney an opportunity to read over his reports to Salisbury of their conversations and to suggest some omissions, but even with the excision of such passages enough remained to make the English parliamentary paper an excellent guide to the dealings since February 27.[58] In laying the papers before parliament on July 17, Salisbury spoke calmly and in an amicable vein, but on the main points involved he did not yield a hair, restating inflexibly his position regarding the exclusion of British settlements and the dangers of unrestricted arbitration.[59]

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[56] Salisbury to Pauncefote, March 5, 1896. *British Correspondence*, 4.

[57] Olney to Pauncefote, June 22, 1896. *Foreign Relations* (1896), 235–236.

[58] Mowat, *Pauncefote*, 195.

[59] *Parliamentary Debates*, Series IV, Vol. XLIII. 2.

The American documents, fewer in number and less illuminating, were given to the press on the same day. So far as the public on both sides of the Atlantic knew, the whole affair had come to a complete standstill. The situation was virtually unchanged from what it had been a year before.

With the next stage of the affair we leave the consideration of the proposals and counterproposals of diplomats and enter into the twilight ground of secret diplomacy and personal dealings entirely behind the scenes. It was now Olney who felt the time had come for a new move. and, since direct negotiation had led to nothing but a complete deadlock, he resorted to unofficial action. Feeling that what was needed was some confidential information as to the condition of things in England, he sent Henry White, whom he had first met at a dinner on May 7, on a secret political journey. White was well suited for the task, having wide and intimate social connections in England where he had served for nine years as secretary of legation under Lowell, Phelps, and Lincoln. He had been removed under Gresham, but his peculiar fitness was immediately apparent to Olney.

Bayard, the ambassador, had two distinct drawbacks. In the first place he was quite lacking in appreciation of Olney's point of view, as his action during the Playfair mediation had shown. Moreover, he lacked any confidential relations with English political leaders of the first rank such as Salisbury, Chamberlain, and Balfour. White was a social favorite in London as well as an experienced diplomat and could supply exactly what Bayard lacked and Olney wished.[60]

His visit lasted from June 3, when he reached London, to the last week in July. "Within ten days after he landed," says his biographer,

> White had seen every English leader important for his purposes, without making any special appointments, at dinners or receptions. He had lunched with Arthur Balfour, and had taken him down to his country place for the week-end; he had spent a second week-end at a country place where H. H. Asquith was present; he had talked with Lord Rothschild, a leader of great financial interests, and Sir William Harcourt, the head of the Opposition; and Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, had asked him down to Hatfield for a day.[61]

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[60] Allan Nevins, *Henry White, Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York and London, 1930), 111–112.

[61] *Ibid.*, 113.

One of the first things he found it advisable to do was to combat the impression produced in government circles by the pugnacious tone of the American dispatches, and in his interview with Salisbury he laid great stress upon Olney's real wish for peace. " I was therefore careful . . . to say," he wrote to Olney, " that I had met you several times while in Washington, and had never heard a word hostile to Great Britain or to himself fall from your lips; that you had spoken of the Venezuela question in a broad and statesmanlike manner. . . ." [62]

From Salisbury and others White gained a strong impression of the seriousness with which the British public and government regarded the precedent which would be established by allowing a colonial territorial claim to be settled in the way Olney demanded. He reported to Olney in the same letter how Salisbury repeated the same arguments he had been using on the general question of arbitration.

> . . . he considers compulsory arbitration in matters affecting territory, without any power of appeal, a dangerous precedent to establish, and from the point of view of the British Empire, his reasons are forcible; viz., that claims to territory might — and probably would — constantly be made by countries having nothing to lose; . . . that it would be very easy and inexpensive to make such claims, but not at all easy to find an impartial arbitrator, and the result might be that important powers might find themselves deprived, through arbitration, of portions of their territory; arbitrators being usually inclined to favor a weak power. . . .
>
> [Lord Rothschild] feels that the question is not only between ourselves and Great Britain, and that the effect of such settlement upon the other parts of the Empire must be considered.[63]

As to the effect which this and other letters had upon Olney we are given no information and are driven to conjecture. But from the sequence of events it seems probable that Olney came to the conclusion that, with English feeling so strongly centered upon the imperial aspect of the problem, it was time for him to assume something more than a purely negative attitude. The difficulty could not be solved by simply insisting on his own position and waiting for the other side to submit. At all events some such explanation must be conjectured to account for Olney's next move.

It was while White was still in England and after Salisbury and

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[62] White to Olney, June 17, 1896. Allan Nevins, *Henry White, Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* 115.

[63] White to Olney, June 17, 1896. James, *Olney*, 241, 243.

Balfour had seen him that Olney's last dispatch of June 22 arrived, in which he squarely rejected the proposals of the prime minister for the arbitration of territorial claims, thus destroying the hope which had lingered that the general arbitration treaty might prove a solution.[64] Salisbury now replied with a letter of July 3, in which he made no further proposals but contented himself with repeating, with serious emphasis, the impossibility of accepting without safeguards the kind of arbitration Olney demanded. His words were:

> The claim of Venezuela is so far-reaching that it brings into question interests and rights which can not properly be disposed of by an unrestricted arbitration. It extends as far as the Essequibo; it covers two-thirds of the colony of British Guiana; it impeaches titles which have been unquestioned for many generations. . . . The view of Her Majesty's Government is that, where the matter in issue is of great importance and involves rights which belong to a considerable population and are deeply cherished by them, special precautions against any miscarriage of justice are required. . . .[65]

There was nothing in this paragraph that had not been said by Salisbury many times before. It did not differ greatly from what he wrote in the dispatch which stirred Olney and Cleveland to indignation in December, 1895. But Olney's reception of it was entirely different, and in drafting an answer he took a position that marked a sharp change in attitude.

After some preliminary fencing in regard to the language used by Salisbury, he remarked:

> There is another part of the dispatch which seems to me of more importance and upon which I wish to base an inquiry. . . . That Venezuela claims territory extending to the Essequibo . . . can not be regarded as being of itself an insuperable obstacle to unrestricted arbitration. But the objection that the Venezuelan claim " impeaches titles which have been unquestioned for many generations " is undoubtedly of the most weighty character. The inquiry I desire to put, therefore, is this: Can it be assumed that Her Majesty's Government would submit to unrestricted arbitration the whole of the territory in dispute provided it be a rule of the arbitration, embodied in the arbitral agreement, that territory which has been in the exclusive, notorious, and actual use and occupation of either party for even two generations, or

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[64] See the interchange between Salisbury and Pauncefote, June 2 to 15. *British Correspondence,* 19–22.

[65] Salisbury to Pauncefote, July 3, 1896. *Foreign Relations* (1896) , 252.

say for sixty years, shall be held by the arbitrators to be the territory of such party? In other words, will Her Majesty's Government assent to unrestricted arbitration of all the territory in controversy with the period for the acquisition of title by prescription fixed by agreement of the parties in advance at sixty years? [66]

It is an odd and interesting fact that we have no comment on Olney's motives nor his expectations nor any other circumstances connected with this dispatch from Olney himself or anyone else. In a letter of March 6, 1901, to Cleveland, describing the negotiations, he merely mentions it in its order. It is not even mentioned in the life of Pauncefote. But whatever the reasons may have been, there can be no doubt that this dispatch constituted the most effective stroke dealt by Olney in the whole affair and fully justifies his claim to be considered an able diplomat.

Note the skill of the question he asked. In the first place, he yielded his opposition to any exclusion of settlements, thereby giving the British an opportunity to claim a success. Secondly, he saved his own consistency by framing this exclusion in the form of instructions to the arbitrators rather than as an outright exclusion. To be sure, the end attained was the same, but the means were in keeping with what he had himself suggested earlier. In the third place, in accepting the British formula he extended the time from ten years — the maximum ever suggested heretofore — to sixty years, thereby going back not only of the "grabs" of 1886 and 1889, but even of the original Schomburgk line. And finally, he based this period of sixty years upon the words used in Salisbury's own dispatch of July 3, from which the persistent prime minister would find it highly difficult to withdraw. In short, Olney knew when and how to yield in appearance in order to guarantee the success of the one thing for which he was aiming.

It should be observed that neither dispatch was published in the compilations of July 17, and the adroit proposal of Olney as well as Salisbury's July 3 dispatch remained entirely unknown to any but Pauncefote and, in due time, to the members of the Cabinet, until they were issued by the United States in its annual report on foreign relations in December after the whole affair was over. For the time being both documents were in the realm of secret diplomacy. In view of the part they played, this was highly necessary.

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[66] Olney to Pauncefote, July 13, 1896. *Foreign Relations*, 253–254.

The negotiations now came to a full stop, not to be renewed for over three months. Olney had made his suggestion, and it was the turn of the British government to consider it. So he went shortly to his summer home in Massachusetts, and Sir Julian asked the Foreign Office for leave to return to England. During July further letters came from White, who remained in England until the end of the month, which indicated that, while Salisbury had definite views, he was not nearly so hostile to a compromise as Chamberlain was. White reported to Olney, on July 17, an interview with the belligerent colonial secretary, who plainly said that, rather than modify her position, England would go to war. "That is a terrible alternative, but better than laying ourselves open to being arbitrated out of our possessions in different parts of the world without appeal." White added that none of the other leaders used such language and that some of them said plainly that Chamberlain was merely bluffing.[67]

What was fully as interesting was the discovery made by White and also by John Hay that the American government had an actual ally in the person of Sir William Harcourt, who talked to them with extreme freedom. From the rather meager but extremely definite evidence at our disposal one is tempted to find in this seasoned parliamentarian something closely approaching the *deus ex machina* of the situation. It has already been mentioned how in the debate of February 11 in the House he had come out squarely for the American contention on the "settled districts," and how, in April, he had tried to put pressure on the government. White reported him as "*much interested in the subject, and anxious for a settlement,*" and showed him as advising and consulting with him.[68] A letter from John Hay to Olney, written as the former was returning from an English visit, expressed this still more strongly.

> He . . . said that you were perfectly right [wrote Hay] in your claims as to the "settled districts"; that in an action for ejectment it was no defense that a wrongful occupier had built a house on his neighbor's land; that he had already let the Government know his views in the matter; . . . that he was using all proper means of pressure to induce them to come to an agreement with us at the earliest possible moment.[69]

[67] White to Olney, July 17, 1896. Nevins, *White,* 116.

[68] White to Olney, July 17, 1896. James, *Olney,* 243.

[69] Hay to Olney, July 31, 1896. James, *Olney,* 247–248.

An example of the close coöperation between White and Harcourt appears in the former's biography. White, as part of his campaign, arranged for the simultaneous publication in leading London papers of the case for Venezuela, prepared by its counsel, James J. Storrow of Boston. " On the day it appeared White went to Sir William Harcourt, leader of the Liberal Opposition, told him that the negotiations still seemed to be at a deadlock, and suggested that he should arrange with the leader of the House [Balfour] for a discussion of the subject; and Harcourt made the arrangement that same afternoon." [70] It was in such discussions that Harcourt urged his views upon the ministry. According to his own statement he adopted a distinctly threatening attitude. " I made it quite clear to the Government," he wrote to White, " that unless I received satisfactory assurances that the ' settled districts ' question would be immediately settled *substantially on the footing of Olney's dispatch of June 12* (i.e. by acceptance of the proviso that the settled districts and their equities should be left to the decision of the arbitrators) I should bring on a discussion in the House of Commons." Before forcing the issue, however, he waited to see Pauncefote, who arrived in England in the second week of August.[71]

We now come to the most peculiar part of the whole affair: the events leading up to the decision of the British Cabinet to accept Olney's suggestion of July 13. Without direct evidence from the papers of Salisbury, Chamberlain, and Balfour it is not possible to make positive statements, but from the material published in the biographies of Pauncefote, Harcourt, and White the following sequence of events seems to have taken place. It would appear that Pauncefote, who sailed for England on August 2, either bearing Olney's July 13 dispatch or having sent it to Salisbury, was determined to end the matter promptly.[72] His biographer tells us that after seeing Salisbury and possibly Balfour, but without calling on Chamberlain, he went straight to Harcourt and apparently struck an alliance with him. The meeting is described in detail in a memorandum by Harcourt, printed in his biography.

> " I have come to see you, Sir William [said Pauncefote], about Venezuela." W. V. H. interrupted him saying, " Do you think it is wise?

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[70] Nevins, *White*, 116.

[71] Harcourt to White, September 6, 1896. Gardiner, *Harcourt*, II. 402.

[72] Mowat, *Pauncefote*, 196.

> My attitude on the subject is well known, and if you come to me it may embarrass you in your communications with the Prime Minister."
>
> Pauncefote replied, " Sir William, I come to you with Lord Salisbury's knowledge and at his suggestion in order that you shall suggest the terms in which the decision shall be announced to refer the Venezuelan difficulty to arbitration."
>
> W. V. H. said to his son, who was present, " Sit down and write this," and proceeded to dictate a form of words which, after some slight corrections, was taken away by Pauncefote to Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office.[73]

According to Harcourt, the two men found themselves in complete agreement on the question. " I had several conferences," he wrote to White, " with Balfour and Pauncefote. The latter is extremely reasonable and anxious for a settlement on the basis you and I desire." [74] The result of their coöperation and joint pressure on the ministry, exercised through Balfour, came into the open on August 14, the last day of the session of parliament, when Harcourt again asked Balfour a formal question on the subject. He inquired " whether he could make a statement as to the present position of the negotiations relating to the arbitration on the Venezuelan Boundary; whether the difficulties . . . had been removed by the recent proposal of the United States in the Dispatch of June 12; and, whether there was a definite prospect of a speedy arrangement of the terms of arbitration? " To this Balfour replied: " The latest proposals of Mr. Olney are still under consideration by the Government, and are regarded by them as opening the way to an equitable settlement. (' Hear, hear! ') The Government have every expectation that the pending negotiations will lead to an early and satisfactory result. (*Cheers.*) " [75] With these words the British ministry announced its virtual acceptance of the July 13 note, although only a few persons were in a position to understand its significance.

Among these few was White, who wrote at once to ask Harcourt how much it meant. " He said that Olney had heard nothing to indicate a closer approach to an understanding but he (White) thought that the incident in the House meant that Harcourt had received from Mr. Balfour more private and definite explanations than had been thought wise to make public." [76] White's surmise was entirely correct, as was shown by a letter from Harcourt which crossed his, written the day after the rising of parliament. In it the manoeuvre was explained.

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[73] Gardiner, *Harcourt,* II. 402 *n.*

[74] *Ibid.,* 402–403.

[75] *Parliamentary Debates,* Series IV, Vol. XLIV. 851.

[76] Gardiner, *Harcourt,* II. 402.

> Pauncefote is here [wrote Harcourt], and the government allowed him to communicate with me. His views are entirely in accordance with mine. I received from Pauncefote the distinct assurance that the instructions he is taking back with him will remove all the difficulties which have hitherto delayed the business. The Government here are now fully impressed with the necessity of an immediate settlement of the arbitration with the present Administration of the United States, and before the United States Commission reports. I am myself satisfied with the assurance that I have received and with the answer given by Balfour to my question yesterday, which means even more than it says.[77]

In a later letter to White he further amplified his explanation. "Balfour and I," he wrote, "agreed upon the question and answer as reported, which was thought to be more discreet than the chances of debate, when it is always more difficult for a Government to yield to an Opposition."[78]

It is hardly necessary to dilate on the extraordinary character of these manoeuvres. Here we find Sir Julian Pauncefote, the English ambassador to Washington, coöperating wholeheartedly with the leader of the opposition in parliament to force the Cabinet to accept a proposal made by the American secretary of state. One is inclined to credit both these men with supplying the necessary impetus to induce the dilatory marquis to come to the point of yielding. One lacks the evidence of the papers of Salisbury, Balfour, and Chamberlain on these dealings, but so far as the letters of White and Harcourt go, they indicate the great importance of the coöperation of Pauncefote and Harcourt in bringing the matter to a decision.

Even after this announcement three months elapsed before a final agreement was reached, for the ministry, while ready to accept the principle of Olney's note as a solution, were not prepared to make a complete surrender. Apparently an opportunity had to be given for Chamberlain, who was not yet reconciled, to try his hand at informal dealings with the hope of securing some further concession. Shortly after the rising of parliament he sailed for the United States, determined to interview Olney. In regard to this as well as to the general situation, Harcourt sent White some judicious advice in the letter already quoted.

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[77] Harcourt to White, August 15, 1896. Nevins, *White*, 117–118.

[78] Harcourt to White, September 6, 1896. Gardiner, *Harcourt*, II. 403.

> I have no doubt that there will be a desire to get some concession which may make it easier for Salisbury to withdraw from the position he had taken up. And I hope you will use your influence with Olney to smooth the way to climbing down, — now that the substance is conceded. . . . Chamberlain is by this time in the U. S., and he told me he should see Olney, but that he should be "very peaceable." I hope he may be as good as his word. I shall be very glad if you will let me know what passes between Olney, Pauncefote and Chamberlain, and if the thing still sticks I will give it another shove.[79]

With Harcourt's information as to Pauncefote's instructions in his possession, Olney did not hesitate firmly to repel Chamberlain's effort to renew discussions. His biographer says:

> [Chamberlain] arranged through his brother-in-law, Mr. William C. Endicott, to call on Olney one day when he was in his office on Court Street in Boston, and explained that he wanted to talk about Venezuela. The Secretary of State, being content to deal with Sir Julian, and having no mind to risk confusing that negotiation, asked right off whether Chamberlain had been empowered by Lord Salisbury to arrange matters. Upon his replying, in effect, that he was not particularly authorized, but that, being a member of the Cabinet, he considered that he was in a position to talk about it, Olney quietly turned the conversation and would not be brought to the crucial point in the case.[80]

Certain letters between the two men show that the Venezuelan subject was not entirely excluded, but that it was the general aspect and especially the emotional side that was discussed.[81]

Pauncefote now finally returned, bearing instructions whose tenor may easily be guessed from the nature of a report he made to Salisbury on October 29. "I have brought the utmost pressure to bear upon him [Olney]," he wrote, "and used every argument in favor of a further reduction but without success. Mr. Olney thought that the utmost to which the Venezuelan government would agree would be the excepting of settlements of sixty years duration but he himself suggested fifty years." [82] Evidently Olney realized the wisdom of making a seeming concession; in Harcourt's words, "to smooth the way for climbing down." Venezuela, of course, accepted the change, and the British government decided to rest content.

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[79] *Ibid.*, 403.

[80] James, *Olney*, 132–133.

[81] Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy*, 58–62.

[82] Mowat, *Pauncefote*, 199.

The result was promptly proclaimed. Lord Salisbury announced at the lord mayor's banquet on November 9 that the controversy was at an end.

> It is always surprising [he went on] by what very obvious arrangements problems of great difficulty are solved, and in the continent which Columbus discovered the tradition of Columbus's egg must be properly revered. . . . The question has been, not whether there should be arbitration, but whether the arbitration should have unrestricted application. . . . Our difficulty for many months has been to find how to define the settled districts, and a solution has been found.[83]

The draft treaty was completed a few days later, and in it stood the proposal of Olney made in the letters of July 13, the only change being the reduction of time for determining settlements from sixty to fifty years. It also included the proviso of June 12 which Olney had suggested in his first dispatch to Bayard after the beginning of the Playfair conversations. Chamberlain had characterized it as insufficient, but it was now left in to provide some slight protection for any English settlement of less than fifty years' duration.[84] The treaty was accepted by Venezuela and signed on February 2, 1897.

Thus it was that each side was able to announce a victory. Cleveland was first in the field, saying in his annual message to Congress, December 7, 1896, that an agreement had been reached that was " eminently just and fair," and submitting a report from Olney. This defined the proposed treaty as one " the provisions of which embrace a full arbitration of the whole controversy upon bases alike just and honorable to both of the contestants." [85] But while Olney thus dwelt upon the full arbitration of the entire controversy, the queen's speech, read on January 19, termed the treaty " an arrangement . . . which will . . . effect the adjustment of existing controversies without exposing to risk the interests of any Colonists who have established rights in the disputed territory." [86] In this way each side covered its retreat. Such an outcome, in the game of diplomacy, puts the seal of success upon the negotiators.

[83] James, *Olney*, 133.

[84] The draft treaty is printed in *Foreign Relations* (1896), 254.

[85] *Ibid.*, xxxvi, lxxi.

[86] *Parliamentary Debates*, Series IV, Vol. XLV. 3.

It is manifest now that the treaty of 1897 did contain the elements of a compromise. Olney yielded to the British his insistence upon an unlimited arbitration of the true line by agreeing to the fifty years' occupancy clause, but by eliminating all reference to the Schomburgk or any other line and still more by making the occupancy fifty years he succeeded in drawing the "grab" of 1886 before the tribunal. That was the objective of American diplomacy ever since Bayard had first taken the matter up, and it was now secured.

If, then, the award of the arbitrators in 1899 be considered in the light of the diplomacy of the two sides, it bears a very different aspect from that commonly ascribed to it. It is undoubtedly true that it followed in the main the Schomburgk line and thereby negatived most of the extravagant Venezuelan claim. Practically every account of the matter that I have seen, including the lives of Olney and of White, emphasizes this fact, and most of them term it a British victory. There is evidence to indicate that Martens, the Russian arbitrator, considered that the decision was favorable to Great Britain in that it rejected practically all of the extreme claim of Venezuela.

But, on the other hand, the boundary departed from the Schomburgk line in two places, one of which gave to Venezuela the mouth of the Orinoco, and in addition it awarded to Venezuela the entire British "grab" of 1886, which had been the cause of the whole American intervention. In other words, the award of 1899 crowned with success the policy which had been first outlined in Bayard's dispatch of 1888, continued by Blaine, emphasized by Gresham, and made the central point of the demands of both Cleveland and Olney.[87]

So far as I know, this aspect of the affair has been wholly ignored in the customary historical or biographical treatment. Neither in Olney's nor in Pauncefote's biography do all the phases of the affair appear, and not even in a recent critical review of American policy in this affair, made with the advantage of access to unpublished dispatches in the files of the State Department and the Olney papers, is there an attempt to work out the course of the negotiation at all closely. So indifferent is the American writer or the American public to the processes of diplomacy, that nobody has taken the trouble to do so. Historians have been content to dramatize the affair and "disregard everything except conclusions," and in this case to state them wrongly. But while all details are not yet worked out, and can not be until the papers of Lord Salisbury have made their contribution to the affair, enough can be made out to indicate very clearly that the ordinary conventional account of the Venezuela affair is quite inadequate as a picture of American policy or a judgment on Olney's success.[88]

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[87] Cleveland, *Presidential Problems*, 277.

I think I am warranted in saying, therefore, that our Yankee diplomat was something more than a blustering, ill-mannered attorney who was saved from the consequences of his own bluffing by British courtesy and complaisance. I think it may be confidently asserted that in the real diplomatic contest — that which followed the British agreement to accept American mediation — he handled the situation well and that by knowing exactly when and how to make a concession in form, he succeeded in forcing his stubborn antagonist to accept a treaty that secured his own objective.

The final success, in the summer of 1896, was greatly aided by the personal interposition of Sir Julian Pauncefote and his active coöperation with Harcourt to induce Salisbury to override Chamberlain and accept Olney's offer of July 13. Without some such energetic and persistent pressure it is not easy to see how the somewhat sluggish marquis could have been brought to the point. The American State Department owed a great debt to the three powerful agents in London. One may fittingly close with the words in which Sir William Harcourt greeted the announcement of agreement in parliament. "Those who have had to watch, as I have had to watch, the conduct throughout these matters of Mr. Secretary Olney will have recognised his real desire for peace and the great ability he has shown — (*cheers*) — and when I speak of Sir

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[88] Since the foregoing was written, biographies of two of the leading actors have appeared. Neither, unfortunately, adds anything of importance to what was already printed. B. E. C. Dugdale's *Life of Arthur James Balfour* (London, 1936) has an excellent analysis of Balfour's golf game, but dismisses the Venezuela affair with nothing beyond an allusion to the speech made in January, 1896. James L. Garvin's *Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1934) claims the credit for the final outcome for Chamberlain on the ground that he "was the minister who crossed the Atlantic and obtained in personal meetings with Secretary Olney the recognition of the saving principle." For this no evidence is furnished, nor is any attention paid to the fact that the "saving principle" had been suggested by Olney himself two months before Chamberlain's visit. The part played by Pauncefote is ignored. If there does exist any relevant material in the papers of these two statesmen, it has not yet been utilized.

Julian Pauncefote I speak of a man of unrivalled abilities, of one of the most helpful and accomplished servants of the Crown." [89]

Dr. Gardner W. Allen read a short account of the papers of Governor John D. Long in the possession of the Society.

Mr. William Cameron Forbes remarked briefly on the Philippine policy of the present administration.

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[89] *Parliamentary Debates,* Series IV, Vol. XLV. 51.

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 8, 1933, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the estate of Elise Boardman Richards, through Judge Robert Walcott, executor, and Miss Helen C. McCleary, the Richards, Minshull, and Walter Papers.

From James M. Hunnewell of Boston, a copy of a rare tract, *A Brief Illustration and Confirmation of the Divine Right of Infant Baptism; In a plain and familiar Dialogue Between a Minister and one of his Parishioners* (Boston, 1746), of which there are two other known copies.

From Miss Harriet G. Lewis of Brighton, the Book of Common Prayer (Oxford, 1755), the Holy Bible (London, 1756), and Brady and Tate, *New Version of the Psalms* (London, 1755), bound in one volume containing, on a flyleaf, the record of the family of Thomas Henderson, who owned the volume in 1757.

By purchase, Richard Baxter, *Admonition to Mr. William Eyre of Salisbury; concerning his Miscarriages in a Book lately Written for the Justification of Infidels, against M. Benjamin Woodbridge, M. James Cranford and the Author* (London, 1654). The Woodbridge tract, which Baxter was defending, was the second publication by a Harvard graduate.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Potomska Mills Corporation, Atlantic City, N. J., and from the cities of Selma, Ala., and Atlanta, Ga., specimens of scrip issued during the recent bank holiday.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary reported the receipt of letters from WILLIAM LEONARD LANGER, accepting Resident Membership in the Society, and from BENEDETTO CROCE, accepting Honorary Membership.

The Society elected Gaspar Griswold Bacon of Boston, Matt Bushnell Jones of Newton, and Grenville Lindall Winthrop of Lenox, Resident Members.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1933

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Wednesday, October 11, 1933, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From MATT B. JONES, petitions of William Rogers, August 24, 1676, and William Gedney, sheriff, Newbury, October, 1710; a bill of James Gillingham, keeper of the Salem jail, 1719; and a rare Massachusetts Thanksgiving proclamation, October 28, 1738.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, additional papers of William Everett, 1865–1909.

From Miss Fanny P. Mason, Jonathan Mason's large plan of Copley's pasture, showing streets and sub-divisions of lots between Cambridge, Charles, Beacon, and Joy Streets; a plan of divisions of lots on Cedar and Pinckney Streets, signed by Jonathan Mason and Harrison Gray Otis; a plan of land between May and Pinckney Streets; and a plan of house-lots, with accounts of payments and a list of prices of lots.

From Dr. William Davis of South Orleans, *The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War . . . from the 20th of June, till the 10th of November, 1675* (London, 1676), the second edition of the first of the folio King Philip's War narratives; four broadsides: *At a Council held at Boston the 25th of June, 1675; At a Council Held at Boston, September the seventeenth 1675; At A Sessions of the General Court the 3d of November, 1675; At a General Court the 11th of October 1675 [1676];* and miscellaneous manuscripts, including letters from Thomas Hutchinson, John Quincy Adams, Horace Mann, Daniel Webster, and Levi Lincoln (1782–1868).

From the surviving officers of the Mayflower Club, its records and papers, 1893–1931.

From the estate of Mrs. Charles F. Washburn, through her son, the Very Reverend HENRY B. WASHBURN, the papers of her father, James M. Whiton, 1821–1857.

By purchase: the papers of John Townsend Coffin and Isaac Coffin, 1853–1895; and a unique copy of the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy,* December 3, 1739.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Museum of Fine Arts, a bust, in plaster, of John Paul Jones, from the original cast by Houdon in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

From MATT B. JONES, a silver medal struck in 1687 to commemorate the attempts made by Captain William Phipps in 1643 to recover treasure from a Spanish silver galleon lost off the coast of Cuba.

From SAMUEL E. MORISON, four French assignats, 1791–1793.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary reported the receipt of letters from GASPAR GRISWOLD BACON, MATT BUSHNELL JONES, and GRENVILLE LINDALL WINTHROP accepting election as Resident Members of the Society.

The Chair announced the death of PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, a Corresponding Member, on August 16, 1933.

Mr. JOHN T. MORSE, JR., read a paper on

RECOLLECTIONS OF BOSTON AND HARVARD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

It is with great embarrassment that I find myself before you. You expect me to read to you what we call a "paper." Alas and alack! As the needy knife-grinder said, "Story? God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir!" And I have no paper to read. The origin of this little contretemps, you see, fell out in this wise. I happened one day, most imprudently, to say before a gentleman of this Society that I had a little — a very little, quite a tiny — suggestion concerning the Civil War which I was inclined some day to cast out before this learned body. Alas for those ill-starred little words so thoughtlessly uttered! My auditor, one of our most zealous and efficient members — and I am sure you will all know who is depicted by these words — thereafter gave me no peace. "When are we going to have that paper?" he has been saying whenever and wherever he and I have foregathered. Knowing him well, I felt that my doom was settled. For I am a weak-minded old man now, in this respect resembling a young lady who was in society some seventy-five or eighty years ago in Boston. One day her engagement to be married was announced, and the fashionable world flocked for the usual calls of congratulation. Ere long, however, we were told that the engagement was broken. Alas! Grief and tactful regrets! But a few months later the engagement of the same enchantress to another aspirant was made public. More calls and congratulations. *But* after a few weeks this second engagement went the way of its predecessor. This was indeed tragic. Yet time works wonders; the young lady was contracting a habit, and, accordingly, in due course engagement number three startled society. On this final occasion a lady making her third congratulatory call so far lost her embarrassed wits as to stammer out to the mother: " But has not your daughter been engaged before? " " Ah, yes," said mamma, " yes, she has; you see poor dear Eva never can say ' No.' " Well, I resemble poor dear Eva. I never can say " No," least of all to my esteemed friend, this persistent gentleman. I wish that this might be the end of my simile, but alas, poor dear Eva's third essay was said not to have proved a brilliant success. *Absit omen!*

I suppose that we have not yet succeeded in altogether ignoring or forgetting or in any way eliminating from our established knowledge the regrettable fact that during the two or three heated years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, and also through at least the early part of the conflict itself, a strong feeling of sympathy for the South permeated that conspicuous and influential group in Boston which was called Society — by which word, at once vague and expressive, I intend to designate those people who gave and went to balls, parties, dinners, and social entertainments generally, those who made life gay and whose social doings were talked about. I do not use, and it would not be justifiable to use, the odious word " copperhead " to designate these persons. And in fact that real article was rare in our city. The persons whom I refer to stopped short of that limit — though not always, I must confess, very far inside of it. As an instance: my father and Wendell Phillips were schoolmates, and, though not exactly intimate, they remained on a friendly footing afterwards. One afternoon, somewhere about 1860, my father entered one of those clumsy old omnibuses which then navigated Washington Street, and a minute or two later Phillips entered. Seating himself beside my father, he said pleasantly: " Well, Morse, how d'ye do. It's a long while since we have met." " Yes," curtly responded my respected parent. " I am afraid that in that interval I have said things which may not have pleased you, Morse," said Phillips. " Yes, Wendell," responded papa with perfect frankness, " you certainly have; and if I could have my way I'd have this bus stopped and have you hanged at the nearest lamp post." " Very nice of you, Father," I said. " And did Phillips punch your countenance? " " Oh, no, nothing more was said."

Yet this city of Boston, where such an incident was not at all noteworthy, was the headquarters of the abolition movement. It was the home of Garrison and *The Liberator,* of Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, and of the governor of the state, John A. Andrew. In the eyes of the world at large these conspicuous men gave to it its character. Unquestionably it was the headquarters of abolitionism. Yet, on the other hand, it is equally true that it housed a goodly group of sympathisers with the South, animated by various degrees of enthusiasm but all tending strongly in that direction. How and why did this local cleavage, indicated by a line drawn with almost geographical accuracy, come about? The question has often been asked, and, so far as I know, no explanation has ever been given; and it is in elucidation of this that I now wish to make a suggestion. A few years ago, thinking of it, I was struck by my explanatory suggestion, which later I mentioned in a chat one day with Mr. Beveridge. It evidently seemed to him to be of some interest, and he asked me to think it over and develop it a bit for him. He said he should like to use it. This encouraged me, and hence these few paragraphs.

In those days the well-to-do classes — the society people, so-called — in the northern and southern sections of the country had many and strong ties of personal and family friendship. These came about through summer meetings in which kindly intimacies were often established. In Massachusetts the present "North Shore" colony and its younger sister, the "South Shore," had not come into existence save for the little group at Nahant. Our rich people then went to watering places — to Newport, for example, where many Bostonians passed the summer. My brother and I lately enumerated no less than twenty-eight summer residences there which about that time were owned and occupied by Bostonians. I suppose that scarcely three such are now maintained. There was hotel life and a fashionable gambling establishment, and southerners with money in their pockets liked very much to come there. Then there was Saratoga — hot enough we think it now; but there was the famous horse racing and no end of gambling and a fast life and social gayety in abundance. The southerners thought of these, and of one or two other less conspicuous spots such as Sharon Springs, as being the cool "North," and they flocked thither. Thus it came about that in these resorts northern and southern ladies and gentlemen foregathered in considerable numbers, and made cordial friendships. When the war broke out, the southern partners in these friendships felt that they were being wronged and injured in their just rights, and by consequence they were more or less inclined to sever the old relationships. The northerners, on the other hand, entertained no corresponding hostility. On the contrary, very many of them held faithfully to old relationships — perhaps in part by reason of some difference in temperament, but also unquestionably because the element of personal injury did not enter into their feelings with the same intensity as was the case with the southerners. But be these psychological causes whatever they may, I feel quite sure of the fact of this condition by reason of what I personally saw in the family of my paternal grandmother. She had many warm friends in the South, toward whom no political difference, not even the war, could induce her and her sons to feel otherwise than kindly. I do not say that this ought to have been so. Perhaps they were blameworthy; perhaps one should put country before everything else; but this is not the matter in discussion here. I content myself with stating simply a fact and its causes. To that extent I am confident that this is at least a large part of the truth concerning the copperheadism which unquestionably permeated high society — or, if you prefer the word, fashionable society — in Boston. What the truth may have been elsewhere I do not know. Now this little bit is really all that I have to say. But my friend who, so to speak, " stuck " me for this job, was reckless in stirring the garrulity of an old man.

As my thoughts wander back to those remote days, I recall my own southern classmates at Harvard. My class had a much larger contingent of these than did other classes at that time. As a rule they were popular, for they were courteous to men in all the different sets and, indeed, conducted themselves towards the so-called " scrubs " with much more amiability than was shown to the same fellows by the northerners. At the risk of wearying you by chatter of reminiscences which may amuse, but can hardly affect you in the same way they do me, I shall say a few words about some of them which I think may give a somewhat entertaining picture — of certain, at least, of their characteristics.

I think first of General Lee's son, who was in a class two years ahead of me and who brought letters of introduction to my grandmother — a fact which induced him to treat me with greater courtesy than would otherwise have been probable, thereby flattering me greatly and winning a kindly feeling that still survives. He was then a notably handsome and distinguished looking man — a trait which he hardly preserved in later years. But in college days he seemed to me quite a *preux chevalier.* As I think of him, I am led into a brief digression. Governor Wise of Virginia, a gentleman of note and distinction, wrote a small but very interesting and agreeable post-war volume about the parts played by students of the College of William and Mary in the Civil War. Into this he introduces W. H. Fitzhugh Lee with an encomium and makes him the hero of a little anecdote. He says that Lee pulled stroke oar in the famous Harvard crew which signally defeated Yale in the great annual university race. Thus is history sometimes written! As a matter of fact, not only did Lee not pull stroke oar in that race, but, on the contrary, he sat in the middle of the boat; and so far was he from filling any noteworthy or useful part, that when the race was little more than half over, he was completely " pumped " and had to take in his oar, and so was actually brought home by his fellows on the home stretch. I happen to know this to be a fact because I stood about three quarters of a mile above the finish, and it was at a distance of only a few hundred feet from the boat that, with my own eyes, I saw him with his oar lying across his lap. Well, never mind that. In those days, at least, he was a gallant and an attractive lad, and if, in anticipation of greater rebellion to come, he was somewhat rebellious about the matter of training — as was alleged — his independent spirit was forgiven him because he was such a good fellow and such a great " swell."

Another man, less popular and of somewhat supercilious bearing, was Robert W. Memminger, a son of the Christopher G. Memminger who afterward sat in the Cabinet of the Confederacy. I remember him as a good-looking fellow with an abundance of handsome yellow hair, which he wore of such length that it fell down upon his shoulders, well covering the collar of his overcoat. Upon this he placed, with a slight sidewise cock, in singular and independent style, one of the tall beaver hats which were then the fashion, especially for full dress. A more amusing spectacle it would today be hard to imagine. Yet, in fact, I am bound to say that he really looked extremely aristocratic.

In my class, graduating in 1860, there was an unusually numerous delegation of southerners, " good fellows," so-called, pleasant-mannered and popular, one and all of them members of the "fast set" as matter of course. No shadow of the storm so soon to break over the country interfered with perfect good fellowship. It was a unique and surprising occurrence when, in mid-course, one man, from Mississippi, returned home saying frankly that he could not stand the political atmosphere around him. Through long years thereafter we never heard a word of or from him and in fact had well-nigh forgotten him. In 1885, at the Revere House, we had the important dinner which celebrated the twenty-fifth year after graduation, and as we were gathered in the outer room about to go in to table, a tall, spare man with a wonderful gray beard walked in, looked around, and smiled benevolently upon us. We stared at him. "Well, fellows," he said, "so you don't know me. I'm Stokes. Fought through the war, was brigadier general, wounded, and now I am reconstructed and right glad to shake hands all around again."

Personally, I liked the ante-war southerners in Harvard and was on a friendly footing with them. One of them, Charles Allston Pringle, of the well-known Charleston family, was my special friend. He came north at the beginning of our sophomore year, bringing an introduction to me, and knowing, I think, no other person north of Mason and Dixon's line. Hence we were naturally at once intimate. A few weeks after his coming I was sitting one afternoon in his room awaiting his return from a Latin recitation when the door suddenly opened and there stood Charles as white as a sheet, his blue eyes gleaming like fire. He exclaimed: "John, you must take a message for me." To this blunt and singular demand I was unsympathetic and made a rather unfortunate response. Very fiercely he exclaimed: "Don't speak to me in that way! Don't you know what *a message* is — a challenge! A challenge to fight! Tutor Chase has just insulted me in the Latin recitation. He said that I had a 'pony' in my lap. I said that I had not. He said again that I had. He said I was lying! — He must fight!" So here was a challenge to mortal combat to be carried by me to a member of the faculty! I had a job on hand indeed. I strove to enlighten my fire-eating southerner as to northern views, but he could or would not comprehend or believe my exposition. He really felt that I was deserting him in the hour of need. It was many days before the *entente cordiale* was re-established between us. Charles was destined again to get me to the edge of trouble. One evening, later on, we were coming from

Boston in a horsecar. Charles was soon gazing intently, though I did not especially notice it, at a Negress seated at the forward end of the bench opposite us. "John," he said very excitedly, "I know that woman — know her well! She belongs to ——— [naming, I suppose, some southern friend of his] — She's a runaway slave. We must seize her!" He started to rise. "Charles!" I exclaimed, grasping his arm, "for God's sake keep quiet; you'll be beaten within an inch of your life." For a moment, with difficulty, I held him in check, and just then the poor creature turned her head in our direction, her eye falling upon Charles. I saw at once that he was quite right. The astonishment, the shuddering terror which rushed over her poor black features, were painful to see. Some sort of climax was close at hand. Happily just then in a breathless nick of time another passenger stopped the car. She got up, and, with tottering, shuddering steps, turning her head aside, hurried by us to get out. Charles quivered and stared and strove to rise beneath the restraining arm which I struggled desperately to keep across him. Fortunately I succeeded in holding him down, and what might not improbably have been another Anthony Burns case was avoided. But the friendship between him and me had another bad strain.

To turn to a widely different topic, but relating nearly to the same time — I wonder how many know the real — I say *real*, perhaps I should say the commonly accepted — origin of the postal currency which did the work of silver change during the Civil War. The disappearance of silver coinage from circulation took place almost literally between night and morning. Monday it was as plentiful as usual; Tuesday there seemed to be an unexplainable scarcity. No one had any, or would admit that he had any, in his pocket, and the shops had difficulty in making change. Wednesday it had pretty well gone into utter and embarrassing retirement. No one had appreciated that silver halves and quarters would follow their bigger golden relatives into retirement. But so it was, and greatly to the universal inconvenience; for the whole community, poor as well as rich, handled silver many times each day, and only now we suddenly realized that it ranked with its distinguished sister, gold, as a precious metal. All sorts of substitutes were sought. For a few days postage stamps placed in little envelopes and marked "ten cents," "twenty-five cents" were passed about. But they gave the Yankee too good a chance; and soon a twenty-five-cent envelope was apt to yield only one or two stamps of very much less value. Then a brilliant idea occurred to Mr. Parker of the Parker House. His barroom was far and away the most popular resort of the kind in Boston. It was cosmopolitan; the gentleman in the cab and the man who drove might each walk up to the same hospitable counter, which was no respecter of persons. The amount of business done there in a day would have stretched even an India-rubber imagination. In this populous and popular resort the disappearance of the convenient silver coinage dealt disaster. Everyone who stepped to the friendly bar for a " nip " could not be expected to swallow a whole dollar's worth. Yet how to pay for a smaller tipple was a staggering problem. Promptly the resourceful hotel-keeper was on hand with his remedy. He issued a great quantity of small printed cards bearing the superscription of his hospitable house, and beneath it the cheering words, " Good for one drink " or for two, or for three drinks. It was a brilliant idea, of course. The card which was good for " one drink " was good for absolutely nothing else. If in any way one of these cards found its way into anyone's pocket — which must often happen away from the bar as well as at it — there was only one way to get rid of it, barring the obvious folly of destruction. So the Parker House bar became crowded, and, moreover, there was a vast deal of losing of tickets or of non-use for other reasons. But for all such — for the used and the unused alike — Parker had securely received his lawful cash. I fear it must be admitted that the shrewd bar-ister's — shall we call him by that respectable appellation? — obliging and simple service, in its ultimate results, was calculated to be of mischievous influence. I fear, too, that imitators of his scheme soon appeared, and it promised to be rapidly adopted. But the interesting thing is that it was generally alleged and believed that it was precisely this Parkerian scheme which suggested to the government the issue of the fractional currency. Of course it may be said that officials could not long have failed to conceive the idea. Perhaps so, but the instant suggestion was credited to the Boston barroom.

I pause — I have dared to speak to this dignified Society of a barroom. I am perturbed, yet can not check a temptation to add a paragraph or two more on the same topic. For in point of incontestable truth, the barroom played a conspicuous part — really quite a social rôle — in those days. Thus at the Museum Exchange, opposite the famous old Boston Museum on Tremont Street, William Warren, far and away the most distinguished of American comedians and dear to nearly two generations of Bostonians, was frequently the center of a group of admirers. I can not believe the name of this really remarkable actor is yet forgotten; it spread far and wide in the country, although he himself would never go outside of this city. He was a cultivated gentleman and brilliant in talk as well as genial. When he died, Bostonians were plunged into a sort of dismay, and Colonel Henry Lee, our late associate, voiced the general feeling in a very beautiful obituary.

The Tremont bar, too, was a distinguished institution, and played no small part in the social life of that day. It might almost have been called a junior Somerset Club. The young men of society, the *jeunesse dorée,* adopted it as their own and seemed almost to establish an exclusive right to it. An outsider who strayed in felt embarrassed. For the lack of any other meeting place we all gathered there after the evening meal — whether tea, as was then common, or dinner, which some of the more fashionable families were then bringing in — and sat and chatted until a tardy bedtime. Billy Pitcher, the barkeeper, was a famous character, a cool hand indeed, witty, prudently impertinent, tactful, sarcastic, and a past master of his art. He was not, perhaps, a desirable mentor for the youth of the day, yet he enjoyed a sort of premiership. In fact, he became a quasi-public character; when he died, a leading newspaper — I am not quite sure, but I think it was the *Transcript* — published an obituary of over a column in length, which, indeed, was a very clever, even brilliant, bit of work, written by someone who seemed to have caught the peculiar charm of the author of Elia, but whose name was carefully kept secret. Ah! shade of "old Pitch," I am pleased to recall you and pay a tribute to your pleasing, if not elevated, humor! It may seem undignified to speak of such a haunt and such a citizen, but it is undeniable that one can not let one's memory turn back to those days without at once having this *mise en scène* and its actors rise before one's eyes. I shall not go afield to speak of the Blue Bonnet, where the Scotchmen congregated and trolled the songs of Bobbie Burns almost until cockcrow (what a celebration it was on his birthnight!), nor of the old Bell in Hand with its classic sanded floor, and the valuable old prints on its walls. It can not be denied that all these things are a part of the picture and will force themselves into any talk about those times. If you gentlemen had known them as I did, you would deem it, as I do, disloyal to read such a paper as this is and not to mention them.

The foregoing allusions to matters neither military nor historical of these war and ante-war days stir some further reflections. You see, I am an antique, having begun my existence away back in the early days of 1840; and if you stir the dusty corners of my venerable memory, you must e'en take the consequences and listen patiently to the chatter of an old gentleman. In fact, as I look back, it seems to me a not uninteresting reflection that Boston, in somewhat over a century, has passed through three distinct and interesting phases or periods of business activity. I have never seen these eras blocked off or distinguished and their continuity noted, but I think it interesting to do so. In the first of them the "old town," as we now say, was a commercial city, a port for foreign trade. Her conspicuous citizens were engaged with China, Calcutta, and the islands across the seas. The wharves were then the active section where business was being done and the money was being made. How interesting, how picturesque it was! Persons born more recently have no idea of it. Ships really used sails in those good times; their passages were for two, three, and four months, or even more. No transatlantic cable brought news in those days. But as soon as the calendar marked a date when it was possible for a ship to arrive, the anxious owner and his clerk eagerly scanned the lower reaches of the harbor from hour to hour, looking for the ship which should bear his little private signal fluttering at the peak of the foremast. Great was the rejoicing when this glad news was announced in this primitive fashion; great also was the bustle on the wharf. Then the ship made fast, and the crew of real sailor boys, for the first time in two, three, or four months, stepped with clumsy, rolling gait on brick sidewalks. Each man of them wore around his waist a leather belt, in which, close to his right hand, was the wooden handle of a knife which had a blade about four inches long and somewhat over an inch wide, keen and sharpened to a wicked point — which was often to prove a very useful article in the hour of need. Then it was the turn of the ladies of the quarter, seductive sirens with bare, brawny arms, and cheeks painted with a courage that would have daunted Rubens. And in the evening there was Joe Clash's dance hall, where every race of the earth was enunciating its own special language or lingo, and men and maidens were dancing, drinking, and sometimes fighting with primitive zeal. The busy spot in this purlieu was the classic Ann Street. It bore that good old name — its own real name — until some erudite city father bethought him of the fact that there had been a queen of England named " Anne," and that it was doubtless in her honor that the street had been christened. This ghastly discovery at once led to the amended title of North Street, the municipal patriots at City Hall having probably never heard of Lord North in connection with American affairs. Here was the American sailor's mecca, which only Hogarth could have properly immortalized.

A more dignified companion picture is that of the merchant in his " counting-room," so-called, which was up one flight of stairs in his warehouse on the wharf. Here he sat at his table in a chair near the fire while one or two clerks — his whole force — stood at tall desks against the wall. The rest of the building was crammed with the cargo which had just been brought in and there awaited customers. This foreign commerce had been the distinguishing — almost the only — business of Boston until close upon the advent of the Civil War. It had perhaps begun to show some indication of decadence, but not serious, until the *Alabama* and her imitators began to render maritime ventures quite too perilous and, with the insurance burden, quite too costly. Then the old wharf merchants vanished like flies when frosty nights begin.

With their disappearance my era number two takes the stage. The disappearing merchants were followed by a wave of successors which had been gradually gaining volume during a few years and which now for a while advanced to the position of primacy. For a long while enterprising men had been at work to utilize the water power of our great northern rivers in connection with the cotton crops of the southern states. Lawrence and Lowell had become goodly towns, and in a few other smaller places factories had been built. Cotton-spinning had developed into a very important industrial movement when the outbreak of the Civil War suddenly gave it great stimulus. The demand for every description of dry goods was greater than could be satisfied. The persons most conspicuously benefited were the dry goods commission merchants. These men, with big warehouses in Boston, received and distributed the great square bales as fast as they could be got in from the mill. The mills prospered, of course, but these selling agents in Boston prospered very much more. If they guaranteed to the mills the proceeds of their sales, which they usually did, they got five per cent net. Of course they waxed rich very rapidly. New families came into society and grew to be old families with astonishing celerity. The lower part of Summer Street, which had been a dignified street with comfortable old dwelling houses, shaded by stately elms, was the westerly boundary of this invading host, and thence they spread into Franklin Street and mercilessly destroyed the fine green oval of trees and shrubbery which had made that place such a favorite spot for dwelling houses. Unfortunately, all this new construction was extremely ugly, but it was also the seat of great prosperity.

Fortunately or not, the heyday of this vandal army was not to be really long, as such eras are measured. After the war and its influence had passed, a good many failures began to occur in the newly established group. Only the abler ones held on to their money and established a permanent settlement, and their descendants are now among our best citizens. But in fact, regarded as a whole, they were not men of the same caliber as the old merchants. It did not call for so much intellect to sell bales of dry goods as was certainly required to know the products, the laws, and the customs of distant nations, and the prospects of political conditions. There was a marked difference between this array and that one which it displaced. Illustrative of such distinctions in the business world is this little anecdote. Upper State Street, for a short distance, had been the " court " end of " down town." The banks and the marine insurance companies had their offices there, many of them real parlors where comfortable armchairs were placed around fireplaces in which the good old cannel coal of those days gave its cheerful blaze. Here, between twelve and two o'clock, there were wont to congregate little friendly groups, directors of the corporations and a few friends. These gentlemen constituted, informally but in good fact, the aristocracy of " down town." One of this group was one day talking with one of the newly arrived dry goodsmen, a person of noteworthy ability who had amassed a considerable fortune. " Mr. ——," quoth the State Street " swell," " you are an able man, successful, and rich. Why do you not come out from those dry-goods surroundings? Come over among us gentlemen in State Street. We will give you a friendly welcome."

The hint was not taken, in spite of the remarkable tact with which it was given.

In due time a third wave was to succeed, and a more powerful group was about to take possession of the field. Old-fashioned merchants and more modern dry-goods magnates were to retire before the advance of the promoters of the new western railroads. We may plume ourselves upon the fact that although superior financial opportunities soon made New York the chief center for this new business, the start was made and the initial successes were won by Boston men. The pioneer among us was John M. Forbes, a man who stood preëminent in his generation for brains, energy, and high character. I was assured at the time — and I have not the slightest doubt that it was the fact — that President Lincoln wanted him to take the office of secretary of the treasury, which was only given to Mr. Chase after Forbes had positively refused. Starting as a merchant in the China trade, Forbes made a handsome fortune, but in good season his wise, forecasting mind presaged the future of the great West. He had imagination. He looked at the vast expanse of that region, and the vision of railway lines running through unmeasured areas of grain lands rose before his vision. He won over the Thayers and Sidney Bartlett and other very valuable Bostonians, and as the direct result of his astonishing conceptions, his energy, and his personal toil, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, with such of its children as the Hannibal & St. Joseph, the Burlington & Missouri in Iowa, and the Burlington & Missouri in Nebraska sprang into existence, won brilliant success in an amazingly short time, and turned the attention of the whole country to this new department. Later the Ameses followed with a line spanning the continent. Thus Boston, having tried and cast aside foreign commerce and dry-goods selling, now for the third time again blazed the way into a new development greater than either of its two predecessors. The old town might be a village in comparison with New York City, but she had opened three successive eras, the great lines of industry.

Since then the big ruffians to the southwest of the great continent have been able to hustle the good old town somewhat aside, and to some extent have robbed her of her own where she had led the way. But a generous measure of distinction should remain for her in the minds of all intelligent persons who reflect upon the three successive eras of business in which she has been a pioneer.

In the long, eager scramble she may have lost most of the individuality and the personal charm which she had in older years. But she is fairly entitled to an honor which is rarely accorded to her in these whirling days which ignore the past. I think this is a truthful sketch of three large eras of business and finance through which Boston has passed conspicuously and almost as a pioneer. Perhaps it has not much interest, but for a Bostonian it is a panorama worth unrolling. I believe it to be true that Boston, in spite of her remote geographic situation at the jumping-off corner of the country, has blazed the way in commercial development in a manner which is scantily appreciated even by her own children.

Dr. Gardner W. Allen read a paper on

The *Boston* and the *Berceau*

A recent valuable acquisition by this Society is the collection of naval papers discovered by the Lucy Jackson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Newton, in the Old Baury House in Newton Lower Falls,[1] lately taken possession of by the Chapter. Built about 1755, this house was formerly occupied by Samuel Brown, United States Navy Agent, who left these papers behind upon his departure from this world.

Stephen Higginson & Company were navy agents at Boston from 1798 until the spring of 1801, and Samuel Brown was acting navy agent during the latter part of the same period. Beginning with April, 1801, he was agent. Stephen Higginson had been active in naval affairs in the earlier years, but perhaps as time went on his private business and many other interests hindered his giving close personal attention to the work of the navy yard, this duty being mostly attended to by Brown. It was a busy time, many ships being fitted out and undergoing repairs for service in the hostilities with France and the Barbary States.

The Samuel Brown papers are of decided interest, throwing light as they do on the routine work on vessels of the old navy, 130 or more years ago, at one of the larger navy yards of the country. There are contracts, inventories, requisitions, orders, a few letters, and, most numerous of all, bills of every kind for repairs, material, labor, supplies, and furnishings of all sorts. There are, in particular, nearly a hundred receipted bills, many of them listing a large number of items, in connection with the repairing and fitting out for her voyage to France in 1801 of the prize ship *Berceau.*[2]

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[1] For an account of this house and its various interesting occupants, see Mrs. D. E. Baker, *Historical Sketch of the Lucy Jackson Chapter House, D. A. R.* (1933).

The United States frigate *Boston,* of twenty-eight guns, the third of five vessels of that name in our navy, was built at the Continental Ship Yard at the north end of Boston, and was launched May 20, 1799. She was built under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1798, authorizing the construction of twelve vessels which the President might "accept in behalf of . . . and upon the credit of the United States," the money being advanced by patriotic citizens. The *Boston* went into commission under the command of Captain George Little, a native of Marshfield, who had served with credit in the Massachusetts navy during the Revolution.

The *Boston* sailed July 24, 1799, and cruised successfully in West Indian waters for more than a year. On October 12, 1800, about six hundred miles northeast of Guadaloupe, she fell in with the French national corvette *Le Berceau,* of twenty-four guns. Although of inferior force, the plucky Frenchman made a good fight. At the end of forty minutes both ships, being badly shattered and having become unmanageable, drifted apart and employed themselves in repairing damages. Several hours later they came together again and fought for another twenty minutes when the *Berceau,* having lost her fore and main topmasts, struck her colors. The *Boston* lost four killed and eleven wounded, three of them mortally; the French reported a loss of four killed and seventeen wounded, an understatement.

The first lieutenant of the *Boston,* Robert Haswell, who had been first mate of the ship *Columbia* on the voyage which resulted in the discovery of the Columbia River in 1791, was put in command of the *Berceau* as prize-master. The *Berceau* was towed by her captor most of the way to Boston, undergoing repairs during the passage. In a heavy sea the cable with which the prize was being towed parted, and she was lost sight of for two days and then again taken in tow. Meanwhile the French captain, Louis André Senes, had been paroled and put on board a passing vessel bound to the West Indies. The *Boston* and her prize arrived in Nantasket Roads on November 15.

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[2] In the library of the Essex Institute are interesting documents from the *Berceau:* three manuscript volumes containing crew-lists and other data, reports of expenditure of ship's stores, etc.

The subsequent history of the *Berceau* and her crew, as long as she remained in American waters, is told in the official correspondence of the government.[3] Stephen Higginson & Company wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin Stoddert, December 5, 1800:

> The prisoners from Le Berceau are now all landed on Castle Island, and have very comfortable accommodations. We have furnished them with clothing and fire-wood, and they are now so well fixed and guarded that it is perhaps best that they should remain there, and not be sent into the interior. We have paroled the officers of that ship, and they are in town, under obligation to remain here until the trial of their ship. Many complaints are made to us by these poor fellows. We afford them all the accommodation in our power, and go all the lengths our orders will admit.

A guard of marines from the *Boston* and the *Herald* was put in charge of the prisoners.

In the Brown collection there is a bill for $10 rendered April 13, 1801, by Harrison Gray Otis for "advice and services in apprehending certain French prisoners deserted from Castle Island." There is also a receipt, June 23, 1801, for $31.83, signed by Timothy Folger, "being in full for expenses of Prisoners of the Le Berceau on shore from sloop Eliza Ann, Capt. Rowe at Nantucket, agreeable to Citizen Clément's order." Presumably these were the men who escaped from Castle Island. Clément was the first lieutenant of the *Berceau*.

Stephen Higginson & Company again wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, December 12:

> Our district court has condemned the prize ship Le Berceau and her app[arel]; and the marshal has advertised her for sale by auction the first of next month. She yet remains below. We have not seen her, but Captain Talbot[4] thinks her a very good cruiser, well constructed, and with excellent cover. The French officers believe that when in trim she is equal to the Boston in sailing; and had she not been too deep, they say she would have escaped. She is seven years old, was built at L'Orient in the best manner, and was esteemed the best corvette ever

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[3] *State Papers and Publick Documents of the United States*, IV (3d ed., Boston, 1819), 388–421. All the subsequent quotations, unless otherwise specified, are taken from this source.

[4] Commodore Silas Talbot, late commander of one of the squadrons in the West Indies, had a few weeks earlier returned to Boston in the frigate *Constitution*.

seen there. Her copper is worn out, her sails and rigging cut to pieces, her masts all gone; and she appears a wreck; but her hull is very good; she has an abundance of maritime stores [and] a new set of sails below. . . .

The secretary of the navy having requested the purchase of this fine ship for the United States, he received from Stephen Higginson & Company the following, dated January 16, 1801: " Yesterday the prize ship Le Berceau was sold at auction; the ship and app[arel] were sold first at eight thousand dollars, afterwards her guns and maritime stores, etc. in different lots. We employed a person to buy in the whole for the government, in a manner that gave a fair chance to make the most of her. The amount we yet know not, as the marshal has not made out the account; probably about twelve thousand in all."

Meanwhile a Treaty of Peace, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and France had been signed at Paris, September 30, 1800. This treaty, which was ratified by the United States Senate on February 3, 1801, required the restoration of all public vessels captured by either nation. The *Berceau* was thereupon taken to the navy yard to be repaired and fitted out for her return to France.

On February 17 the secretary of the navy requested Stephen Higginson & Company to deliver to M. Létombe, commercial agent of France, the French prisoners at Boston, 150 in number, taking a receipt for them and a list of their names. The officers were to be discharged from the obligations of their parole. French prisoners at other places, more than two hundred altogether, were also ordered to be delivered to M. Létombe. He was requested to remove them from the United States as speedily as possible.

Lieutenant Clément and some of the other French officers wished to return to France in March by a cartel which was to be furnished by our government, " but," wrote Létombe from Philadelphia to the secretary of state on March 1, " every thing has been taken from them; they are without money or clothes, and they are indebted in Boston for their daily subsistence, having received nothing for this purpose from the government of the United States." Levi Lincoln, attorney general and acting secretary of state, replied on March 10: " Be assured, sir, the American government will never stop short of the last reasonable exertion to secure justice, and the benefits of humane arrangements to the unfortunate." Stephen Higginson & Company were instructed on the same day "in every such case, to pay to each officer a sum of money equal to two dollars per week for the whole time he has lived at his own expense." Cheap clothing also must be furnished. A few days later Stephen Higginson & Company were requested to send all the French prisoners to New York. The method of providing for the subsistence of the officers was changed (March 20) so that instead of allowing them two dollars per week, the amount of pay that would have been due them from the French government since their capture was placed in the hands of their commanding officer, Lieutenant Clément. The French Republic apparently would assume the charge of their support from the time of their release.[5]

On March 20, 1801, the secretary of the Navy officially notified Stephen Higginson & Company that the *Berceau* was to be restored to France under the treaty.

> You will please to cause her to be delivered, with all her guns, ammunition, apparel, and every thing belonging to her, to the order of Mr. Pichon, commissary general and chargé des affaires, from the French government to the government of the United States, whenever such orders shall appear.
>
> This business should be done as if no reluctance accompanied the restoration. We are now at peace with France, and we should act as if we returned to a state of amity with pleasure. Let there be no cause of complaint against the government or its agents.

Beginning with April 1 the secretary's letters are addressed to Samuel Brown instead of Stephen Higginson & Company. On that day Brown was requested "to ascertain without delay the state the French national ship Le Berceau was in at the time of her capture, as to her armament, stores, and provisions, and to cause her to be put in the same condition before she is delivered up to the French government." On June 24 Brown notified the Secretary of the Navy that on the twenty-second the *Berceau* "was delivered to the commissary of the French government, and the captain at the same time took charge of her." The secretary, on July 3, being satisfied that the ship had been "sufficiently repaired and furnished," required a statement of the precise condition she was in when delivered to the French officers: "no more expense must be incurred on the part of the United States on her account." The total cost of repairs and supplies was $32,839.54. Very many interesting details appear in this correspondence.

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[5] *State Papers,* IV. 405.

There was, as Brown wrote to the secretary on July 13, great delay in getting the *Berceau* ready for sea, in spite of his utmost endeavors. She finally set sail for France on September 26, 1801. It is not stated by whom she was navigated; but it was presumably by a crew made up of French naval prisoners under the command of Lieutenant Michelson, at that time the senior officer.

A month later, October 28, 1801, the frigate *Boston,* now commanded by Captain Daniel McNeill, also sailed for France, having as passenger the newly appointed United States minister to the French Republic, Robert R. Livingston. Having landed him, she sailed into the Mediterranean under orders to join the United States squadron then engaged in war with Tripoli. The frigate eventually came to her end in 1814 when she was destroyed at the Washington Navy Yard to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy when the British raided the nation's capital.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 9, 1933, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Robert P. Bellows and Mrs. Ellen Bellows Endicott, papers of their father, the Reverend Henry Whitney Bellows, 1831–1907, and a collection of his manuscript sermons.

From GEORGE H. LYMAN, a letter-book kept by James Ivers of Boston, containing letters to his son-in-law, James Trecothick of London, and others, January 18, 1782–January 31, 1789, relating largely to legal and family affairs connected with several estates in Boston.

From Charles B. Brown, the manuscript report of a Whig meeting at Leicester, April 27, 1840, bearing a large number of signatures of Whigs in that town.

From Mrs. C. Ashley Hardy of New York, by deposit for the children of Charles Ashley, the Ashley family papers, 1771–1902.

From MATT B. JONES, the petition of Nathaniel Sharpe, keeper of the Salem jail, December 31, 1695, for salary due him; and the account, undated, of William Downton, also keeper of the Salem jail, of expenses "consarning the witchcraft for diet," giving the names of nineteen persons, some of which do not appear in Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*.

By purchase: papers of the Thacher family of Biddeford, Maine, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and other places, 1667–1881.

Mr. HENRY G. PEARSON read the following paper:

FREDERIC TUDOR, ICE KING

William Tudor, father of Frederic, was a citizen of high standing in the Boston of Revolutionary days and the decades following. A Harvard graduate, he studied law in the office of John Adams, joined Washington's army in Cambridge, and performed the duties of judge advocate-general, with the rank of colonel. A tea-drinking Tory, Delia Jarvis, was the object of his affections. For her sake he swam the channel to Noddle's Island, where her family had taken refuge when the siege of Boston began — an exploit which doubtless helped in turning her allegiance from tea to Tudor. In 1778 they were married, and he resigned from the army to establish himself as a lawyer in Boston. His practice flourished, he took part in public life, and on the death of his father in 1796 inherited an estate worth forty thousand dollars, a considerable sum of money in those days. It was not wealth, however, nor family, nor professional or public activity that gave him his position in the small, self-contained world of the Boston of the end of the eighteenth century. By nature serene, dignified, and considerate, concerned with things of the mind, and characterized by an urbanity which enabled him to hold George III in conversation for a period so long as to bring expostulations from the lord in waiting, who had others to present, William Tudor was first and foremost a gentleman, if the word may be still used in its undebased sense. As he was a type, so was his wife an individual. With no mean endowment of natural gifts, and well educated, she had a social ease and charm that made her a "celebrity," whether in Boston or in the courts of Europe. Always in touch with men and women of the great world, always active-minded, she was a vivid personality. "I enjoy all on earth that is genuine," she wrote in her old age, and that had been true of her all her life. Not only her enjoyment but her plans and anxieties she was eager to impart to others; the world listened, though sometimes, it must be admitted, after the fashion of the wedding guest in the *Ancient Mariner*.

Six children survived infancy and early childhood: William (1779–1830), John Henry (1782–1802), Frederic (September 4, 1783–February 6, 1864), Emma Jane (1785–1865), who married Robert Hallowell Gardiner, Delia (1787–1861), who became the wife of Charles Stewart, and Henry James (1791–1864). The advantages under which these boys and girls grew up were by no means merely external. Besides a strong sense of family solidarity, there was individuality in plenty amongst them. They were active, they were gay, they were outspoken and determined. In the life of the household while they were growing up there was nothing to suggest the traditional somberness and the restraint of old New England. (In this connection it must be remembered that the mother came of a Tory family and that they attended Trinity Church.) Lessons in French, music, and drawing were a matter of course; they went to the theatre and to parties; and at their country place, Rockwood, a substantial homestead still standing by the side of the Newburyport turnpike in the town of Saugus, they lived a free and zestful out-of-door life. "I well remember," wrote Mrs.

Tudor, " that one or more of our town friends beginning to impart their plans of invading our retreat, I named it to one of the family, who said he would purchase a four pound brass cannon to open upon them should they approach." Twice Colonel Tudor and his wife made an extensive tour of Europe; as was to be expected, foreigners visiting Boston were received at his house with an understanding welcome found under few other roofs in the city.

Happily, one of these strangers, the lively young Marquis de Chastellux, has left a record of his entertainment in the hospitable home of the Tudors on Court Street. Arriving in Boston in the fall of 1782, he was taken in charge by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, commander of the French squadron then in the harbor. With a fluent knowledge of their language, Mrs. Tudor was already on terms of friendship with the French admiral and his officers, and they at once brought their guest to her house. De Chastellux, a gentleman of no small musical cultivation, was delighted to find that she had arranged a program of French songs, to be sung by a young nephew of the admiral to the accompaniment of his harp. " I thought myself in heaven, or which is the same thing, I thought myself returned to my country." [1] Of another evening at the Tudors' he writes: " Her husband, after frequently whispering to her, at length communicated to us an excellent piece of pleasantry of her invention, which was a petition to the queen, written in French, wherein under pretext of complaining of M. de Vaudreuil and his squadron, she bestowed on them the most delicate and most charming eulogium."

The daughters of the family were unusually spirited and attractive girls. Of the four sons, three prepared for Harvard in the regular way, attended college, and graduated — William in 1796, John in 1800, Henry in 1810. The other son, Frederic, was a maverick. In the year 1793, when he was ten years old, he was enrolled in the Boston Latin School; but soon after he reached the age of thirteen, taking advantage, perhaps, of his father's absence abroad, he freed himself from scholastic trammels and became the youngest apprentice in the new store of Ducosten and Marshall on State Street. As a matter of fact, for a boy of his marked individuality, the life that went on in his own family was undoubtedly a richer source of education than anything afforded by the Latin School or Harvard College. Not only was he well read and a correct and trenchant writer (indeed, he could write!), but he had a boundless curiosity for all sorts of facts and a genuine, if untrained, gift for experiment and invention. So constituted, he naturally looked upon college as a place for loafers, and after a visit to his brother John's room at Harvard, which he found littered with the painting outfit of Washington Allston, John's roommate, he felt that he had ample evidence to prove his point. On the other hand, his brother William, scholarly and ineffective, never ceased to tell him what he had lost. " To a man who is to be a gentleman in the world nothing can compensate for the want of a college education." In William's eyes Frederic's rejection of college for business was a blot on the family name.

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[1] *Travels in North America* (New York, 1827), 326; see also pages 324, 333, 334, 335.

Significant as was Frederic Tudor's achievement in the world of affairs, the chief interest in the study of his life is his character. Self-centered, dynamic, high-strung, he possessed an " Ancient Mariner " complex fully as intense as his mother's. He had to pour himself out, and since he did so in letters and diaries all carefully preserved, there exists of him a self-portrait of a kind most unusual and exceedingly fascinating to the student of human nature. Furthermore, the preservation of many letters exchanged between other members of the family, and of abundant business records makes it possible to see the play of his character upon those with whom he was most closely associated. Thus Frederic Tudor's story tells itself in his own words. At the same time that it is highly personal, it presents a picture of family relationships, of life in Boston, and of business in America during a period of which our knowledge needs some enlargement.

The following extracts from letters written by William to his parents at the age of twenty and by Frederic to his sister Delia introduce four members of the family and distinguish their characteristics.

William Tudor to his Mother

Paris, Sept. 22, 1799

. . . A young Bostonian . . . is going . . . to embark from Rochelle for America. . . . I shall . . . put under his care a collection of music which I bought here, for which I paid with the binding about $400. With it I will send all the particulars. I bought it at Pleyel's and from his advice did not follow the original intention of my mother to confine it to his works; it is a varied collection and for its size I trust a good one. There are about eighty sonates of Haydn, Pleyel, Koseluch, Steibelt, Clementi, Mozart etc. fifteen overtures, the most celebrated that you have not at present, such as Pamorze, Psyche, Ballet de Paris, etc, de Telemaque, la Caravanne, etc. etc. There is also a number of other pieces for the piano, a small collection of the most favorite ariettes, a few pieces of Musique for a Grand Orchestre, and also a set of quatuors of Pleyel and Boccherini, those of Pleyel are already known in America, but those of Boccherini, who is a favorite author, I suspect are not. This part of it, although we have not among ourselves the performers, yet 'tis not amiss to own them in a collection of Musique, particularly as they may serve to diversify the Concerts of Franklin Place.

William Tudor to his Father, 1799

I am afraid I shall be full of plans when I return; but then you know it is not necessary to execute them; and there is a pleasure in talking.

Frederic Tudor to Delia

Whenever I find myself run away with by humanity I feel incompetent to the common duties of existence. *My* son shall be a *fighter.* I will glory in him who shall not be too good. He shall have the common frailties of mankind and as many virtues of the bolder order as shall please heaven to award him. He may shed a tear of sympathy but he shall never be a *crybabe.* None of your whining, faultless children for me. Our dear Harry has no fault, but being too fine a fellow, and this will be more against him than a glaring fault. He has less power to bear up in [the] tempestuous sea of life's ills than if he were made of harsher materials. Don't you shew Harry this letter; but I will always contend that the perfection of his character is while *unnatural* the most *unfortunate* thing that could have happened to him.

This ringing challenge to the world is Tudor's philosophy of individualism, thoroughly expressive of the early nineteenth century. He practised it consistently and defended it with all his vigor of tongue and pen. He was never " run away with by humanity " — perhaps that was one of the reasons why he died worth a million dollars.

Frederic's apprenticeship to business could not have been of long duration, for much of the next few years was spent at Rockwood. His parents were in Europe; sometimes his young sisters were with him, sometimes he was alone. Into the work of the farm he threw himself with all his heart, keeping a careful record of his various agricultural experiments. He roamed the woods and fields, gun in hand, accompanied by a black boy, Sambo; within doors he read much and well. Business was not entirely banished, for from time to time he entrusted small ventures to a correspondent in Havana, investing his profits in molasses and cigars. A youth of slender build and nervous temperament, he may have been turned loose on the farm for reasons of health. Whatever the cause, it was a way of existence that he put to good use.

Because he was thus free, there came to him, when he was seventeen, a heavy responsibility. His brother John, seventeen months older than himself and just graduated from Harvard, had suffered a severe injury to his knee. Travel to a warm climate was prescribed, and in February, 1801, the two set out for Havana, a city to be associated with many crises in Frederic Tudor's life. Encouraged to believe that in a few months the invalid would be cured, their spirit was one of high adventure. " Two little inexperienced boys with a thousand dollars in their pockets. But yet we are thirty-six years old, and in wisdom forty."

From the start of this vain and, as it seems to us, fantastic voyage in search of a cure, to its tragic termination in January, 1802, Frederic's letters are numerous and full of detail. He was nurse, companion, and correspondent for his brother, and at home there was a family whose anxiety increased month by month. Returning by way of Charleston, the travellers visited cities and health resorts until at Philadelphia the exhausted invalid could go no farther. When the end came, Frederic alone of all the family was with his brother.

After he got back to Boston, he obtained a place in the office of his father's friend, Major William B. Sullivan. Not an apprentice, hardly even an employee, he made this his headquarters for the next two years, engaging in ventures on his own account in pimento, nutmegs, flour, sugar, tea, candles, cotton, silk, claret — whatever commodities, in short, promised a profit at the moment. He was also very much a young man about town, fond of gaiety, and with no necessity to apply himself diligently to work. When he reached the age of twenty-one, his father set him up in business for himself. For nearly a year he continued in much the same way as before. Then came the great idea in which the effort of his life was to center — ice for the West Indies.

To the end of his days Frederic Tudor maintained that this idea was his own exclusively. To question his priority was an unforgivable offence. The very vehemence of his contention might have aroused suspicion but for the circumstance that he was vehement in all things. Nevertheless, the fact seems to have been otherwise, though it would have been of little importance but for Tudor's jealousy.

At this time, in the summer of 1805, the family stood at the height of its fame in the Boston world; it was also at the peak of its own felicity, for the lovely and endearing Emma had just been married to Robert Hallowell Gardiner, one of the most eligible young men in society on account of both his personal qualities and his wealth. At one of the gay gatherings not long after the wedding, William Tudor threw out the suggestion that the ice on the pond at Rockwood might be harvested and sold at ports in the Caribbean. The practice of housing ice for their own use was already in vogue among the well-to-do families of Boston; why not make a business venture of it and introduce the new commodity into warm climates? William was always, as he said, "full of plans; but then, you know, it is not necessary to execute them." Frederic, however, much to the entertainment of his friends, took the idea seriously, and in a startlingly short time it had flowered into action, the first evidence of which was the purchase of a good-sized journal and the entry in it on August 1 of his purpose. On the leather of the front cover he printed the year, 1805, and the motto: "He who gives back at the first repulse and without striking the second blow despairs of success has never been, is not, and never will be a hero in war, love, or business." With this challenge the ice business may be said to have begun.

The journal, which Tudor called his "ice house diary," was for sixteen years an inseparable companion — his "wedding guest," always at hand to receive outpourings of joy or grief. It is a unique document; for the business man, when he records his deeds, usually does it after a lapse of years and practically never tells how he felt at the time. With Tudor, to express the emotion at the moment was as important as to narrate the act. Furthermore, the hard dealings of fate with him transformed him from a carefree young fellow, floating with the stream, into a man struggling against a fierce current that threatened to sweep him away. Again and again he had nothing left but courage; still he fought on. The record of this struggle as he tells it is so vivid that the reader accepts it on his own terms as heroic, even though it deals with the making of money by the sale of such a humble commodity as ice.

Being excitable and full of nervous energy, Tudor was wont to rush into an affair without the forethought and preparation that would prevent his landing in absurdity, if not actual disaster. "Will you learn to lay the foundations before raising the roof?" exclaimed his cousin, James Savage, upon the miscarriage of one venture. This shot would hit off his first undertaking were it not that the story of it has something of the quality of a youthful lark. His associates were his brother William and James Savage, and the plan was for these two to start at once for St. Pierre's, Martinique, and other ports in the West Indies in order to prepare the way; in due time Frederic would follow with the cargo of ice. It is an understatement of the truth to say that William Tudor and James Savage had little capacity for business. They were ready to travel to these strange lands and to talk French with the mother of the Empress Josephine and other ladies of her kind; but in such details as obtaining subscriptions to the project and, especially, providing a place for storing ice they were sadly to seek. Savage, almost immediately after he arrived at Martinique, fell ill, and on his recovery departed after William, who had already left for the Leeward Islands. When, in March, 1806, Frederic arrived with his cargo in perfect condition, he found at St. Pierre's an atmosphere of skepticism created by his agents, but little else. However, with the author of the enterprise on the scene, matters took a different turn. He at once got permission to sell direct from his boat and proceeded to advertise his wares and pursue every possible customer.

Frederic Tudor to Robert H. Gardiner

St. Pierres March 10th, 1806

It is difficult to conceive how determined to believe most of the people here are that ice will melt in spite of all precautions; and their methods of keeping it are laughable, to be sure. One carries it through the street to his house in the sun noon day, puts it in a plate before his door, and then complains that "il fond." Another puts it in a tub of water, a third by way of climax put his in salt! and all this notwithstanding they were directed in the hand bill what to do.

The man who keeps the Tivoli garden insisted ice creams could not be made in this country and that the ice itself would all thaw before

> he could get it home! I told him I had made them here; . . . I wrote an order for 40 lbs. of ice, and in a pretty warm tone directed the man to have his cream ready and that I would come to freeze it for him in the morning, which I did accordingly, being determined to spare no pains to convince these people that they can not only have ice but all the luxuries arising as well here as elsewhere. The Tivoli man recd. for these creams the first night $300; after this he was humble as a mushroom. . . .

Tudor's investment in this venture was $10,000, of which $4,750 went for the purchase of the brig *Favorite*. The outcome was a loss of between three and four thousand dollars and the realization that his first necessity was knowledge of the proper construction of an icehouse. Nothing daunted, he kept on, sending a cargo the next season to Havana, with encouraging results. Meanwhile he had despatched his brother across the Atlantic to obtain licenses from England and France to trade with their colonies. But the titanic struggle in which these two countries were engaged was shaking the world; America was involved; and when Jefferson's embargo became law, on December 22, 1807, all hope of carrying on the ice business was for the time at an end. The news found Tudor at Havana preparing for a good season. He returned home and devoted himself to making the farm at Rockwood pay; at the same time he experimented persistently on models for an icehouse.

Meanwhile the fortunes of the family were threatened with disaster. Along with several men of means, Colonel Tudor had embarked on a land development scheme in South Boston. So profitable did the venture promise to be that he set out with his wife and his daughter Delia for a second European tour. In the two years or more of their stay abroad the ladies tasted to the full the delights of Napoleon's new imperial court; but when the family returned to Boston, they found their fortune gone. The South Boston land speculation is an incident well known in the history of the city's development; to a number of her leading citizens it brought misfortune; to William Tudor, ruin. From the time of this disaster to his death ten years later his income was the meager salary provided by his position as clerk of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. His debts were numerous, and the respect in which he was held by his friends and contemporaries did not protect him from threats of arrest.

Simultaneously with the family catastrophe, Frederic's embarrassments thickened. In spite of laws and proclamations, trade went on between the United States and the West Indies. At Havana, in 1809, Tudor remarks that although the port was closed, it was really open. Americans were not permitted to land, but it was impossible to keep them out. Mere regulations would not have deterred Tudor; but his business was so insecure that it could not stand up against world convulsion. In debt himself, he was also the cause of debt to others, who now repented of the ease with which they had been persuaded to take shares with him. Furthermore, his father needed help, and his brother was a burden rather than an aid. Frederic alone must carry the Tudors through.

He was now twenty-six. From this date on, he was for years engaged in a wrestle with fate. Full of courage and resourcefulness, he turned to one thing after another, from time to time receiving enough encouragement to continue, only to be repulsed more cruelly. The result was to stamp on him a conviction which became his life-motive: to redeem the position of the family he must become rich; without wealth a person is nothing, subject to the kicks and indignities of the meanest. "A man without money is like a body without a soul — a walking dead man," he quotes. This belief was no formula of a rationaliser. When a man has been put in jail for debt, not once but several times, he develops a philosophy of wealth that is in a high degree realistic. Moreover, if he is young and resolute, the indignity sharpens his fighting spirit to a dangerous degree; less than ever is he likely to be "run away with by his humanity." Given a man with these characteristics, an "Ancient Mariner" complex, and a feeling that the world is against him, and you have the conditions for producing such a record of his life as Tudor left behind him.

Early in 1810 conditions of trade were such that he determined to make another desperate attempt. "So poor, so discouraged, I felt indifferent about life, and I embarked without a dollar to pay my passage to Havana." He succeeded, however, in scraping together enough credit to build an icehouse, and as it was the fourth that he had constructed, it contained enough improvements to keep ice from April to September. He was stricken with yellow fever, and he suffered from the oppressive climate of that summer; but when he returned in July, his sales had been $5,600 gross, later increased by $1,800. Best of all, he had obtained from the government an exclusive privilege for six years.

The ice venture was not the only path by which Tudor tempted fortune. He was too active to be satisfied with an enterprise which was limited to so small a part of the year and which, moreover, was so uncertain. Consequently a part of his profits went into a search for coal at Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard; his father's necessities consumed the rest, and his debtors remained unsatisfied. The result was an execution served upon him and his arrest in the street. Fortunately he raised enough money for a sop and so "escaped the Strong House where persons who undertake such a project as this book records generally end."

Throughout Frederic Tudor's business career it was his practice to try to make one risk secure by taking another. He was not the only business man to attempt success by this method; in all times it will have its defenders. If it is to be justified, it must be in terms of temperament; in such a man courage — or rashness — simply outweighs judgment. At any rate, no sooner had Tudor obtained his concession in Havana than he began operations in Jamaica, sending thither his twenty-year-old brother Harry, just out of Harvard, and "trusting luck." On shipping his second cargo of ice thither he remarks that the gross expenses for this undertaking would prove to be nearly $7,500. The vessel carrying the ice was lost off Port Royal — "a fortunate circumstance, as the undertaking does not succeed at Jama[ica] and I saved the payment of freight." At Havana, meanwhile, things did not go well, for, though the sales amounted to nearly $9,000 gross, he received only $1,000, owing to the "villainous conduct" of his agent.

The first of January, 1812, found him "struggling with multiplied embarrassments, . . . almost sick of hope, and tired with unavailing toil. When I cast back a look upon the many prime years of my life that I have dedicated to this undertaking I am in fact disheartened, but I keep up my spirits to the world. Still it is pleasant to record one's dejection; it serves to relieve the oppression of the mind like the telling of our griefs to a friend who will excuse the weakness, and where shall we indulge but to ourselves and solicit in secret the pity of Heaven."

In February he wrote: "Judgement was obtained against me for about $700. on an old note, and ex[ecuti]on may be extended on me any moment. I hope to prevent being pushed into limits,[2] but to pay it at present is impossible. However, if I must submit to this mortification it shall not prevent me from pursuing my business. I owe a good deal of money, but I think with common good fortune to be able from the proceeds of this year to get relief." Next month the blow fell. He wrote on March 14, 1812:

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[2] That is, the area, determined by the Court of General Sessions, within which the debtor must remain. "To go into the limits" meant to give security for remaining within them until one had come to an agreement with one's creditors.

> On Monday the 9th instant I was arrested on the above mentioned execution and locked-up as a debtor in Boston jail. . . .
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> On this memorable day in my little annals March 9th 1812 I am 28 years 6 months and 5 days old. It is an event which I think I could not have avoided; but it is a climax which I did hope to have escaped, as my affairs are looking well at last after a fearful struggle with adverse circumstances for seven years — but it has taken place and I have endeavoured to meet it as I would the tempest of heaven which should serve to strengthen rather than reduce the spirit of a true man.

In spite of a fair season at Havana and Kingston and his luck in getting into Boston, just after the declaration of war with England in June, a consignment of a hundred barrels of molasses, worth $3,000, he was overwhelmed with debts and pursued by creditors. He lists his obligations and his assets, finding a balance against him of $10,372 out of a total of $38,772. Then he remarks judicially: "Such is the deplorable state of my finances, produced principally by the war and partly by credulity and sanguine calculation; I have dedicated my thoughts to other pursuits; being too deeply involved by the result of one project to regain the beaten tract of regular business, I proceed to another."

To a city of maritime traditions war suggested privateering. As a contribution to the increased shipbuilding which he foresaw Tudor designed a new type of hull and obtained a patent for it. The essence of his improvement was the distinction between the main body and the keel. The hull drew most water forward of midships; the keel drew most aft at the stern post, being three to six times deeper there than at the extreme breadth of the vessel. With his usual volubility and earnestness he talked to everyone about his project, got support for it, and actually had a vessel built. When the *Black Swan,* as he named her, was given a trial, she by no means came up to his expectations; but the disappointment at her failure was nothing compared to the mortification that he experienced on the day of her launching. The boat — "a kind of fiddle of my heart" — had excited the attention of the town; but in the moment of his joy, "as she was warping towards Charles

River bridge, there came on board a sheriff with an execution against me in favour of E. Cook for about $300. I of course surrendered and was carried off to Cambridge jail and there locked up for several hours until I could get news home; in the afternoon I obtained bail. As this thing was unexpected it came without any of the alleviations of an expected event."

The story of Frederic Tudor is also the story of his family. In his dealings with its members he was as impulsive and as masterful as in his business affairs. His sister Delia, now twenty-six years old, brought back to Boston and poverty after her gay life abroad, was a problem to them all. Obviously the solution was marriage, and Frederic took it upon himself to bring the event to pass. At about this time there came to town Captain Charles Stewart, assigned to command the *Constitution,* then refitting at the navy yard after her famous conflict with the *Guerrière.* As a young man Stewart had distinguished himself in the naval war with France and in the operations against Tripoli; now, at the age of thirty-five, he was believed to be rich. A bluff and rough sea dog, he had, further, the romantic appeal of a supposed resemblance to Nelson. Whatever attraction he and Delia Tudor may have had for each other was encouraged by Frederic, with the result that on Thanksgiving Day, 1813, the two were married in Trinity Church at the conclusion of the morning service. A cruelly ill-starred match it proved; if Frederic took credit for it at the time, he must have bitterly regretted his part later.

At the beginning of 1814 Tudor's fortunes were still low, and he was hounded by creditors. One especially active agent, he wrote on January 18,

> has driven me to immense sacrifices and to great exertions, and when neither could obtain money I have given him the body. One instance of getting the amount of the bond and the pound of flesh also I must forever remember. He had obtained judgement and ex[ecution] on me and my Father. On the day before the return day I went into the limits. In the evening and without previous notice my Father was arrested also, and was about giving bonds for the limits also when . . . [his] attorney offered to release my Father provided I would give up my watch, a very favorite one, and agree to have it sold at auction unless redeemed in 60 days. This I did, handing my watch warm from my pocket to the sheriff and remaining myself imprisoned. I did it, I thank God, with indignation! . . .
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> Again he pursues, but with abated vigour; he begins at last to believe

that I am unable. . . . My fault with him has been in believing him a reasonable man and of having been too open hearted. I have from beginning to end shown him precisely my situation and prospects. . . .

I complain of hard destiny, and have I not reason? If it were constitutional habit, I should despise myself. I have manfully maintained as long as I possibly could that "success is virtue." I say so still; but my heart tells me that I don't believe it. Have I not been industrious? have not many of my calculations been good? and have not all my undertakings in the eventful Ice business been attended by a villainous train of events against which no calculation could be made which have heretofore prevented success which must have followed if only the common chances and changes of this world had not happened against me? They have worried me. They have cured me of superfluous gaiety. They have made my head grey; but they have not driven me to despair.

With the end of the war Tudor planned to resume his ice business. The license for Havana had one more season to run, and he made his preparations to take thither the frame for an icehouse and carpenters to erect it. Raising the necessary money, however, was as difficult as ever. At last he scraped together $2,100, of which $1,400 was to pay for the icehouse and its transportation to Havana, and, "pursued by sheriffs to the very wharf," embarked on November 1, 1815.

Arrived in Cuba, Tudor found himself at once plunged in difficulties. An adventurer, Goberto de Ceta, who boldly proclaimed his ability to make ice on the spot, having done everything possible to harm him there, had sailed for the United States to discredit him in Boston. Furthermore, the obstructions placed in his way by the Havana authorities made it impossible for him to obtain a site for his building and begin the erection of it until February 13, 1816. On the twenty-fifth the first cargo of ice arrived. With the parts of the structure already fashioned, however, the assembling of them was fairly rapid, and by the middle of March his ice was well housed.

This building, which represents probably the first attempt made by man to preserve a large quantity of ice above ground, merits some description. On the outside it was twenty-five feet square; the dimensions of the inner shell were nineteen feet, its height, sixteen. On top was a floor, trap doors in which provided access to the area below. In the space between the floor and the roof were the sales room, reached by an outside staircase, and living quarters for the keeper. The structure was supported by 156 red cedar posts. As the building was only a hundred feet from the place where the vessel lay, a staging running from the boat's side to the door in the second story was used for unloading the cargo; two gangs of twenty negroes each carried the ice in baskets on their heads. When the icehouse, which held about 150 tons, was filled, the top layer was covered with nine inches of shavings.

As soon as his commodity was housed, Tudor began experiments to determine the amount of loss from the " decay " of the ice and the reasons for it. A conductor in the floor carried the water to a hogshead, beside which, watch in hand, he stood, noting the volume of water flowing and weighing the discharge each hour. At first the hourly loss was fifty-six pounds, which he accounted for by the fact that the trap doors had to be kept open for the workmen, and the fresh wind drove in the warm air. As soon as it was possible for these doors to remain closed, the loss of ice decreased considerably. He then added a four-inch layer of sawdust around the building on the outside for two thirds of the way up; but as the outer wall which held this in place consisted of tin, the result was no improvement, the tin merely drawing heat to the sawdust. However, by removing the top layer of shavings wherever it became wet and by covering the whole with blankets, he was successful in diminishing the waste of ice, and finally got the loss down to eighteen pounds an hour.

His first sale was made on March 5, 1816, which, he noted, was ten years to a day since his first sale in Martinique. Nine tenths of what he sold went to proprietors of " coffee-houses," where it was used for making ice cream and for cooling drinks — both novelties. " Drink, Spaniards," he wrote, " and be cool, that I, who have suffered so much in the cause, may be able to go home and keep myself warm." At the end of three months he had taken in $3,000; his estimate for the next six months was $6,500.

At the same time that Tudor was making these studies to improve the efficiency of his icehouse, he was investigating the effect of cold on preserving fruit. Two boxes containing forty oranges each were placed, one on the floor of the second story, the other on top of the shavings immediately above the ice. At the end of a month the first box was found to contain sixteen rotten oranges, the other, only one. An experiment in transporting tropical fruit from Cuba to the United States packed in ice and hay nearly set the boat afire; again it was a case of his raising the roof before laying the foundations.

On the credit side of this season's business were the facts that

Tudor had proved he could keep ice in a warm climate and that he had definitely established himself in Havana; the renewal of his license by the Spanish authorities assured him of success. On the other hand, his rash experiment with the cargo of fruit, for which he had borrowed $3,000 in Havana at the " modest interest " of 40 per cent a year, had proved disastrous. Consequently, on his return to Boston his creditors at once became active, and his stay was short.

Except for Havana there was no place in the West Indies to which he could extend his business with any hope of success. Brazil and Calcutta were in his thoughts, but hardly for the immediate future. Of necessity he limited his range and determined on Charleston, South Carolina. His departure was not auspicious. " Oh! hateful and debasing feelings," he wrote on November 15, 1816, " to be in such a situation as to be obliged to leave one's home in anything like a clandestine manner. I could not conceal my intention and I did not; but I am satisfied my departure was without the knowledge of those who could and who *would* have stopped me. Had the vessel been delayed a *day*, the present plan for this city would not have been undertaken."

Fortune continued to tease him with alternations of success and failure. A good season always tempted him to venture more boldly; a bad one made his affairs more critical than ever before. His liability to blundering, illustrated by the midsummer cargo of southern fruits, was exemplified again as soon as he landed in Charleston. Following his procedure in West Indian ports, he sought a grant of exclusive privilege from the legislature of South Carolina, but in this he was naturally unsuccessful. His father commented on this step in a letter written January 7, 1817: " All that any Legislature of a free and commercial State ought to grant in a Case like yours should be a Bonus or Premium for a year or two, to introduce the Luxury you proffer them. What has the Majority of the Citizens to gain from the Introduction of an article that can never reach them? The wealthy ones of Charleston and its Invirons alone can enjoy the pleasant Effect and are able to pay for their exclusive Benefits."

At this period the indolence of his brother Harry, who could talk delightfully but at twenty-six had " fallen into langour and nothingness," called forth from Frederic repeated adjurations; whether or not as a result, Harry did become a steady and important assistant in the ice business and continued in it throughout his long life. On April 14, 1817, by way of arousing the idler to emulation, Tudor sent him from Charleston an account of the season's business.

> To convince you that I am not one of those unprofitable preachers who merely *teach* the steep and thorny path to Heaven, I will give you some account of myself since I have been here. I returned to Boston penniless and finding my Ice business not as popular as I expected, I borrowed $300 from a friend. Of these I gave $50 to that thankless Brother of yours and embarked in the ship Milo for this place without a single person to bid me goodbye or shake me by the hand as I left the wharf. Soon after my arrival here, without any other aid than I found within myself, I made a bargain for a supply of money sufficient to proceed in erecting my Ice House upon the condition of obtaining from the Legislature of this state an exclusive privilege. I went to Columbia, the seat of the Government, and failed in my object and returned with my money spent and my bargain at an end. During my absence and after my return here I received letters from Havana mentioning the probability my Ice House would be removed and wishing orders to know what should be done with the materials. A most unpleasant and affrontive letter from William. A letter from Stanwood [in Havana] – informing me of the protest of my bills on Fellowes for $2000 – and subsequently your letter about the suit commenced against you. Had I faultered all would have been lost. I thought for a moment I must sell *my watch and escape* home, abandon my Havana business, this also, and sink into utter despair.
>
> About this time I made a memorandum in my Ice book Diary "what signifies courage if it abandons us in our utmost need?" I made many other reflections (after a few wincings of weakness) on the dastardliness of despair. I put my shoulder to the wheel and after many a hard struggle I have rolled my waggon on. Stanwood was persuaded to go on – Davenport also. The Ice House in Havana was allowed to stand. My carpenter arrived and the poor abandoned Bankrupt, that might have been, stood the whole of this tremendous storm by the mere force of resolution. I have so willed it, and you may depend upon it that a thorough determination will overcome difficulties, and with honour too, which mere reason adjudges to be insurmountable.

At about the same time, April 8, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Robert H. Gardiner:

> Through a wearisome march of twelve years I have got within grasp a most distinguished success. I have, it is true, had some support from a few of my friends; but from most of them I have not even had so much as their good opinion. I have been set down as a wild projector without stability of calculation or correctness of judgment.

> You I may rank amongst the few who have stood by me, I believe even from the first, and I feel grateful for it. The lonely and desolate feelings which overwhelm a man in his struggles with the world and with its opinion against him [are] scarcely to be conceived of. Their bitterness must be tasted to be fully understood.
>
> That I must go to Havana is certain. It is with no light heart that I do it. Should my unfortunate destiny lead me there to come back no more, I hope my memory will be cherished by at least a few of my friends. Those who shall not hold it in kindness I forgive.

To a man sailing for Havana at the beginning of the yellow fever season the forebodings of these last sentences were natural, and the family well knew that they were not unfounded. Even Colonel Tudor, usually calm and hopeful, was moved. "Come home," he wrote, "and let us all strive to restore former days, and if we can not be rich, leave it to those who are to be querulous and miserable."

Frederic's answer was what might have been expected: "There is nothing in my opinion debases a man's spirit like penury. Its tendency is to degrade the soul; reason and philosophy preach in vain."

This struggle for riches, going on unceasingly and at high tension in a man of delicate constitution, was bound more and more to affect not only his health but his philosophy of life. The alteration it wrought in him appears in an exchange of letters between himself and Robert Gardiner. The latter, living on his estate in Maine, was a country squire of the type to which his English upbringing had accustomed him, but also something more; he was a developer, on a generous and long-range scale, of our eastern frontier; further, he professed and practised a Christianity free from bigotry and cant. The Church of England service, with its beauty and dignity of ritual, which he had known in his youth, he transferred to the banks of the Kennebec, training the choir himself and frequently conducting the service. Christmas, with its yule log, was a high festival, and Puritanism was unknown. Combining strength with sweetness, Robert Gardiner was the only member of the family who could deal with Frederic Tudor in man-to-man fashion, on a basis of equality.

> I have always admired your perseverance [he wrote Tudor on March 23, 1818] and think you are right to strive after an easy independence; but beyond this what value is there in riches? They add to our care, our anxiety, and our responsibility, and but little to our enjoy-

> ment. You have gone through so much trouble, have seen so much misery, disease, and death, that I should think you would have learnt the little value of every earthly possession and that our only real happiness is in what will fit and prepare us for a more enduring country.

Tudor replied from Charleston on April 4:

> I most sincerely and heartily regret that you have arrived at a view of life similar to my own, although not precisely the same. It is more than two years since I became satisfied in my mind of the absolute worthlessness of our existence here, and the difficulties I have passed through, which to give them a mild term have been horrible, have not had a tendency to lessen or soften this opinion. I consider, however, we owe certain duties to the authour of all things and that we may not do otherwise than fulfil them. I go no further at present than the ties of morality in my idea of the duties we owe to God. . . .
>
> I am clearly of opinion that whatever our faith may be the pursuit of happiness here is a moral duty and that too great sacrifices of present felicity should not be made today for the benefit which is to be derived to us tomorrow. To be cheerful and kind to our friends and to make few sacrifices to propitiate our foes is agreeable to our nature and not inconsistent with the laws of Heaven. " Do good to thine enemy; love them that hate you " I cannot take as a rule of life; neither do I believe it was intended by the founder of our religion to be literally carried into effect but intended to arm us against resentment and retaliation which a perfectly correct mind cannot but feel against any unjustifiable injury done us. It is impossible to love our friends if we do anything more than pardon our enemies.
>
> With respect to your opinion of riches I cannot agree with you. I do think they are necessary to a full enjoyment of this life. We may not understand each other on the meaning of the word wealth — a state of competency with a prospect of advance is perhaps as good a situation as can be wished — our nature requires hope and expectation; no man can say he is content in any other condition. The thing to be desired is that we shall not sacrifice our present comforts, in keen anxiety for the ability to extend them. Money is wanted for luxuries, for we have been brought up in the habit of considering them a great good. But what most men desire more than all is the respect, the deference, and the good opinion of their fellow men. A state of poverty and embarrassment cannot inspire these sentiments, neither will a moderate competency. Wealth adds luster to our virtues and though it may not soften the heart it adds to our felicity, because it carries an unquestioned authority in the world and must make a good man better. . . .
>
> I wrote a gay letter some time since to my sister. She inclines a little too much to sadness; she cannot look on life's evils without a tear. Teach her to do otherwise; pensiveness and regrets are unavailing, they only increase the general amount of sorrow, they cannot lessen it.

The next extract, from a letter to Gardiner written from Boston on August 24, 1818, shows plainly not only what the years altered in Frederic Tudor but also what they left unchanged.

> The stubborn, erratic, and hard course of life which I have led for years past has given to my character something of their nature. . . . I am single and solitary, and the sportive humour or odd whim of Frederic Tudor, which was once by turns pleasing or vexatious, now no longer delights, for he is at other times self sufficient and hauty. . . . Soon shall I be gone again, and I hope you will not think me extravagant when I tell you it is my solemn resolution to accomplish a most brilliant success or perish in the attempt. That strong expression of the old Roman comes frequently to my mind, who when his friends would dissuade him from going to Rome on account of the danger, answered: " It is necessary I should go to Rome; it is not necessary that I should live." With such views and feelings arising from them, with a great pressure of business for the accomplishment of my project, you must perceive that I must be a restless and far from agreeable visitor.

The years 1818 and 1819 marked an improvement in Tudor's affairs. He no longer felt obliged to sneak into Massachusetts and hide himself at Sandwich; he came to Boston and held his head high; in one season his gross sales amounted to $24,000. He was already thinking of establishing himself in New Orleans, the largest city in the South.

> Dec. 2nd 1818. . . . On my arrival in Boston I found Savage . . . had during my absence written to Cabot[3] and spoken to others with some affectation of contempt. I soon satisfied him that such a course it would not do for him to adopt or any persons who ventured to talk with me. Those who were acquainted with me, judging from the expedition to England and this, coupled with the loss of all the Ice I had sent to Havana the last season — two cargoes — that my calculations were bad and that I was an unfortunate schemer, indulged themselves in reflections very far from respectful. My friend Cabot was depressed. Very soon after my arrival I put all these opinions at a non-plus; feeling a confidence in myself and that I wanted the aid of no one, I walked and bowed and smiled and talked like other men when they feel within them that they stand firm and need neither the assistance, the good wishes, or money of anyone.

Further evidence of a growing sense of importance appears in Tudor's restiveness under the treatment to which he was subject in Savannah and Charleston, and which comes out in this passage from his journal written at Savannah, April 10, 1819:

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[3] Stephen Cabot, with whom Tudor had joined in a second attempt to establish the business in Martinique. The result was a loss of $20,000.

> I have been treated since I have been here with very great neglect and the omission entirely of the attentions due to a gentleman and a stranger. It is apparent that I am considered by many persons as a mere Ice seller and so to be treated. This is a new subject of vexation, but not one of which a philosopher would complain; but I am not one in my feelings and I have been surprised to find how much I have been affected by so insignificant a thing.

By summer, however, he was on his way back to Boston, full of confidence that his days of poverty were behind him. " I can bear a great deal of success and the burden of wealth without sustaining in all my future life a particle of ennui," he confided to his journal. But his very first encounter at home was with something far other than that which was occupying his thougts. Grief met him at the threshold.

> I arrived at Boston about the 16th July and placed my foot once more on solid ground. I came to the House No. 6 High Street and was informed by Mr. Lee that my Father was dead: which event took place on the 8th. My sorrow for this loss has been great and has not yet subsided. All our family have shed tears of substantial sorrow, and for myself I can say I have lamented his loss more acutely than I should do any person now in existence. How few are there pass out of the world in the 70th year of their age who leave really lamenting friends! but this was the case with my Father; for I can truly say that part of my desire of success arose from the consideration of his hearty participation. . . .
>
> I wish I could do honour to his memory and satisfy my own feelings by recording here part of what I remember and for which I hold him in such kindness; but it is neither time or place for such a record and I content myself with a quotation of a sentence from the printed memoir by my Brother William.[4]
>
> " He had that perfect abnegation of self which in great things forms the philosopher and in small things the gentleman."

One of the first things that Tudor did to set his fellow-Bostonians right about himself as a business man appears in the following brief correspondence with an old enemy, who held the mortgage on a piece of his real estate. It bears as his endorsement: " Billets to and from Saml. Parkman Septr. 1819 which shew how incivility may be changed with better information on the subject and situation of a man's purse."

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[4] For the memoir of Colonel Tudor, see 2 *Collections,* VIII. 285–325. See also *Deacon Tudor's Diary,* William Tudor, Editor (Boston, 1896), vii-xvii. The references to Colonel Tudor's activities in connection with this Society fill a column in the general index to the First Series of the *Proceedings.*

Septr. 14th, 1819

Dear Sir

I have returned with the intention of residing permanently at home.

If it would be agreeable to you to give me possession of the Saugus estate without present payment I will call and converse with you on the subject.

I am respectfully
yours
F. T.

Saml. Parkman Esq.

Sept 16 1819

Sir

I am not, now, in Possession of the Saugus Farm; therefore nothing can be done about it.

I have a note of yours ab[ou]t $15 which I shall leave with my son Samuel, and you will call on him and pay it.

I am your obedient Servant
Samuel Parkman

Mr. Fred Tudor

Septr 16th, 1819 [5]

Sir

What I proposed was for your interest as well as my own.

You do not appear to be aware that I have this season sold nearly $30,000 worth of Ice and that I expect to sell 6 to $8,000 more before the close of the year. That my Ice Houses cost each $10,000. That of these I have four and that they are fine fire proof buildings occupying as much ground as two of the Central Wharf stores. That they are principally insured about $6000 against fire. That the sales are regular, progressive and certain, being like the demand for bread at a Baker's. That I am inevitably and unavoidably rich. That I desire no favours and will accept of none, meaning to pay the face of your demand.

Had you known these things it is probable you would not have asked me for the $15 so very uncivilly; but that you would have given it to your son Samuel and sent him to me to request pay[men]t.

I am your very
obedient servant
F. T.

Saml. Parkman Esq.

Sept 16, 1819

Sir

It was not my Intention to write anything that was uncivil, nor do I think my note to you of this morning can be so understood.

It was my Intention to Inform you that the Saugus Farm was at Present out of my Controul and therefore I could say nothing about it.

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[5] This is a draft of Tudor's reply, written on the back of Parkman's letter, just quoted.

That as I was going out of Town in the Morning for a week and had left your Note for ab[ou]t $15 with my son Samuel and requested you to call on him for it. Had your note to me of yesterday given your address, I should have desired my son to call [on] you, which he will now do, agreeable to your request.

I am rejoiced to hear of your prosperity and I shall be happy if I can render you Service. I shall endeavour soon to obtain Possession of the Farm again, when I shall be ready to treat with you respecting it.

I am your Obedient Servant
SAMUEL PARKMAN

The triumph over Parkman, however, as soon appeared, was premature: Tudor was not " inevitably and unavoidably rich." Indeed, what with the hard times that were then upon the country and his loss in Martinique, he was worse off than ever before. He records in his journal on January 30, 1820:

> On the subject of old debts, this is my view. That, when a man well known to be without any means of paying his debts goes forward to hazardous enterprises and succeeds, . . . inasmuch as he works for his creditors and generates from nothing the means of paying them it is their duty to wait reasonably for payment and not, by taking from him all his ability, take from him the means of advance for his own good, after they are satisfied. There is a reciprocal obligation. The obligation on the part of the debtor has its full force and I think reasonable forbearance must of necessity be allowed by rigid justice.[6]

On June 11, 1820, he wrote:

> Still more bad news. . . . I am without a dollar, having exhausted every means in my power. The distress I suffer is without alleviation, and coming upon me when in a low state of health cuts me most deeply. To whom can I apply, to whom even whisper my situation? to myself alone, to a jaded spirit, I am to fly for succour and support in this day of disaster. All my courage is again wanted and I hope there is yet some left.

That he still had courage is shown by his journal:

> Aug. 5th 1820. There is now what is called " hard times " in full operation everywhere and it affects my business extensively; but to exert

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[6] The demand for a renovation of debtor laws, which was more or less continuous from 1800 to 1860, became especially insistent during the depression of 1818–1821. In Congress renewed efforts were made to pass a bankruptcy law, while in the several states other relief measures were urged, particularly laws for conditional stay of execution and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. The ideas set forth in this paragraph by Tudor reflect the attitude which was most common among the mercantile classes of the East. But the strong opposition of the non-commercial sections, led by Virginia, thwarted every attempt to carry through any adequate sort of bankruptcy legislation.

myself in spite of difficulty in laying a foundation at New Orleans is what I have undertaken and what I think I shall effect, although I have already met with several rebuffs; but I find a continual war with adverse circumstances is the only alternative I have if I would have at a future time a great success and for which I have suffered and am willing to suffer. I think I can see before me the reward of all the hardships in which I have so long been involved; but if I should now stop short of extending at New Orleans I should certainly see at a future time that I have lost one of the best situations to be met with. I shall endeavour how to accomplish my views there and if I cannot effect them it shall not be because I do not exert myself.

Octr. 26th 1820 . . . Well, then, come on trouble and toil and difficulty; ye have always been mine. I will swallow down a heavy draught. I had expected some friendly aid from T. Lee and the Motleys; but it is impossible I should not appear to them what I am, an embarrassed man, and such a one their habits of life and customs of business renders them unfit to view with favour or to aid. The only real friend I have in these days and nights of trouble is Robert H. Gardiner. The time will come when I shall want no friend, and I hope, should I be similarly situated as Lee is to me, I shall find myself able and willing to aid a man when he is evidently in temporary embarrassment.

In the desperate effort which he had now to make, his last before the ice business was firmly established, salvation came — such is the irony of fate, through his " worthless brother." At the age of forty, William, a bachelor, was fully confirmed in his interest in things of the mind. The editorship of the *North American Review,* which he had held for four years, had provided him with plenty of occupation — for he had written most of the articles — but was highly unremunerative. His *Letters on the Eastern States,* just published, a series of reflections on society as he found it in Boston and at Gardiner, Maine, where most of it was written, was shrewd and readable, but not a kind of book to produce anything worth mention by way of royalties. He was now turning his thoughts to a life of James Otis. Biography, it should be noted, was in those days, except for George Washington (a subject already cultivated successfully by Marshall), not a field to which an author could resort in the hope of return in the form of money. Nevertheless, William had many friends of substance and position who took satisfaction in the career of one who was endeavoring to diversify their business Boston with sprinklings of culture. Frederic's journal for October 29, 1820, reads:

> Yesterday morning William came to my counting Room, as I thought, to borrow money; but it appears he came to suggest that if I would be security for him he could probably borrow $3000 among some of his friends and with the money take an interest in the undertaking. I caught at the idea. He mentioned P. C. Brooks, etc., as persons to whom he would apply. I discouraged any attempt on any very rich man's inclination to serve him in such a case as this, and told him to attack younger and more active people, and proposed T. Lee Jr. To him and to Mr. Dwight he applied.

After conversations in which Frederic explained "the whole nature and character of the business," he submitted the proposal "that if after the first year's operations at New Orleans the friends of W. who might be disposed to make the loan should think it advisable, I would myself assume the debt and in lieu of any interest in the business give William $600 annually. I hinted that an early decision was necessary, as the time was pressing for immediately undertaking the business." The scheme was sufficiently novel and audacious, but it worked. A by-product of it is a piece of early American biographical writing which is still authoritative.

On November 8, 1820, Frederic Tudor was able to write in his journal:

> In the course of the week past much has been accomplished. N. Amory, T. Lee Jr., Dwight, and T. H. Perkins have agreed to let W[illiam] have with my endorsement $2000, and tomorrow I shall have that sum in hand. . . . I have engaged Harry to go out and remain until 1st of July next and agreed to allow him an annuity of $500 a year for life. He was under two arrests, and I have been obliged to pay and become security for him to the am[oun]t of about $800. He sails tomorrow in the Brig Jones for New Orleans. Today I have a letter from Robert with a request to allow him to endorse for me to the extent of $3000, which I have refused. His kindness is superiour to all thanks. . . .
>
> With Stanwood I have again been attempting a settlement, and it is probable I shall get rid of this troublesome business. The trouble and vexation of proving a man a rougue is hardly worth the saving of $2000 to a man so infinitely occupied as I am.

The next three weeks saw important progress:

> Nov. 29th 1820. This day at 12 o'clk the B[ri]g Phoenix sailed with a fine wind. Having Jno. Beamis and Benj. Pike, frames, and materials very complete for the House at New Orleans, so far, so well. . . . The depressed state of all the other concerns would have prevented me from engaging in this new undertaking but for the necessity I found myself

in of assisting my Brothers W. and H. To have undertaken to sustain them in any other way was impossible, and their necessities were exceedingly great. I certainly should not have undertaken the thing from any other motive. . . .

I have now got to the point of extension which I intend to go on my own risk; should my success be commensurate to my exertions it ought to be considerable, and when it begins to appear there will doubtless be others who will be disposed to engage in the undertaking for other places. I shall then have the opportunity of making my own agreement for information to be communicated and may thus in safety derive profit for risks already run.

At the turn of the year Tudor took stock of his situation:

January 7th 1821. The commencement of a new year, as all new years have for the last 15, finds me How I need not say — this book will tell. Look back, Mr. Frederic, and wonder how so sick and weakly constituted a man as you could have sustained what is written down. In the very onsett, the result of the first year, you were ruined; the silver spoon with which you were born was torn from your mouth; and you were at once put upon your sole and unaided ability to fight your way through the world. You have fought, but are yet in the midst of the war. You have been rather of the complaining sort, if this book records your feelings; but I must admit that you have had difficulty; and although you have seen hardship and have sorrowed in the midst of it, I will admit you have manfully followed up your early determination. Well, heaven will prosper you at last; but you have yet to see much of difficulty. More than you have, you cannot; your *gray locks* forbid. I pray for you. Last night in a state of hallucination I asked of God his kindness. I solicited some relief from this continuation of excessive anxieties which harass your very soul. Exert yourself a little longer, cherish hope, and spare no cost of care or time or thought, and the victory shall be yours.

After this date there were no more crises in Tudor's ice business; but he had to pay the penalty in broken health. In the year 1822 he had a nervous collapse. As might be expected, it was Robert Gardiner who, leaving his own affairs, helped to nurse him through the illness and likewise managed his business, advanced money for debts long unpaid, endorsed his paper, and in general introduced method and steadiness into the enterprise.

Meanwhile, Tudor went away, spending a considerable portion of his time in Havana, whence he wrote to Gardiner a vivid account of the habits of contemporary pirates, and to his mother a defence of his own ignorance of modern languages.

FREDERIC TUDOR TO HIS MOTHER [7]

HAVANA, Apl. 2d, 1823

I am one of your children who is destined to say, to write, and to do, a great many things to very little purpose: but certainly this is not an occasion of that kind when I undertake to do what may gratify you. The writing of letters to friends is, like the mercy of Shakespeare, twice blessed. . . . I sit down while I am filled with kind feelings to shew and tell you how happy your letters always make me. . . .

Your letter is to advise me to make haste to study the Spanish language. I know not how it happens; but I have always thought that learning languages was the greatest of all wastes of time and intellect. I regret only that in early life I had not imbibed a knowledge of Latin, because it is so great a root and withal so noble a language: but the time for enriching the memory in this way is past with me and I must continue my regrets. I have, indeed, no leisure of mind. It is surcharged with the business and purpose of life. For some years it has been a subject of lamentation to me that I have no leisure intellect, which I have a *right* to employ as I could wish. My destiny compels me to occupy my thoughts on inferiour subjects, to delve when I would wish to soar. To be also a perpetual stranger and wanderer with an impatient desire to be always in one place and never to move from home.

I could enlarge on the subject of languages, many of which in possession of one person is sure to injure and corrupt his own native tongue. The mind in my opinion is distressed and weakened by such requirement. To know well and to speak well one language is all that is in the power of an individual who wishes to preserve his head clear for other and higher subjects. The capacity of the memory and general powers of the mind are limited; if they are to be surcharged with the *names of things* what will become of the things themselves? They will scarcely be thought upon, and the discursive and inventive faculties of the mind be overpowered and fatigued by the continual exertion of the memory. . . .

I quit this subject with merely saying that with negroes I talk quite fluently in Spanish; but when in presence of a real Castillian I say merely "yes, sir," and "no, sir," in plain English, refusing absolutely to speak one word in a language where I should only make myself ridiculous were I to attempt to talk. Opposite to me at the general table where I dine, with 40 to 50 others of all nations, sit generally 8 to 10 Germans. These gentlemen are absolute parrots in all the living languages; talking French and Spanish, German and English with equal excellence: that is to say, with no excellence at all, as I judge from their English, the language to which they are most accustomed after their mother tongue. Now, why should a man be a jabberer and thus reduce his nationality and lower himself by studying foreign idioms and thereby indanger the integrity of his own? Translation will convey to us all the essential sweets of a foreign writer. . . .

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[7] At the age of sixty-nine Madame Tudor was still an enthusiastic linguist. To the end of her life she maintained a lively interest in the affairs of the world and was a spirited letter-writer. In 1843, when she was eighty-nine years old, she wrote a poem to commemorate the dedication of Bunker Hill Monument, inspired doubtless by the fact that the original suggestion for the memorial had come from her son William. She died a few months later.

A facile rationalizer!

For ten years — that is, from the time that Tudor was forty till he reached fifty — the ice trade pursued a normal and regular growth. In 1816 the number of tons of ice shipped from Boston had been 1,200; in 1826 it rose to 4,000; in 1836 to 12,000. To this growth the faithful labor of Harry in New Orleans contributed in no small measure: Frederic's expectations of his brother were fully justified.

The story of these years abounds in details concerning the technique of the business, of which the most interesting deal with the inventions of a young man, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, for cutting and housing the ice on Fresh Pond. The caprices of the Boston climate, with alternations of freezing and thaw, snow and rain, as sudden and extreme then as now, furnished emergencies that tested the resourcefulness of the two men; and when a mild season, such as that of 1828, defied Tudor's faith in the proverb that "winter never rots in the sky," there was the ice of the Kennebec River to turn to.

Jan. 13th, 1828. . . . Thermo. 45. . . . I found Wyeth wandering about the woods at Fresh Pond in all the lonely perturbation of invention and contrivance. His mind evidently occupied in improving the several contrivances which he is perfecting for carrying into good effect improvements in his several machines for the Ice business. I have from time to time given him several hints, particularly respecting the Ice cutter which I first suggested to him, and he has improved the plan of last year and now he tells me he has improved upon this year's improvement. For minds highly excited and in great activity there is no Sunday.

Jan. 27. Sunday. Thermo 32° wind east, overcast. Got into a horse and chaise and went to Wyeth's to consult with him in the present emergency what should be done. The pond is so thawed on the edges as to be absolutely inaccessible for wagons. All the roads are heavy with mud. But I found Wyeth had already debated and determined and was at work with 8 or 10 men. Wyeth is equal to a difficulty which to common minds seems insurmountable. He was on the pond without hat or coat. He had forgot that the Thermo. was at the freezing point. In his yet unsettled plans he found warmth of circulation, from the calm-seeming but, in fact, vigorous action of his mind.

Feb. 10. Thermo. at 3½ o'clk A.M. 43. . . . It has become necessary to work in the night, as the weather is so very soft that the Ice will not bear cutting after 11 or 12 o'clk in the day.

Feb. 17. Thermo. at 4 P.M. 74. . . . Wyeth . . . has a resource in a Pond which he discovered at Malden yesterday. It is small, but the Ice said to be nearly a foot thick. . . .

I have written R. H. G. to have 6 to 1200 cords secured at Kennebec, with a view of sale for the southern cities.

Surely there never was such a winter, or one which caused *me* so much trouble. Should Wyeth succeed in the new found Pond, I may yet make it a good winter.

We are obliged to conceal in a degree the character of the good Pond, to keep off the enemy (opposition and for Boston supplies).

Feb. 18. Thermo. 38. wind s.w. and indications of a very warm day. . . . This has been a busy day. I went out to the New Pond in a chaise today. . . . There is probably nearly 1000 cords in it.

Feb. 19. Thermo. 52, wind s.w. The rain of last night and the mildness today is truly extraordinary. . . .

Went out in horse and chaise . . . to see the condition of the pond and of Wyeth and his men. The rain of last night has reduced the surface 2 inches. Sent a cart from town with sails am[oun]ting to 200 yards in order to avert the sun's rays from a small part at least of the Ice. There were 4 wagons from Charlestown; they had carried up 500 feet each of boards and were loaded down with Ice. The roads so intolerable bad that they had not got to within a mile of the wharf at 5½ o'clk. . . .

The appearance of the Pond is that probably not more than 100 cords can be saved. Yesterday the promise was of a thousand.

Feb. 20. . . . Observing this state of things, I took Wyeth in my chaise and we went through an intricate and very rough woods road to Long pond, which I remembered to be shaded on the south border. Here was a ribband of Ice about 20 feet wide and 150 feet long. . . . I was induced to instruct Wyeth who at first was somewhat against it, to undertake to get out what could be saved of value, which he thinks will be 15 cords. . . .

My expenses are heavy; but the 12 men under Wyeth are as good as he is competent. We are struggling with the elements. There has not been above 20 cords yet saved. To continue longer to strive, is almost a waste of energy. I have requested Wyeth to keep his men and courage two days longer together. I have some hope they may get an accession of spirits by the work of tomorrow.

Feb. 21. Thermo. 38, some rain, wind s.w. at 4 P.M. Thermo. 62, Fresh s.w. wind. . . . Found Wyeth and the 12 hands at their ne plus ultra. He told me the Ice in Long pond went off last night and that all mention of Swayne's pond was unnecessary. It was done. To talk now of difficulties, is like talking to a man who has fallen into the river with an umbrella. The difficulty is overwhelming, open, apparent, insurmountable.

I asked Wyeth if he was equal to the occasion — whether he was ready and willing to change his *latitude* and go north, until he found Ice. He promptly answered that he was. I then proposed that he should go to Kennebec river, with all his hands, tools, etc., ready for immediate action. . . .

We are now to watch the weather cock. If there is sufficient return of winter before Sunday to do anything at Swayne's pond, then work is to be recommenced there. If not, expedition to be undertaken.[8]

Apr. 30. . . . It was mentioned today that a cargo of Ice has been lost bound to the Delaware. This makes three cargoes this spring which have been lost. It is an ill wind which blows nobody good. I am sorry to profit by the misfortunes of my neighbours, but as I first taught the world that Ice may be transported by sea I may consider the business as mine to a certain extent. . . .

Sharp measures for crushing competition Tudor was frequently called upon to put into effect, for it was an undisciplined, laissez-faire world in which he lived, and he played the game without questioning the rules. When he lost, he complained loudly; when he won, he gloried in the discomfiture of his opponents. The entry in his diary for January 25, 1826, lists first " the encroachments of the Ice men around Fresh Pond," imitation of his icehouses and his machinery, theft of his tools, overcharging for carts, outbidding on a vessel, and the like. One man had even " put his foot upon " Wayne's Pond, " which was mine by right of discovery." Then follows a list of Tudor's various devices for punishing and foiling his rivals.

To commence, then: I directed Wyeth not to employ Stedman's team, unless at a rate of an eighth to a quarter less than any of the rest. Next, to make specifications for patents for the Ice House and Ice cutter, and notify all who have built to stop using. Then, not to allow any Ice cutting within his own line of fence. Then I have written to Charleston to let Ranie purchase the cargo, " the adventure " abovementioned, for a very low rate. Stedman has been notified to be *punctual* when his note comes round again. Finally, I have contracted to supply my

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[8] The ice harvested on the Kennebec River was piled on the shore; but most of it was lost in a spring freshet.

> antagonist at New Orleans and a man at Mobile. All these operations will take away part of the oats from the horses of these people and they will learn to whom they are obliged for grain which is left for them. Vulgar to vulgar. . . .

In the autumn he sums up his situation:

> Sept. 29. . . . My income this year will be reduced full $12,000 but the coast is now cleared of interlopers, good and substantial foundations laid. . . . The indications of results for next year are of the most satisfactory kind. The last has been a year of battle in which the elements have joined, with a host of miscreant men and adverse circumstances, to try the strength and firmness, the steadiness of resolution and bottom. All opposition has been met and overthrown — the field is won and now very little more than the shew of weapons and readiness for defense, I trust will be necessary. It has cost some wear and tear of muscle and nerves besides the abovementioned $12,000 in money. A dear victory: but probably thorough. If there are any unslain enemies, let them come out. . . .

In meeting these emergencies created by man and nature, Tudor developed a philosophy of management that was inevitably military. Decisions must be made quickly and orders carried out promptly and faithfully. The only relation between man and man in which he was at home was that of master and servant. Naturally enough, he was usually in hot water, for the sturdy Yankees whom he employed resisted his domination and were discharged, and the shifty ones tricked him. Now and then he found a docile being — such as his brother Harry or the carpenter who was willing to carry out his test order to put the shingles on a roof with the butt ends up instead of down. In general, however, Tudor suffered from the eccentricity of maintaining a military point of view in a democratic, free-for-all age.

Apart from business, Tudor's own life, in contrast to that of the preceding decade, was calm and uneventful. He kept bachelor's quarters in a house on Pearl Street next to the boardinghouse of Miss Betsy Lekain, at whose table were to be found such men as the naturalist Audubon and Dr. Francis Lieber. Beginning with the year 1825, he went in summer to Nahant, having built there a house, nominally for his mother but in reality to serve as his own headquarters for expeditions on sea and land. On the grounds about the place he began a nursery of balm of Gilead trees which later were transplanted to many parts of the peninsula.

Fruit trees of all kinds were set out, vegetable and flower gardens were made; in short, he ploughed his money into the land in much the same fashion that a gentleman-farmer does today. When the weather permitted, he went to and from business in his boat, the *Ohio;* if he made the journey by land, he did it, whenever possible, on foot.

Tudor's nervous breakdown had taught him the necessity of health, and into the pursuit of it he now threw himself with his customary intensity. " Exercise, exercise, exercise! " he exclaims, " like action, action, action, to oratory, is to health everything." Wherever his business took him — to the wharf at Charlestown or to Fresh Pond — he walked. At all seasons of the year, when he walked the fifteen miles to Nahant, he noted in his diary the time consumed; occasionally he made the round trip in one day. " Left town on foot for Nahant with a ball of ' twice laid ' fish, a cracker, and a flask of water. Had fine exercise; but as I got to my cottage before dinner I took my fish and potato at my cottage after having it warmed by Mary in a ' spider.' There was nothing cooked today at the cottage; so that my dinner was convenient, simple and enough."

The records of Tudor's happy occupations at Nahant and of the simple expeditions that he so much enjoyed are frequent and, as might be expected, give scrupulous attention to detail.

> May 23, 1826. . . . I find pleasure in coming to Nahant. It is the pleasure of activity, the employment of various kind of workmen; planting, culture, and making double dories, activity not attended with serious anxieties, the progress of small schemes without any regret for the money which they cost me; why then should I sell or let my cottage? The time is approaching when the place will be filled with idle and empty visitors: an evil from which an escape may be made by taking to my boat, gun, and salt water. It would be pleasant to have a few friends about one; but general acquaintances are at best a sort of necessary evil to rub off the rust which will encrust those who retire absolutely from them.
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> April 23, 1828. . . . Sett off at ¼ before 9 o'clk and arrived at 5 minutes before 1 o'clk. Returning left at 2 o'clk, dined on great beach, stopping 30 minutes, on a piece of corned beef, a cracker and flask of water, all of which were carried in my pocket, and got back at 6½ o'clk; going 4 h. 10 m. returning 4 h.
>
> Began to tire on my return on the other side Chelsea Bridge.

> This walk of 30 miles I have accomplished without straining in 9¾ hours. . . .[9]

> Nov. 16th, 1830. . . . I counted at 3 o'clk from my cottage piazza 264 sail in sight at one time. This included the Salem and Marblehead coasters. The sight was splendid in a high degree. The Nahant people said 200 was the highest number they had ever counted at one time before; so great a number at once probably has never been seen before, a variety of circumstances having concurred to collect them in port and after they sailed to detain them together. The wind fell soon almost to a calm or light wind after they got beyond the light. Those which sailed first went against a strong tide, so that when the last followed the tide aided on the ebb to bring all within a space of 15 or 20 miles. The average passenger and crews may have been 8 persons. Therefore there must have been at this estimate 2112 souls in this mercantile fleet.

In the same spirit is the note of a trip down Boston harbor.

> July 4, 1829. . . . We beat down as far as Deer Island, caught 20 ton cod and had a chowder and fry made of them, and came back with a wing and wing breeze before night. . . . There are few more pleasant ways of spending a day than to go below, catch your own dinner, cook it and eat it, with a clam shell for a spoon. Other luxury must give way to this. If you would have a zest for dinner, seek for it thus.

The mention of double dories calls for comment on Tudor's faculties of invention. His interest in contrivances showed itself at an early age. When he was only seventeen, he devised a siphon pump for pumping water from the holds of vessels and drafted a letter to the Royal Society describing it. It would seem that he hardly took it seriously, however, for the sheet on which the letter was written is principally filled with a description of the device in verse, evidently composed for the entertainment of his sisters. His experiment of the *Black Swan* has already been referred to, and after he began the ice business, he was constantly occupied, as has also been shown, in studying methods of keeping his commodity in large icehouses, and preserving it during transportation and in the homes of the consumers. The double dory consisted of two twenty-foot dories fastened side by side with a space of five feet between them. It excited the wonder of the Lynn fishermen and when under sail gave its occupants a good drenching. At one time he experimented at Nahant with cotton and tobacco; he stocked Fresh Pond with salt-water fish; he was interested in making paper from white-pine wood. In addition, his active mind occupied itself with numerous business projects. He established saltworks at Hull, which were carried on under the direction of his brother Harry; he continued his intermittent search for coal at Gay Head, always with an air of mystery that rendered the adventure highly exciting. The longest sustained of these operations was a graphite mine in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, which had been worked from time to time since 1633.[10] Tudor purchased it about 1828, proposing to use its output for the manufacture of crucibles. All the difficulties, human and material, that usually attend mining operations were encountered in this case. Finally, mention should be made of the fact that it was Tudor who introduced the first steam locomotive into New England. In January, 1830, when four bills for railroads were before the legislature, he brought from Charleston a small locomotive of one-half horse power and a car large enough to carry one passenger. Running on the sidewalk at four miles an hour, the train attracted great attention. " Steam," he writes, " will soon take the place of horses in ordinary stage coaches and I should not be surprised if it should be employed for heavy draft and ordinary purposes. The times are surcharged with novel inventions and improvements of all kinds. Steam seems now the ordinary power: in all probability some other and more convenient one will be discovered."

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[9] His record for speed was made in December, 1829: down in 3 hours, 30½ minutes; back the next day in 3 hours, 31½ minutes. The Boston terminus was the post office.

" Love was in the next degree." At the age of forty-seven Frederic Tudor had a brief affair of the heart, the termination of which he records with the remark: " Free life! unwise woman! " A few months later he noted his increase in weight from 130 pounds to 134. But true romance, though it tarried till he was forty-nine, when it arrived, came with all the passion of youth. In the summer of 1833 he fell in love with Euphemia Fenno, a nineteen-year-old girl of Mount Upton, New York, who was visiting in Boston. The love story of two people so far apart in years would arouse interest, no matter what the setting; Frederic Tudor, who had been obliged to restrain his outpourings of heart to the inanimate pages of a diary, rose buoyantly to the opportunity of telling his inmost thoughts and feelings to a living and loving human soul.

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[10] See George H. Haynes, " The Tale of Tantiusques," *Proceedings,* American Antiquarian Society, XIV. 471–497.

His letters to his lady began almost on the day she left Boston and continued in unbroken sequence, the last being written when he was on his way to the wedding, some five months later. He proposed, with her permission, to extend the trip he was about to make into New York State (for business and health) as far as Mount Upton, near Utica, where she was to be found. But — " Thirty years difference. It is too great." He heard nothing from her and concluded that he must return to Boston without seeing her: " thus ends the beautiful dream of an old bachelor. . . . Let us place your short visit to Boston in July, '33, as being a point of felicity in our lives which is to be valued, because all happiness is necessarily short, in this passing scene, in which it is absolutely dangerous to be joyful." On the stagecoach for Boston he received her delayed letter, but he must continue; then more letters from her, permission to visit her, ecstasy, and prompt appearance at Mount Upton. " A very extensive commercial operation to the extent of nearly a million of dollars " hung fire and prompted him to warn her that its failure must delay marriage. " Much as I esteem, respect and love you, I will not offer you myself alone." He took occasion to enlighten her about his character.

> Having enlarged upon the question of age so fully, and you having all along been willing to be blind upon this point, I can only say I have not deceived you in this respect; and upon the point of my temper and disposition I think you are somewhat deceived; and I would have you to understand I have occasionally a great deal of the sharp and bitter in my composition. This part of me will ill assort with your gentle nature. It is in vain for me to undertake to change it. It is too late. Some sharpness of temper has its advantages, and I attribute to this in part what I have had of success in life. But the common maxim, speak neither well or ill of yourself, stops me here. I should not have ventured at all upon this dangerous ground, if I were not convinced you have seen only the sun-shiny part of my temper and disposition.

He explained to her the effect upon him of his hard life, from which Robert Gardiner had rescued him, and of the growing unkindness and ingratitude of his mother and sister, which had left him at last without a woman to love and confide in (he was careful to state that, though he " tore them out " of his heart, he still continued his "supplies" to them). For this reason, finally, he pleaded for a secret marriage.

> For yourself too it would be as well to be silent. You do not wish to be asked why you marry a white headed man. I, too, do not wish to be joked upon taking to wife a girl (as will be said) of fourteen. If we have made up our minds to do this thing, it is our own affair, and it will be far better to accomplish it first and let the world add their own comments and notes of admiration afterwards, than to have heartless impertinence talking over what is no business of theirs and about which they really care nothing.

Of course the marriage must wait upon the successful termination of the commercial operation, and even then he would be so occupied that he would have time only to come and carry her off — "like a general marrying on the field of battle."

> I have now to make you a tender of myself in marriage, and as you should not accept me, or I ask you to do so, unless I have rich means for household matters to back the proposition, I am, as I think, under the necessity of asking a suspension of any decision in the case until the important business I have stated in the first part of my letter, shall be so far favourably determined that I shall be willing myself to proceed. This important bread and cheese part of the business being settled, I shall ask you not to engage yourself to marry me, but to let me know at what early day you will be married. . . . You are not called upon for any decision until I say further and I hope to do that in a very short period. Will you be ready to answer? will you be ready to act?

This was all very prudent and logical, but it left out of account the possibility that this young woman he loved might, in her love for him, take little account of prudence and logic. Her next letter swept the old bachelor from his moorings. He writes:

> Amongst my business anxieties has been the exciting one of yourself. My letter to you making my proposal placed this matter in the right position. But somehow we have lost sight of all prudential bars and jumped over all impediments of this kind. To retreat I think impossible and to delay equally bad. We are so far enlisted as man and wife, it seems to me to press forward is the duty as well as strong inclination of both. You are to decide. I will go back unmarried if you say so.
>
> On this occasion *my* feelings are not to be regarded, your duty to yourself requires you should act with sound discretion. On the other hand *your* feelings towards me I consider as of sacred importance. I have induced you by a course of sincere and heartfelt attachment to you, to give me your confidence. The confiding attachment of an

> honest hearted woman is so superiour to that of any man's love that, while the last may be trifled with, the first cannot be.
>
> These reflections I make in consequence of what you say on the subject, in your otherwise exciting letter of the 20th inst. about "Gold and silver." It is all I can say. I have endeavoured to keep you fully advised, what sort of a man of fortune you would have in me. In this respect I take you to a post of danger. I think I have sufficiently warned you: but you have not heeded the warning. *I* am intoxicated and cannot tell the road I should follow.
>
> The return which you make me touches me to the soul. A variety of reasons operate to make my attachment to you one of a most absorbing endearment and very recently these reasons have increased in cogency.
>
> Under the whole circumstances of my case, I cannot be in a very good condition of health. The unquiet mind is a destroyer. The consideration which you can administer will be of high value in assisting me to bear anxieties of a high order. To have married you, under such circumstances, was the furthest thing from my intention. We have together got into a predicament and the only way, in my opinion, is to carry it bravely and boldly through: let what will come to bless or mar our union.

Of the marriage which took place on January 2, 1834, it may be said that it was the foundation of happiness for Frederic Tudor.[11] In spite of the adjustments needed for such disparity in age, not to mention temperament, he learned that the masterfulness which he practised so successfully in business must be tempered in domestic relations. An enormously long letter written to his wife after seventeen months of married life (she was visiting Mount Upton) sets forth with humorous delight the thousand details incident to keeping house without her and improving the Nahant place for her benefit. He begins:

> Having just despatched a letter to my mistress, it seems to me like a true lover, I ought forthwith to begin another and I give you a challenge to produce another wife that has got a husband that does as much. I used to treat Euphemia Fenno with a good deal of Love: but you, rascal, I think of all the time: eating and drinking and sleeping and waking and sitting down and walking about and going over to Charlestown and going to Nahant. Here and there and everywhere. And how long are you going to keep me in such a foolish condition? A man occupied by a woman and that woman a wife — shameful.

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[11] His children were: Euphemia, born in 1837; Frederic, born in 1845; Delia Jarvis, born in 1847; William, born in 1848; Eleanora Elizabeth, born in 1850; Henry, born in 1854.

In conclusion he declares that if she does not return soon he will leave Nahant in its state of upheaval and set forth, as she is begging him to do, to fetch her home.

One more quotation from his diary belongs here, as showing a side of Tudor's nature that is easily forgotton — his delight in simple things.

> Walked out with Effie who was bright this morning. Passing along the eastern shore of the Pond under the shade of the trees with the South West breeze fanning us, we passed a pleasant hour. The whispering ripple of the lake waters at our feet reminded us of early days and childish days, when such things were full of sweetness and poetry. Time flies as the little ripple of this morning. Let us then fill as much of our time as we can with all the innocent joys within our reach. . . .

The business difficulties that had embarrassed Tudor's thoughts and movements during his courtship were the result of a speculation in coffee which he had been carrying on for some time. According to his own account, he had undertaken the venture as a way of bringing him into association with other business men in Boston, the ice trade being of such a special character that it gave no such contact. As a speculative episode it ran true to form: encouraged by initial successes, he bought more and more extensively; prices fell; by the end of the year 1834 he was involved in losses amounting to $210,000. With the assurance gained in his earlier experience, he made arrangements with his creditors for continuing on his own terms.

> It was proposed to me that I should carry on my ice-business, as the agent of the creditors; should restrict and limit my personal expenses to a given sum, etc., etc. To this I objected wholly. I said to the agents, "Allow me to proceed, and I will work for you better than I can under any restriction. Give me the largest liberty, and I will pay the whole, in time, with interest." That was agreed.[12]

At the end of the year 1834 Tudor summarized the state of his affairs as follows:

> In the first place the speculation in coffee has totally failed. I bought and sold about 7 million of pounds (there is only about ½ million still to be sold) and the loss will reach about $175,000 — that is to say, an income of $10,500 pr. ann. It would have been a matter of utter hopelessness to have met this loss with any expectation of paying it, but the business which has occupied me so long has the past year shot ahead

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[12] "Frederic Tudor's Letter on the Ice-Trade and Payment of Great Losses," Boston, January 22, 1849. 1 *Proceedings*, III. 52–60.

and exceeded all reasonable calculation in its profitable advance. In Havana, in Charleston, S. C., and more especially in New Orleans.

The *increase* has exceeded the sum of twenty five thousand dollars for the year, and there is a strong probability the coming year will show a still further increase of another twenty-five thousand dollars, owing to the advanced prosperity of the three communities where the Ice plantations are situated, as the profit this year (the accounts not yet all come in) will exceed for the ice $30,000; real estate in Boston, N. Orleans, and Charleston, S. C., $7,000; Black lead, and other things perhaps $3,000. Altogether this years profit is Forty thousand dollars. To this I confidently expect to add $20,000 next year; which will enable me to pay interest on the coffee debt, live respectably, and lay up a good stock for a sinking fund, or to extinguish one fifth of the debt. The two principal debts will be at 5 pr. ct. interest, which will reduce the annual interest I have to pay for the coffee loss to about $9,000. . . .

This apparently disastrous coffee speculation, which has ruined its authour, Wm. Savage, has been attended with some good effects in my case. It has invigorated me to efforts in renewal of the expedition to Calcutta, which had nearly been abandoned by me, from laziness; but knowing it could not be continued by Austin, from mere want of knowledge, added to the necessity of making provision for the magnificent mistake I had made in my speculation, set me to work again; and if my man is as good a one as I think, I expect in two years very favourable results to be the consequence.

I have also, animated by the same motive, been refreshing matters and extending good plans of operations in all the Ice plantations so that they must produce more next than the past year. . . .

So ends the year, the plans and the prospects all put down. I can not say with Johnson I am urged to exertion rather by a fear of evil than a hope of reward. I do hope reward, and do expect much future happiness, and I expect it the more because I am happy at this time in despite of the great loss of property which the year has exhibited.

A man who makes a miscalculation, as is proved by the event of an operation founded upon it, has more regret at the censure which is passed upon his judgement than for the loss of the property which may be sacrificed by such mistake; as an operation founded upon sound mercantile principles, the coffee speculation was correctly planned. But a train of most disadvantageous and adverse circumstances attended it from first to last.

I have lost in this speculation four times as much money as my grandfather (who died about forty years ago, noted as a rich man) was worth; and yet I am without other regrets than arises from the condemnation of my judgement and the censure which may be justly cast upon my sober conducting of affairs in going to so great an extent and running so enormous a risk. Although I may find a great variety of reasons to aleviate and lessen the mistake, still I think I should not attempt to escape from this blot and stain upon my judgement upon any other ground than to put against it my other operations in life, which from nothing have produced not only enough to pay all losses, in this one case, but to leave besides, in the prospect, a splendid fortune. I have, then, lost four times as much as my grandfather was worth, dying rich; and if I live six years, shall have an income annually greater than the whole fortune of my progenitor, for which I am indebted to my own exertions.

In spite of Tudor's certainty that he would be rich in six years, the wiping out of his debts under the present conditions was considered by both Tudor and his creditors "almost a forlorn hope." But fortune, as it proved, was on his side to the extent that at the critical juncture he had news of the successful sale of a cargo of ice that he had sent to Calcutta the preceding May. Long since planned, the movement had been executed at precisely the right moment. With the thing done and a good profit to boot, he had the best of evidence with which to urge his creditors that he be allowed to work out his salvation unhindered, paying them in the meantime five and six per cent. Indeed, with the establishment of the Calcutta "plantation," his business passed a significant milestone. The sales, which in 1836 were 12,000 tons, had risen in 1846 to 65,000 tons. The feat of carrying a cargo of ice on a four months' voyage, crossing the equator twice, stirred men's imaginations and greatly increased his prestige; moreover, by providing an article of commerce which could be shipped from Boston to Calcutta, he facilitated the means for a return cargo and thus kept up a trade between the two ports that otherwise would have languished.[13]

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[13] The significance of this extension of Tudor's business is well brought out by Samuel E. Morison in his *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1921), 282–283:

> Mr. Tudor and his ice came just in time to preserve Boston's East-India commerce from ruin. Our carrying trade between Calcutta and Europe had declined almost to extinction. A precarious foothold in Bengal was retained by Boston and Salem houses only by importing specie, eked out with "notions" such as spiced Penobscot salmon, cods' tongues and sounds, coarse glassware, sperm candles and Cape Cod Glauber salts. Our importing business from Calcutta had been "cut up by the roots" by the tariff of 1816, as Daniel Webster said; and within a few years the Massachusetts mills were making cotton cloth in sufficient variety to kill all demand for Allabad Emerties, Beerboom Gurrahs, and the like, so extensively imported in Federalist days.
>
> Between 1836 and 1850 the Boston ice trade was extended to every large port in South America and the Far East. When, at the Court of St. James, Edward Everett met the Persian ambassador, his first words were an appreciation of the benefits of American ice in Persia. For a generation after the Civil War, until cheap artificial ice was invented, this export trade increased and prospered. Not Boston alone, but every New England village with a pond near tidewater, was able to turn this Yankee liability into an asset, through the genius of Frederic Tudor.

By the end of 1835 the improvement in his affairs was such that he could again look forward with his old ardor of hope.

> The state of matters in which I am would make many men uncomfortable; but I am not so, for I see with the eye of faith. I am happy at home, and although I do not receive as many flatteries abroad as I could wish, still I enjoy them in the prospect, when my revenue shall be $100,000 per ann., as I expect it will be, in three years; then shall they come and offer "the delicious essence." As I have borne ill-fortune with tolerable courage, I hope I have learned to bear prosperity, should it come, without discontent at not finding more joy in it, with a head calm and collected.

Thanks to the prosperity of his business in Havana and Calcutta, he was able to ride out undisturbed the panic of 1837. This was not the case, however, with Robert Gardiner, who in 1836 found himself in sore straits. Tudor, trying in vain to borrow money for him in an impossible market, wrote him a number of letters which give a striking picture of the speculative conditions that preceded the crash in the spring of the next year. Here are some of his comments.

> June 2, 1836. . . . Such are my speculations upon prospects. We are somehow to be relieved; it must be by a crash, or inherent strength and the power of a great prosperity in sustaining a wildness and extent of schemes which are in the country without parallel. 30 Rail Roads on new routes granted by one legislature in one session! and in the Union 24 Legislatures with the same power and many of them exerting it in the same way. They all come to the cities for money. They go to London for money. To Holland and Hamburgh for money. Is there enough?

> June 4. . . . To return to our own feet after having settled the national question — *I* am easy at the moment, but I am remarkably without news, letters, and remittances. I hope everything from the south west wind, and shall not be needy for 24 days, in which time I ought to receive 8 to $10,000. . . .
>
> All the N. York papers are publishing that money is easier. It is not true. There may be a slight whirl in the stream; but the very day that it is announced that money is easier all the stocks, *all* (good and "fancy") are lower. In fact, money is scarce where money is hardly ever wanted. The proof of this is seen in the fall of solid and highly reputed stocks. They have gone lower than ever before for a similar cause in peaceable times. I therefore make up my mind such men as John Parker, P. C. Brooks, and others of the ready money race have empty pockets. It is the part of wisdom to believe the pressure is not

yet at its height, for the causes are nearly all still in operation. You say it is overtrading — no; that is the old fashioned and worn out reason. It used to be a good one when [money] was gold and silver; but money being now paper and credit (all the last furnished from abroad) the use of such means for trade can have not much effect. I should say it was over enterprise in every direction. Undertaking to do more work than there is hands to do it. Building houses, stores, wharves, cities, digging canals, laying Rail Roads, founding cotton factories, and sinking the labour of the country in all directions where it will not immediately produce *corn* or tangible personal property.

September 20. All old plans of responsibility seem to be superseded, and the note of the active man in the midst of danger appears to be preferred to any security which may take time for realizing. Therefore any man who talks against speculation is not so good in these wild times as he who has speculated successfully. Everybody speculates.

November 8. In short, my dear R., things have come to such a pass here that I am told one house has refused to pay upon the ground of the exorbitancy of interest, although entirely solvent on time: but such a plan will not do unless it becomes general and a suspension of specie payments resorted to. I am seriously apprehensive something of this kind will be adopted unless there is relief; but I can see no relief but in extensive bankruptcies; and really it seems to me they are not called for, because prosperous operations have been very general.

The state of things daily increases the approach of a crisis in money matters.

From all this and what I have all along insisted upon, you will be able to judge and make up your mind as to the probability of my being able to effect anything for you here. . . .

I have now written and said all that I can on this subject. I exceedingly regret I can say so little that is agreeable, or do anything to alleviate more than I have done the inconvenience you suffer. But it may be some consolation to bear in mind you suffer in common with the whole of the active community throughout the United States.

The friendship of Tudor and Gardiner, after standing the test of a third of a century, with all these family and business involvements, was destined to be broken, and the cause was no more nor less than Tudor's old obsession. By chance, Mrs. Gardiner, in a letter to a member of the family, referred to the fact that the original suggestion for the ice trade came not from Frederic but from William. To Frederic this was an unpardonable offence — a dragging into the light of a skeleton which he had kept under lock and key. If it were now brought forth — if it were even mentioned in family correspondence — the legend that he had built up about himself as the sole originator of the business would be shattered. So firmly did he believe in that legend that apparently its destruction would mean to him the loss of his own self-respect. In vain did Gardiner protest that the idea of the ice business in itself was nothing, that William could never have carried it out himself, that the credit belonged entirely to Frederic; the name of Gardiner was stricken from Tudor's books, and communication with the family forbidden. Sound Episcopalian though he was, Tudor possessed an active Puritan sense of the doctrine of retribution, and was quite prepared to forestall the Deity in putting it into effect.

The most notable instance of his acting on this belief is recorded in what became known as the Havana icehouse controversy. One of his earliest assistants, a young fellow named Damon, taking charge at Havana in 1821 at a dollar and a half a day, and later elevated into partnership, with a small percentage of the profit, found his advancement at Tudor's hands so slow that he seized the first opportunity to take it into his own. It is not hard to imagine Tudor's sense of outrage when, in 1838, he discovered that Damon, renewing their license from the city authorities, had obtained it entirely for himself. Tudor at once went to law, carrying his case to the highest court in Madrid, which finally decided in his favor; but for ten years, from January, 1839, to January, 1849, he was deprived of his most profitable plantation. Meanwhile there was much acrimonious controversy between the litigants, Damon taking mainly to print,[14] and Tudor to correspondence. The most extraordinary of his letters, written on his sixtieth birthday and enclosing a lock of his white hair, consigns Damon to the contempt of posterity when Tudor's biographer shall have painted him for all time as "the betrayer of your master."

This serious loss of income during the ten-year period naturally delayed Tudor in extinguishing his debts. Moreover, the growth of his business required large investments in land both in southern cities and on the shores of the ponds where ice was cut.[15] Thus it was not till January, 1849, when he was sixty-five years old, that he became a free man. In that month, when he had made his last payment, he addressed a letter to Robert Hooper, agent of the creditors, in which he explained the causes of the delay and justified his course. This statement, published some years later in pamphlet form,[16] under the title *Frederic Tudor's Letter on the Ice-Trade and Payment of Great Losses* (also printed in 1 *Proceedings,* III. 52–60), is important, not only for the facts that it gives about the growth of the business, but also as presenting in his own words a picture of himself in the years when, after long struggle, he had won success and peace. The "delicious essence" was at last his.

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[14] F. Viudes y Gardoqué, *Memorial Respecting the Right of Mr. John Wade Damon, an inhabitant of Havana, to the Ownership of the Contract that He Made with that City* (Boston, 1844); John W. Damon, *The Havana Ice-house Controversy* (Boston, 1846); *Additional Chapter of the Havana Ice-house Controversy* (Boston, 1847).

[15] The name of one of these ponds figured as follows in the pages of *Punch* for August 30, 1845 (IX. 102):

Thus I have used fourteen years of my life, and accomplished the payment, at last, of principal of debt, as before stated	$210,094.20
Paid interest to close of 1848	70,060.39
	$280,154.59

> It appears I have paid the claims of 1835, and fully liquidated the sum – principal and interest – of two hundred and eighty thousand dollars; that, having used a large part of the active portion of my life, I enter the period of sixty-five with a good property in real estate, with the *business* attached to it. I commenced and founded the ice-trade when I was twenty-two years old; and through the great disaster of a great loss in other business, and a great one in Havana in the business itself, I have relieved myself, with no man to say I have been unjust to him, as I hope, as I think, as I believe. . . .

THE WONDER OF THE STRAND

Considerable curiosity has been excited as to the immediate objects and future prospects of the Wenham Lake Ice Company, recently established in the Strand. An established wag, who stands unusually high in the facetious world, has given it as his opinion that the ice must be poisonous, for it is openly advertised as *Concentrated Wenom* (*Wenham*).

We understand, however, that the real object of the Wenham Lake Ice Company, and the one by which it is expected that the largest profit will be realised, is the paving the metropolis with large blocks of the article, which will be found almost as durable as the wood pavement, and not quite so slippery.

Incidentally, it was the English residents in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay who built the icehouses there for Tudor and presented them to him.

[16] The circumstances of its publication are noted in Tudor's handwriting in the copy of the pamphlet belonging to the Society as follows: "This letter is soon to be published in the transactions of the Historical Society: but not intended to have been brought out until after my death. It is now prematurely published in consequence of Mr. Edd. Everett saying in one of his elegant public addresses 'Mr. Tudor I believe was one of the first who went largely into this [the Ice] business,' which is doing me and truth an injury; as the Ice trade was originated by me and solely by me. Those of my relatives engaged were induced into it by me. Mr. Everett spoils the whole thing by holding out an inference that the trade existed before I founded it, which is an errour. F. T."

> It is true, I did not expect it would have taken me so long, or that I should have to wade through fourteen years of doubted credit. Perhaps I should not have been willing to have shouldered the load. As it has turned out, there is not a doubt my having gone through this trouble is the source of the swelling extension of the ice-trade; and that I have lived to establish it in the East Indies, where I had for a long time endeavored in vain to extend it. I began this trade in the youthful hopes attendant on the age of twenty-two. I have followed it until I have a head with scarcely a hair which is not white. . . .
>
> I now begin again my Havana business, of which I have been ten years deprived; the first cargo for which departs to-morrow. But, with respect to the debts of 1834–5, they are now all discharged, principal and interest. I hope those who were my creditors are willing to thank me, and will join with me in the satisfaction I feel in the accomplishment.

This letter completes Tudor's record of the enterprise to which he devoted his life. He was indeed " inevitably and unavoidably rich "; moreover, he had " redeemed the lost estate of his father "; but his chief satisfaction came from the knowledge that, through his indomitable courage, he had made an important contribution to the prosperity of his native city. With a lively sense of the historic significance of this contribution, he deposited with the Society a copy of his *Letter on the Ice-Trade,* agreed to its publication in our *Proceedings,* and welcomed the recognition implied in election to membership.[17]

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[17] Frederic Tudor was elected a Resident Member in January, 1858. He was seventy-four years old, a man of mark in the business world for his achievements. He was the third Tudor on the roll of members, the first having been his father, William Tudor, at whose house the Society was organized on January 24, 1791, and who served as treasurer in the early years of its existence; and the second having been his elder brother William, who was elected in 1816.

Tudor's appreciation of the honor done him by the Society expressed itself in an invitation that same year to hold the August meeting at his house at Nahant. Here, at half past eleven in the morning, some thirty-five members assembled; the president, Robert C. Winthrop, referred to the inauguration of the Society at William Tudor's house and spoke of recent meetings at the homes of members. The event of the week had been the exchange of messages by the Atlantic cable between Queen Victoria and President Buchanan, and those present inspected a sample of the cable provided by Edward Everett. The formal exercises were followed by luncheon and the taking of a group photograph, an unusual experience in those days; after which the host escorted his guests over his grounds, explaining the methods by which, beginning thirty-three years before, he had transformed his barren and exposed acres on the highest ground of Nahant into an estate adorned with stately shade trees, fruit trees of all descriptions, vines, and shrubbery. Windbreak fences, in some cases twenty feet high, protected his saplings from the icy blasts, and the South Garden, where he grew his choicest fruit trees, was sheltered by a brick wall laid with interstices. As all this work had been carried out under his own direct supervision — for he had never employed a trained gardener — Tudor displaying his triumphs was offering his guests decidedly unusual entertainment.

One thing remained to be done: to provide for the continuance of the business by infusion of new blood. "It is becoming something of a wild beast in its strength of growth, and requiring far more care and good management than I have either the will or the ability to give it."[18] A "wild beast" indeed it may have seemed to a man of three score and ten; whereas in 1846 the number of tons of ice shipped had been 65,000, in 1856 the total rose to 146,000, this amount being sent in 363 cargoes to 53 different places in the United States, the West Indies, the East Indies, China, the Philippines, and Australia.[19] Accordingly he took into partnership Charles Henry Minot, who had been a member of the firm of Weld & Minot, and under Minot's guidance the business continued to prosper.

The last years of Tudor's life possessed all that even he could desire of the "delicious essence." His house on Beacon Street, in which he took great pride, expressed his sense of the dignity and importance of the Tudor family; and at Nahant his name was on the lips of all. Evidences of his benevolent activity were everywhere: roads that he had laid out well shaded with trees, marshes drained, a wharf built, and, finally, an amusement park, Maolis Gardens, one of the first in the country. His grounds were regularly open to visitors, and in the fall, at his cider-making festival, all the inhabitants were made welcome. At church on Sunday, wearing a blue frock coat with brass buttons, he was a conspicuous figure.[20] Thus he continued to the end. He died on February 6, 1864, at the age of eighty.

Frederic Tudor was a striking example of nineteenth-century individualism in its American form. What he created was the work of his own hand, even as the achievement of an artist is, and, like an artist with a new message, he fought his way to fame sustained only by his belief in himself and by his iron resolution: "I have so willed it" was his motto. The revolution which he brought to pass in the habits of dwellers in the West Indies and in this country has a niche in social history, and the use of ice in the preservation of food and in the treatment of illness owes much to him. Finally, it was the industry developed by him that insured for Boston the maintenance of its foreign trade.

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[18] Letter (August 4, 1852) to Weld & Minot, *Bulletin,* Business Historical Society, VI (September, 1932), 7.

[19] *Report of the Committee of the Boston Board of Trade on the Subject of the Ice Trade, January, 1857.* See also *Memorial History of Boston,* IV. 221.

[20] There are frequent references to Tudor in Fred A. Wilson, *Some Annals of Nahant* (Boston, 1928).

Basic to his success in a new industry and trade was Tudor's ability to harness the New England climate to serve the needs of man, and this ability depended on a constant and minute study of its caprices. Observation of the weather was with him a matter of business: as the season of cold approached, and as long as it continued, he watched the heavens and noted the thermometer with the sharpest of eyes. Otherwise he could never have reaped the harvest that gave him his name of "Ice King."

"The frost covers the windows, the wheels creak, the boys run, winter rules, and $50,000 worth of Ice floats for me upon Fresh Pond."

Bishop LAWRENCE spoke to the Society on "Ninety Years of a New England Family."

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 14, 1933, at 3 p.m., President **Endicott** in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, Massachusetts, two editions of Cotton Mather, *Winthropi Justa* (Boston, 1708, and London, 1710); Arthur Hopton, *Almanacke* (London, 1614), containing Adam Winthrop's diary; *Allestree's Almanac* (1621); a volume containing John Winthrop's notes of sermons (1627); a volume containing memoranda by John Winthrop, Jr. (1631); a volume originally belonging to Adam Winthrop (1548–1623), containing the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1615), John Speed, *The Genealogies Recorded in the Sacred Scriptures* (London, 1611), The Holy Bible (London, 1614–1615), Robert F. Herrey, *Two Right Profitable Concordances* (London, 1619), and the Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Booke of Psalms* (London, 1618); and a volume of autograph letters, 1587–1675.

From Mrs. Josiah Quincy of West Roxbury, by deposit, material relating to the Josiah Quincy family.

From **Matt B. Jones**, a letter written to Samuel Sewall and Edward Bromfield on June 18, 1710, by the Reverend Samuel Danforth of Taunton, relative to the Indians on No Man's Land and on Martha's Vineyard.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Fred W. Allen, the medal of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

From Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford of Wellesley Hills, and her daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bradford Ross, the silver coffee urn made by Paul Revere and presented to Gamaliel Bradford (1763–1824) about 1805 by Samuel Parkman in recognition of Bradford's safe convoy of valuable cargoes in Mediterranean ports in the face of attacks by French pirates. The following pieces were received on deposit: the sword of Gamaliel Bradford (1704–1778), made by E. Cobb; certificates of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati of Colonel Gamaliel Bradford (*d* 1807) and of Lieutenant Gamaliel Bradford (1763–1824), both signed by Washington; a miniature of Colonel Gamaliel Bradford, painted by his friend Kosciuszko; a water-color painted by Gamaliel Bradford (1763–1824); and a miniature and a silhouette of Gamaliel Bradford (1795–1839).

The Society elected James Duncan Phillips of Topsfield a Resident Member.

Mr. George Hinckley Lyman read a paper entitled

Personal Reminiscences of Men Prominent in Public Life

One day I was chatting with Joe Cannon, and after he had been retailing many of his interesting experiences connected with his position as Speaker of the House of Representatives, he abruptly broke off, exclaiming: " There! I have time and again promised myself, faithfully, to stop this sort of thing! The first resolve I make when I've managed to work my stiff old legs out of bed of a morning is, ' Now don't begin to reminisce, Uncle Joe, reminiscences are out of date at your time of life and, from every point of view, absurd.' One has sufficient to get muddled over these days without amusing or stultifying himself, and perhaps tiring others as well. You can't be governed by experiences; they are dangerous, I tell you. Yes, *Experientia stultorum magister est.* Forget them." He then let loose with a string of Greek quotations. Perchance the latter may have been appreciated by someone or other within hearing distance who knew what he was talking about!

Now when one's given text is " personal experiences of men prominent in public life," and when one's experiences cover a period of many decades and are in a large measure fortified by diaries and letters, one is directly faced with the problem of where to begin, what characters to introduce, and what best to say about them in the time allowed. Nor can one obliterate one's own personality, which, though not an incentive to the text, may only be avoided at the certain risk of the relation becoming stilted as well as confused, if not affected.

There is one early incident, little fraught with entertainment, and relating to an opportunity so unique and staged with so rare a charm that it has never been forgotten in the now seventy-three years which have elapsed; a memory, moreover, kept ever fresh in my mind by my father, who was with me at the time and recorded the episode in his diary, which I have before me. The anecdote is of one whose life and example will ever remain a landmark, honored and beloved, in the hearts of his countrymen, and whose memory draws the respect of the nations. No man was more prominent in our history, and none a greater " politician." The word is used advisedly — not in the aborted and corrupted sense as a stigma of reproach, but in its authentic, definitive meaning, " the science of statesmanship." No Lincolniana can ever prove amiss.

On June 25, 1861, my father took me, then a boy ten years of age, with him to Washington. It was only a little over two months before that Massachusetts troops, en route to Washington, had been attacked in the streets of Baltimore by a nondescript mob of roughs and southern sympathizers known as the " Baltimore Plug Uglies." As our train approached Baltimore, from which station we were scheduled to cross the city in order to connect with the train to Washington, the cars came to a halt on the outskirts, and a strong body of firemen, armed, and clad in their uniforms of red shirts and tall black, polished helmets, came aboard for the purpose of escorting passengers from the North by a roundabout way to the Washington connection, as it was considered dangerous for northerners, and other suspicious characters, to brave the disordered mob of Marylanders in the city proper. How much we owed to our bodyguard for our safe arrival in Washington, I can not tell. My father's diary continues the story:

> The tread of regiments with drums beating coming to the front or departing as assigned to their several brigades, was heard daily, almost hourly. In those early days it was customary for each regiment to pass down the Avenue to the White House grounds in order to pay a salute to the President. One morning, as we were lounging about, I perceived one of them approaching in the distance. Thinking it a good chance for my little companion to see the President, we hurried and took position in the reserved space opposite the porch of the White House. Presently the door at the rear opened, and a few not very distinguished looking individuals made their appearance, followed shortly after by the President himself — tall, gaunt, worn and weary. His countenance was so dull, his expression so grave and apathetic as a few stragglers came forward to greet him, that I felt unwilling to do the same, as it seemed merely a fatigue and annoyance to him. When I told my son that the man was President Lincoln, he was utterly incredulous, and thought I was joking. " No," I said. " Go forward and speak to him." " No, I can't, I don't know what to say." " No matter, go forward, take your hat off and offer your hand. Say you wish to have the honor of speaking to the President of the United States." With reluctance and timidity, he did as he was bidden, I following without his knowledge directly behind him. The immediate effect was striking, so much so as to cause the others to fall back, and watch with surprise the change in Mr. Lincoln's whole aspect. A most pathetic smile lightened his features as he stooped and placed his hand on the boy's head and said:

"Well, my little lad, and what do you want?" The boy repeated his lesson. "And so you shall," replied the President as he clasped the other's hand. "And what is your name?" It was given. "That is an odd name. How do you spell it?" Then raising his voice and repeating the name letter by letter after him: "Where do you come from?" "Boston," was the reply. Then, rising to his full height and casting a bright smile around: "One might have known it; nothing but good comes from the Hub." Then placing his hand on the boy's head, "And do all the Hub boys have their hair clipped like that?"

It was my good fortune, subsequently, to see the President many times – in camp, at reviews, and elsewhere; but never again that bright and lovely expression, as if pointedly addressing those gathered on the porch: "Here is a young gentleman from the Hub, who has no scheme to bother me with, no favor to ask for; only a child who wants to see me for *myself*."

Just as I thought to get away, the president, lowering his head, whispered in my ear, at the same time pointing to one of the windows over the entrance door at the rear of the porch: "Look up at that window. Do you see those two naughty boys blowing beans at the soldiers? You just go up there and tell them from me to stop it *at once. It shall never happen again*." Being too much exercised with getting away, I broke loose, missing the opportunity of a lifetime, but probably at heart with a strong sympathy in behalf of the "naughty boys."

A few days later, on the morning of the Fourth of July, while playing in front of the old Willard Hotel, a rolled-up towel in my hand, Mr. Lincoln came along on his way to the capitol. Naturally I looked upon him as my personal friend and felt that I was entitled to a welcome and another friendly handshake. Dodging through a slight opposition from those accompanying him, and holding out my hand, I bade him good morning. A moment's hesitation, and then once again came the hand grasp and the same kindly smile lighting up Lincoln's face. "Ah!" he said, "my little friend from the Hub; and how are you celebrating your Fourth of July?" "Playing." "And what are you doing with that thing in your hand?" "Killing flies," was the reply. This untimely remark must have brought his thoughts back to the grim tragedy of the present. At once his face recovered its serious and troubled expression, and, dropping the hand he had retained in his grasp, he exclaimed: "Oh, no, no! This killing, this killing! Isn't there enough coming without the poor flies?"

Now the incident of the mischievous bean-blowers bade fair to be supported by no positive evidence whatever. Its accuracy was limited to the vagaries of a childhood memory — no diary to endorse its truth. Lincoln's whispered suggestion reached no other ear. But, about forty years later, its general purport would seem to have been well substantiated by a most curious coincidence. On one occasion when I was entertaining a few guests at dinner, Mr. Robert T. Lincoln being present, his father's name came into the conversation, and I was tempted to tell of my experience, expressing at the same time my regret that the matter of the bean-blowing incident must, of course, be taken for what it was worth on the face of it. When I had concluded, Robert Lincoln, who had been listening with marked attention, exclaimed: "Well, I can at least vouch for the occasion itself and that all the facts might well have occurred as related. It so happens that I was one of those 'naughty boys' at the window, but it was Tad, of course, doing the bean-blowing, not I." And then, reminiscently, he added: "and it *was* the last time, also!"

Undoubtedly the position my father and I had that day in the reserved area fronting the façade of the White House round which the troops passed in review, was due to the efforts of Senator Lafayette S. Foster, at the time United States Senator from Connecticut and the Republican leader of that body. His wife was my father's sister, who lived with us for many years, and who had but recently been married from our house. Much later, when from time to time I visited the Fosters in their home at Norwich, Connecticut, Mr. Foster, then an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, was wont of an evening to relate many a yarn about Lincoln. One tale in particular remains a vivid memory.

Foster told how he was in the habit of accompanying President Lincoln on horseback on the latter's visits to the surrounding military camps. One morning, as the president and Senator Foster were out riding together — at the time General Early was endeavoring to surround and capture Washington — a messenger from headquarters rode up in desperate haste, his horse lathered with foam and exhausted, and presented a dispatch to the president. This dispatch brought the information that General Early had nearly completed the circle, leaving but a narrow gap, which was gradually closing, and that the president had scarcely time as it was to reach Washington before he would be barred out and captured by the enemy.

Now from the description Senator Foster gave of Lincoln's horse, it would appear that it was a slow, ungainly looking, and altogether indescribable manner of horseflesh, such as might full well have claimed an heritage from Quixote's Rosinante! Senator Foster immediately dismounted and gave his horse to Lincoln, at the same time urging him to ride as fast as the horse could be made to travel. This the president did in good earnest, coat tails flying. Fortunately the gap, as we know, was never closed, and the president was safe. My uncle added that never in his experience had he suffered such a terrible anxiety as was his until he was fully advised that Lincoln had reached the capitol unharmed, for he feared that it was in any event but a toss-up whether the president would be captured or would break his precious neck!

Judge Foster was also most earnest and emphatic in his statement that however addicted Lincoln may have been to tell indecent stories, a habit very generally accredited to him, he never in all their long and intimate companionship heard him repeat a single one except to illustrate or enforce an argument, and never for the sake of the story itself.

One of the earliest and closest friends of my boyhood was Cabot Lodge. Lodge was an apt example, such as one often sees in retrospect of distinguished men, where "the boy was father of the man." In this regard it has been truly said that "all incidents relating thereto belong to history."

Our intimacy, with its lapses, covered a period of about seventy years. He himself makes mention of that relationship in his autobiography, published in 1913, wherein he speaks of certain of our mischiefs and misdemeanors. He was distinctly our leader and boss. Physically he could not in the least have supported either position, but his brain and force could, and did. He fails, however, to mention that he was, in the main, the author and leader of those peccadillos whereof he writes, and many others besides. All our ventures emanated from our "headquarters," built of such material as we were able to lay hands on — with a limited respect for the doctrine of *meum* and *tuum* — and located on Beacon Hill in the back yard of our president, Henry Cabot Lodge.

But Lodge will be discussed only incidentally here. I shall merely append two letters to me from members of this Society. The following from William C. Endicott, written on June 5, 1933, tells how Lodge was handicapped at the time he began his public career.

> I would like to make a record through you of my views regarding Henry Cabot Lodge.
>
> Though politically I was always more or less opposed to him, it never affected in any way our friendship, which was a very close one. I never knew Cabot until he first came to Washington as a member of Congress, though I had a bowing acquaintance with him all my life as a boy at Nahant.
>
> I believed, long years ago – and I believe now – that the only reason he stood by Blaine in 1884 was that he believed that the country was safer under Republican than Democratic rule. I think that he was a great patriot, and that he suffered greatly owing to the fact that his friends, particularly those of his own class whom he had known from boyhood, turned upon him and rended him.
>
> Shortly after he first came to Washington, I met him with his wife, late in the afternoon walking on 16th Street. I stopped and had quite a chat with them, and as we parted I said to Cabot and his wife: "I am glad that you are going to dine with my father and mother tomorrow." Cabot turned to me, showing a great deal of emotion, and said: "It is very kind of your father and mother to ask us to dinner. People in Boston would not do that." I had myself been so out of the turmoil of political life that it struck me as an extraordinary statement, but as the years went on I found that it was a very genuine one. I doubt very much if Cabot for years went into the Somerset Club. Both he and his wife always avoided putting themselves in a position where they might be snubbed. In those days people would have snubbed them; the reason that so few people of Nahant ever crossed their threshold was that they never made it easy. Few people had unlimited access to that house, except Russell Gray and a few others. I think that Cabot Lodge would have resented anybody showing any sympathy for this state of things, for he was proud, very self-contained, uncommunicative and difficult to reach.
>
> I always remember how satisfied my father was when he was leaving the War Department to have Cabot and Tom Reed call upon him to express their appreciation of what he had been as Secretary of War. Perhaps my father, being a tremendously strong party man all his life, understood better than others why Cabot supported Blaine.
>
> The Wilson episode was more than trying. One night when I was calling upon Cabot at Mr. Bigelow's he let out about Wilson and then said: "I never thought I should fully appreciate that Grover Cleveland was a great President and would to God he was in the White House today."
>
> In the summer of 1890 just after our marriage, we were at Nahant

walking in the village. A friend of yours and mine stopped us and asked to be presented to my wife. She said she and I were staying with the Lodges and later were going to stay with my grandparents. He said he was anxious to call upon her but "could not possibly do so at the Lodges" so would wait until we went to the Peabodys. Two years later Cabot read me a letter from this same man, with deep gratitude because in the letter he said that he thanked God that "great statesmen" like him still existed. So it goes!

The following letter from John T. Morse, Jr. (August 11, 1933), shows the unhappiness this state of affairs brought Lodge:

> You ask me to refresh your memory as to a trifling incident, which I once mentioned to you concerning our old friend, Cabot Lodge. It occurred when the young "gentleman from Nahant" first ventured to ask the journeymen of the Lynn shoe factories to send him to Congress. In the ensuing campaign these proletarians "slung mud" with a profusion which can never have been surpassed. The courage with which Cabot stood up and faced it, would be beyond my imagination, if I had not witnessed the really brutal spectacle. His mother, who worshipped him beyond the usual measure of even doting mothers, said to me one day, with tears running down her cheeks: "Only God and his mother know what that poor boy suffers." A melodramatic expression, no doubt, but literally true. I saw a great deal of Cabot in those days, being one of the not too numerous group of his acquaintance who stood by him and encouraged him. I marvelled, and still marvel, at his resolute courage!

I now come to a few letters chosen from an extensive correspondence with Senator Hoar, both prior and subsequent to his candidacy for reëlection to the Senate — 1900–1901. These are introduced, in whole or in part, at this time as being interesting in themselves and less likely to interfere with the continuity of what follows, although not independent of that period in Mr. Hoar's career when he was so closely allied with an anxious epoch in our history — national and state — wherein he was an acknowledged leader. He was an idealist. Also it is the human, more personal attributes that often constitute the true basis, as well as the more winning and potential side, of a distinguished man's character, and this was especially so with Senator Hoar.

WORCESTER, MASS.
October 16, 1895

MY DEAR MR. LYMAN:

Nobody can be more disappointed than I am that it now seems sure that I can not go to Boston Friday. I should like to meet the Republicans. I should like to say a few words to them. I should like especially to meet and hear the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor. We have never had worthier representatives and leaders. Massachusetts loves them, trusts them, and stands by them. Even the mouths of their enemies praise them. So far as the State of Massachusetts is concerned, it seems to me it would puzzle the ingenuity of a Philadelphia lawyer to discover what use we have for a Democratic party. I understand there are two things that somebody has thought might usefully be done by such a party, if we had one. One is to give us a Solicitor-General. The other to control the corporations. Well, we have tried a Solicitor-General in old times. He was the last relic of the stately and formal manners of our Colonial gentry before the Revolution, although he came down to a much later time. He was famous for his deportment. He went about with ruffled shirt and flowing sleeves and a broad starched necktie which seemed like a bandage for a compound fracture. He was a model of stately behavior. We have had no genius fit to describe him since Hawthorne died. He preserved his dignity till one day a very naughty girl indeed, whom he had called as a witness in a criminal case in which some other naughty girls were mixed up, replied to his ceremonious question — " Madam, what is your name? " " O, Mr. Felicitor, now don't! You know what my name is." The office of the Solicitor-General disappeared in a peal of inextinguishable laughter. I am afraid we shall not be able to revive it, unless Mr. Williams himself will accept it.

I think we can control our corporations without the very expensive machinery of a Democratic government in Massachusetts. At any rate, I do not see that the Governor will have much to do in that matter. The Attorney-General, and the District Attorneys, and the grand juries will see the existing laws well enforced, and if new ones be necessary they will be framed and enacted by the legislature. I am willing, however, to concede so much to our Democratic brethren, or rather to the single Democratic brother who has suggested this point of reform, quite as much I fancy to the amazement of his Democratic associates, as to ours. As to Corporations, wherever in any legislative district of the State the Democrats have a candidate who, on the whole, is fitter to be trusted with the control of corporations than his Republican competitor, I will consent that the people may vote for him, if they see no good reason to the contrary.

We will do our full duty in Worcester. Mr. Williams's natural organ and spokesman in this matter will be that well known and good natured Democrat, my neighbor Mr. Mellen. I am afraid the election of Mr. Mellen will be as far in that direction as his party will go this year.

I wish I could be at the meeting. I will come down and help as soon as the doctor lets me out, which I hope will be in a few days.

I am faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR

WASHINGTON, D.C.
April 18, 1903

DEAR MR. LYMAN:

I am very much obliged to you for the Jefferson documents. They are of great historical interest, especially as manifesting Jefferson's great respect for Elbridge Gerry. I did not know before that Mr. Jefferson concerned himself so much in the French Negotiation. That constitutes one of the most interesting chapters of our history. As my Father was an old Federalist, and my Mother a great friend of the Ellsworth family, my sympathies and inclinations have been in favor of the Federalist side of that discussion. But the fires are all out now, and one of the Adams family could sit down and talk it over with you, with as much unconcern as you would discuss the fall of Adam.

Cannot something be done to stop the extreme folly of our Legislature? I see the Senate is reported to have passed a resolution asking Congress to call a Convention to revise the Constitution for the purpose of providing for the election of Senators by the people. But they cannot do that without giving the Convention the power to revise the whole Constitution. There is no power given to the State Legislatures to call a Convention for a particular purpose alone. So they are committing themselves, in this time of great prosperity, but at the same time of great unrest, to have our whole Constitution revised. The scheme is William J. Bryan's. He has pressed it earnestly, and I suppose the plan of getting the Legislatures to make this application is of his devising, though of that, of course, I cannot be sure. I sat next to him the other night at the Jefferson Dinner, and he spoke of it with great interest. This scheme for electing Senators by popular vote always gets through without any debate or examination. The House of Representatives pass it as a sort of joke, thinking the Senate, of course, will stop it. One vigorous man in either House of our Legislature, I think, would kill the whole thing. But the merits of this particular scheme are entirely distinct from those of the plan to elect Senators by the people. This will bring upon us, if carried out, a revision of the whole Constitution.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,
GEO. F. HOAR

It will doubtless be recalled how at times Mr. Hoar was stigmatized as a "scold," more especially by those who failed to find his rhetoric to their taste. He most unequivocally did inveigh in public debate, as well as off the rostrum, against the stand maintained by others in political issues; but his attacks were in the main against a principle in which he disbelieved, and not against the adversary supporting it. Yet he did not limit in debate the force of his utterances or refrain from a humorous, biting cynicism and invective, of which he was a past master. He was never "governed by selfish or corrupt motives," nor did he "allow himself to become the victim of anyone else who was disposed to do such things." His so-called "scolding" was in no proportion to what was meted out to him personally, mostly gathered from hearsay and ignorance of facts and of his character. The "reaction," also, which he was sometimes charged with was generally his denunciation of certain debated and unestablished principles of government which he deemed unconstitutional, and which he attacked on the ground of their being a departure from our established form of government and subversive of our national safety and welfare.

There was, however, a more personal and truly lovable side to his character, not generally known well enough to be appreciated except by those who knew him intimately. It positively hurt him to see anyone suffer; and, casting all personal, all selfish considerations aside, he was ready to champion any cause that came within his notice and appealed to his sense of justice. He was indignant when one showed a disregard for another's misadventure. I have known him time and again to speak most kindly of those with whom he had so fiercely debated that he made them his enemies, and even to help them. He had an inborn instinct of unselfishness and kindness. The masterful and successful efforts he made in behalf of the starving Cubans is but one example. He seldom spoke harshly of his political adversaries, limiting his criticism to their principles rather than to themselves. To this, of course, there was one historical exception: it was dangerous to mention even the name of General Butler or he would go right up in the air. No statue for the general on the State House green!

One day when Mr. Hoar was coming to pass the week-end with me, we were confronted by a violent thunderstorm as we were leaving the station. The horses became almost unmanageable, and, on being further startled by the toot of a locomotive, gave a violent plunge, throwing the coachman from his seat into a puddle of mud and water. Mr. Hoar clung to everything he could lay his hands on, myself included. The horses were shortly brought under control; the coachman, uninjured, caught up, bringing the senator's bag, both appearing as if they had but just taken a mud bath at Carlsbad. Mr. Hoar was very much stirred up, evidencing great sympathy for the man. Suddenly he addressed me with marked indignation in that high falsetto voice which he was wont to use when excited: " Brother Lyman, what do you see to laugh at? He might have been killed! Killed, I say, killed! " This only fed the spark, as I recalled a glimpse of the man and bag rolling over in a puddle of mud, the frightened horses, and the senator's pale and horrified countenance. Indeed, his last words as we arrived at our destination interpreted his wrath at my apparent want of fellow-feeling: " But, Brother Lyman, you might have killed him, you know, killed him, and you don't seem to care a damn, not a damn, I say." Nor could he entirely reconcile himself to his host's utter heartlessness for the remainder of his visit, delightful guest as he always was.

In the course of the evening the question was mooted as to what policy the United States should adopt in regard to the Philippine Islands and the pending treaty with Spain. When his advice was requested, he replied: " Brother Lyman, I can set you just right on the whole matter in about ten minutes." He then held forth, with but few interruptions, for nearly two hours with the characteristic vehemence to be expected from him. He did not mince matters in the slightest degree, but said that he was opposed to the treaty in every particular. He declared that he did not see how it was possible for him or anyone else to assume a disinterested position; and further, that he would not disgrace his father's son by acting contrary to what he in this or in any other matter, public or private, deemed best for the honor and safety of Massachusetts and the country. Furthermore, he would willingly " be beheaded on the steps of the capitol as a martyr to this cause, if any good might be accomplished thereby." He introduced the episode of the Boers, declaring his sympathy for the latter and condemning the " bitter wrong " — as he expressed it — done them by the English, and what it eventually led to. This issue of the Spanish treaty and all that it involved seemed to be ever present with him, a worry and a nightmare as long as he lived. It annoyed him, too, if one had the temerity to argue the question with him, and he resented it.

At a dinner given in Boston in honor of Mark Hanna, Mr. Hoar, without any notes, delivered a long and most stirring attack on the imperialists. Lodge, who was present, describes it in a letter dated August 9, 1900: " What a burst that was of Mr. Hoar yesterday. He certainly is a great old man! " Distinctly different as they were in character, the two senators always remained friends.

At this dinner Mr. Hoar told me that he did not believe there was a man in the room who could, at the end of similar public occasions, recall better than he the exact trend and often the very wording of each man's utterances; but that it was absolutely a psychological impossibility for him to write out in advance and commit to memory his own speech without subjecting himself to the almost certain risk of failure at the time of delivery.

Naturally Mr. Hoar's tirades against imperialism did not increase his popularity. He was wont constantly and openly to express his very great affection for President McKinley. The latter, being heart and soul for the treaty, reciprocated by saying that he would prefer to have the senator, if only occasionally, give him some support, even if it were at the expense of that affection. The two became for a time estranged. The result of it all was that Mr. Hoar found himself confronted by serious opposition and unpopularity on the part of very many Republicans, especially those of the president's faction, who were eager for Mr. Hoar's support and needed it. If one may judge by the final outcome, it does not appear either that Mr. Hoar had imperilled his own candidacy for reëlection or that McKinley's prospects had been injured. On the contrary, the latter's re-nomination and election were both in good measure unquestionably due to Mr. Hoar's earnest efforts in his behalf. But the basic principles involved in the Spanish treaty still remain, as we are well aware, one of those hereditary thorns our statesmen have to deal with.

Later, in April, 1900, as the time for what was to be his final election to the Senate was drawing near, I, being his appointed manager — Heaven forbid! No man ever lived who could *manage* Mr. Hoar — he would listen to facts, as such, thank you for them, and act upon them in his own sweet way — suggested to him that although there was practically no doubt whatever that his candidacy was sure of a favorable outcome, and by the vote of a large majority of both parties, it was a shame to have a single recalcitrant vote from within his own party. Would it not, therefore, be wise for him to let up, for the present at least, on his hammering at the Philippine question, and not continue further to stir up his friends and well-wishers, besides openly defying the leaders in the McKinley camp? Whew! Didn't I get it in the neck! Turning sharply, fiercely, he fairly exploded, and in that familiar high voice of his he exclaimed: " Brother Lyman, when you, or any other living man, entertain the delusion that I may be swerved by any argument whatever, personal or political, to act or delay in any matter contrary to my conscience and moral belief, you are vastly mistaken — vastly, I say! " As a matter of fact no one had asked him to — but " Brother Lyman " had to take a back seat just the same!

He openly and very generally stated that he intended to make but one more speech on the Philippines, which would be before the Senate; that it would " take all day " — or " at least three hours " — and that he would " stand without any quibble or hesitation for a rigid doctrine of anti-imperialism, no matter what the consequences " to himself might be. But on every other issue he would stand for McKinley's nomination; and would also counsel everyone else to do likewise. This at once brought about a charge of apostasy.

When in the lobby, just before entering the Senate Chamber to deliver his important attack against the Philippine resolution, Mr. Hoar remarked to a small circle of friends that he was fully aware that what he was about to say would make him very unpopular and raise up many enemies, but that he felt it to be his imperative duty as a senator of the United States and as such he would — quoting his very words — " leave it as a legacy " to his " grandchildren and great-grandchildren." The speech took at least three hours in delivery. When I joined him at its conclusion, as he was leaving the Senate Chamber, he appeared exhausted and complained of being utterly worn out and of having suffered from a slight attack of the grippe.

The speech failed to win the sympathy of the many hearers who did not believe in his doctrine, and there were others who would not, openly at least, support his position. Feelings were further accentuated by his reference to Aaron Burr, which was taken by his opponents as accusing them of being in the same unpatriotic class as that earlier unfortunate person.

At the capitol the senator received many a cold shoulder and suffered constant mortification. " I know," he said, " it is making my friends unhappy, but it is making me a hundred times more so." His situation was much the same as that described in a letter written to me shortly before this speech (March 4):

> Although I see many people here constantly, I do not see this winter many Massachusetts people. And, after all, life is something of a soli-

tude. I told Mr. Lodge yesterday that I felt something like an old Orthodox minister who had been preaching the five points of Calvinism all his life and awoke one morning and found his colleagues and deacons, and nearly all his congregation, had gone over to Bob Ingersoll! But I suppose these things will work clear sooner or later, and that the Republicans will again get pretty nearly into practical accord.

One may readily appreciate how, when the Philippine resolution was adopted, Mr. Hoar was faced by a choice of supporting the party whose principles he had always advocated, or deserting them to vote for a totally un-American policy and for the apostle of fiat money. But he did not hesitate for a moment. He said that in view of his thirty years' service in the Senate and his present standing as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee as well as chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, there was one and only one possible position for him to assume: it was his undeniable duty to join his colleagues and support them in their mutual trusteeship; and they must as far as possible stand together as a unit and shoulder the new policy they had accepted, since that policy might lead to complications with one or more foreign countries.

His position, of course, created both praise and condemnation. Speaker Reed's indignation is somewhat amusing. As will be remembered, no man in Tom Reed's time was more prominent in public life; none had a keener wit; none had a more withering tongue when either by letter or in public debate he hit back at his opponent — always in that measured, drawling, and unimpassioned voice, inciting the imagination for a moment before the real force and tenor of its incisiveness was fully appreciated. An example of this may be seen in the following episode. One evening at our house, previous to the passing of the Philippine resolution, Mr. Reed was in high feather, exultant over the stand Senator Hoar had taken. He spoke somewhat feelingly of how little real support Hoar's colleagues had given him in his opposition, and of how he had previously had but one senator to back him, whose support had proved negligible. "But now," he triumphantly cried, "I have the assured backing of the only man in public life I'm afraid of in debate! I hate his cynical mouth!" As soon, however, as Mr. Hoar had publicly announced that he favored McKinley's re-nomination and election, and that he intended to urge all Republicans to do the same, he was openly and often severely criticized as an apostate for repudiating the stand he had so earnestly maintained against imperialism, of which McKinley was the leading spirit. It is unnecessary to add that Mr. Reed's good opinion of Mr. Hoar became absolutely nil.

One morning a few months afterwards, on arriving at my office later than usual, I discovered that Mr. Reed had been in three times and had left a message to the effect that he could not come in a fourth time, but that he had written and left the following letter:

Young's Hotel
Boston, August 16, 1900

DEAR LYMAN:

Here I am in Boston again and have not told you! The reason why, I hasten to explain.

I came on business and I must go home on the seven o'clock train, accompanying Mrs. Reed, who returns with me. No man, as you will agree, can desert his wife anyway — or his principles, unless he loves his President and wishes to die in the Senate. What a strange thing affection is, and how it does lead to explanations.

I am sorry not to see you, having arrived at one and been busy until now, but I shall come again and see if your patience with my vagaries holds out. Also, I have sprained my ankle and limp.

Yours truly,
T. B. REED

HON. GEORGE H. LYMAN
Custom House
and worthy of a better fate.

Mr. Hoar was no apostate. There were two principles involved, but one was far above the other. He had a well-defined belief that " differences with a party where general principles are sound, or with any party leader on any particular question do not justify anyone in leaving or refusing to support that party. Such a course leaves one powerless in all parties."

We remained close friends to the end of his life. Two months before his death he wrote me the following letter:

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS
July 26, 1904

MY DEAR BROTHER LYMAN:

I have your kind letter in which you ask why I will not come and visit you within the next ten days at Beverly Farms. My dear boy the reason why, is that the tragic muse has passed away from the earth and there is no genius who could portray the agony which Mrs. Lyman would suffer with such a trying and terrific inmate of her household if

I should possess it for a tenth part of that period of time. The disease has come back with forty lumbago power. The remedy consists of being broiled on a gridiron six times a day, for which a soft-hearted physician has allowed four to be substituted by a very doubtful exercise of constitutional power. The result of my spending twenty-four hours in your household would be a vacancy in the office of collector of Boston, three or four of the members of your family committed to the insane hospital, and the remainder scattered to different and distant parts of the habitable globe.

I have been obliged to send to all the worst newspaper offices in this part of the country to borrow such stock of imprecatory words as they did not have immediate use for and my supply of imprecatory psalms is long since exhausted. I have an excellent nurse who was chosen for her iron nerves and her strength of will. But she has never yet listened to such cussin' and damnin', although she is, I believe, the person who took charge of the late Charles A. Dana during his later hours.

The doctors have told me constantly that the disease would get well in three days. But it has now grown steadily worse for several weeks.

Whether I shall take part in the campaign will depend on whether we are to treat Parker with severity or respect.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,

Geo. F. Hoar

But this " cussin' " and " damnin' " must surely have been limited to the latter invective. He never was either blasphemous or profane. His cheer and serenity continued to the very end. He never lost his mental grip nor his incisive humor, so often coupled with its biting, witty sarcasm.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits read the following note:

Recently, while making an appraisal of a collection of manuscripts which were for the most part papers of Colonel David Humphreys, I came upon a small quarto volume, more than half an inch thick, somewhat dilapidated and imperfect at the end, but none the less largely intact, which bore no relation to the manuscripts of Colonel Humphreys. This manuscript volume proved to be an unpublished work of the Reverend Benjamin Colman of Boston, graduate of Harvard College in 1692. It shows many erasures and revisions. It has a preface in which the author discusses the purpose of the work, which is on a par with Cotton Mather's very rare *Decennium Luctuosum*. In fact, Colman preferred that title for his own work, which covers the decade from

1711 to 1722, and so embraces the lively period of Queen Anne's War and the years immediately following the Treaty of Utrecht.

When stripped of pious or extraneous matter, the work possesses considerable interest for the history of New England occurrences during that period. Gruesome are the narrations of some of the incidents of Indian depredation and massacre. It ought to be edited and published. Had it come with the other papers into the possession of the New York Public Library, such a publication might have been possible. The manuscript, however, still reposes in the possession of descendants of Colonel Humphreys. It is to be hoped that in the interest of the history of New England it will not remain hidden but see the light of day. It must not be confused with another Colman manuscript of later date, probably a continuation of this one, which was printed years ago by this Society (1 *Collections,* VI. 108–118).

JANUARY MEETING, 1934

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 11, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Robert S. Ward of Cambridge, a number of letters and documents of the Saltonstall family, 1644–1821.

From Miss Louisa Huntington of Salem, the papers of John H. Gray, 1731–1847.

From J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, the formal notice to John Pintard of New York of his election as a Corresponding Member of this Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS accepting his election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. CHARLES WARREN read a paper on

A YOUNG AMERICAN'S ADVENTURES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In May, 1780, a young American, twenty years of age, frail of health though gay of disposition and active for adventure, left the home of his parents in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Eleven years later, he was killed in St. Clair's battle with the Indians on the Miami River. Between these two dates his short life was filled with the adventures for which he yearned — a prisoner in the hands of the English; an associate of John Trumbull and of John Temple in London, involved with them in alleged spying; a protegé of John Adams in Paris; a traveller over much of France in 1781 and 1782; a participant at Nantes in the celebration over Cornwallis's defeat; back in this country in 1783, he visited England again in 1784 (where Copley painted his portrait), and, after nearly two years as a commission merchant in Portugal, he returned to the United States; in 1791 he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the regular army, arrested for debt and confined in a Massachusetts jail, and finally killed on the field of battle at the age of thirty-one. This young man was Winslow Warren, a son of General James and

Mercy Warren. The manuscript correspondence between the son and his parents, now in my possession and hitherto unpublished, affords a lively picture of adventure and of political and social conditions in this country, in England, and in France toward the end of our Revolutionary War.

Young Warren left Boston on May 17, 1780, sailing for Holland on the ship *Pallas* with the object of visiting that country and France and, if possible, engaging in the shipment of goods on commission to the United States. Within a few days after his departure his ship was captured by the British cruiser *Proteus,* under the command of Admiral Richard Edwards, and all on board were carried as prisoners to St. John's, Newfoundland. The news did not reach Mrs. Warren in Plymouth until August 18, when she wrote to her son expressing great anxiety over the possible horrors attending a prisoner of war; though, she stated, she had learned that " humanity and politeness mark the character of the man, as benevolence, hospitality and honour distinguish the Commander of the British squadron at St. John's." [1] If, she added, anyone connected by friendship or blood with that commander should ever be detained in the United States, she hoped it might be in her power to manifest her gratitude. By a curious turn of fate, almost exactly one year later the American ship *Alliance,* under Captain John Barry, on which James Warren, Jr., another son of Mrs. Warren, was serving as lieutenant of marines, captured two British warships off the American coast. In this naval battle Lieutenant Warren lost his leg, and among the British officers on the defeated ships were two nephews of Admiral Edwards. These two officers were brought into Boston as prisoners; and one of them visited Mrs. Warren in Plymouth. He " appeared much gratified," she wrote, " under the singular circumstance " that their uncle should capture one of Mrs. Warren's sons, and that they themselves should be captured by another of her sons.[2]

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[1] " Last evening arrived in this harbour, a cartel ship from Admiral Edwards in Newfoundland, having on board 140 Americans, who have been prisoners for some time; and what is *very* extraordinary, they have experienced, since their captivity, *uncommon* good treatment. One hundred and forty more remained in the prison ship in Newfoundland." *Independent Chronicle,* August 17, 1780. " No British commander, since the rupture with England, has exercised so much politeness and humanity towards American prisoners, as the *humane* Admiral *Edwards* . . . which mode of conduct redownds to his honor, and will gain him universal approbation." *Continental Journal,* August 24, 1780.

[2] The *Boston Gazette* of June 11, 1781, contained a full account of the arrival of the *Alliance* on June 6, and of her capture on May 21 of two sloops of war " be-

Warren was kept at St. John's for two months with other American prisoners, and in September was taken to England on the British frigate *Vestal*. On this ship, as a prisoner, was a fellow-countryman of great distinction, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, late president of Congress. Chosen to negotiate a treaty with the Netherlands, he had sailed on August 13 from Philadelphia on the *Mercury*, a little brigantine of sixty-two tons with a crew of fourteen, which had been captured on September 3 off the Newfoundland banks by the *Vestal*. Before his capture Laurens had destroyed all the papers in his trunks which he considered of significance; but unfortunately certain documents which he threw overboard were recovered by the British, among them a draft of the unratified treaty of 1778 with the Netherlands, which the British ministry considered of great consequence. On the arrival of Warren and Laurens in London on October 5, Laurens was immediately confined in the Tower on a charge of high treason; [3] and after two examinations before British officials, October 7 and 9, he was kept a prisoner until December 31, 1781.[4] Warren, having no military or official character and being a very young man, was allowed his liberty in London; and for about six weeks appears to have enjoyed himself in the social circles of that city.

Meanwhile, before the news of the transport of these two American prisoners to London reached Plymouth, young Warren's parents sent constant news of American affairs to him, addressed to Holland. On September 27, 1780, General James Warren wrote giving an account of the currency situation in Massachusetts and of the treason of General Arnold:

> Our money has for some time remained at a stand about seventy for one. It is in great demand and yet does not grow better. It abounds with mysteries which no reasoning will supply to. Our new money is

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longing to George the Tyrant, viz. the Attalanta, commanded by a Mr. Edwards, nephew to Rear Admiral Edwards, and the Trepasa." The engagement lasted three hours, five being killed and twenty-four wounded on the *Alliance*.

[3] John Adams wrote to the president of Congress on October 24, 1780, that Laurens had been "treated with great insolence by the populace in his journey from Dartmouth to London." Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on October 7, 1780: "Lord George Gordon has just got a neighbour — I believe, not a companion; for state prisoners are not allowed to be very sociable. Laurens, lately President of the Congress, has been taken by a natural son of the last Lord Albemarle, and brought to England, to London, to the Tower." *Letters of Horace Walpole*, Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Editor, IX (London, 1904), 294–295.

[4] An interesting account of this episode is in David D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915), 357–389; see also *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, Edmund C. Burnett, Editor, VI (Washington, 1933), 473, 481–488, 492.

just coming into circulation. How it will operate we do not know. The old must dye in the Spring, and we hope this will inherit all its virtues without its faults. The French fleet and army at Newport furnish a large quantity of hard money and bills. The first at seventy and the last at fifty-five.

. . . The campaign is likely to terminate in inactivity. As the British are superior at sea, we can't act effectively and they don't choose to do it, or rather, prefer the mean and infamous methods of bribery and corruption to the manly exertions of military genius and courage. Clinton has sent one of his favourite aids to bribe Arnold who commanded at West Point and to settle with him the necessary steps to get possession of that post, the most important in America. He succeeded in the first, and would have got the place if a fortunate discovery had not taken place. Arnold has fled to New York, and Major Andre, the aid, is hanged as a spy. Thus ends this project which may give Europe an idea of British magnanimity, and when connected with the noble business of counterfeiting our money may be decisive of the character of that proud and boasting Nation and of the operations of its military forces. . . . Mr. Hancock is chosen Governor. No Lieutenant Governor is chose by the people. That, by the new Constitution must be done by the Senate and House of Representatives who meet in a fortnight. I pray God to protect you from every evil, natural and moral, and grant you success and happiness.

On November 20, 1780, Mrs. Warren wrote as to Arnold:

The American papers will give you the public news; — Charleston was in the hands of the British army before you left Boston — no other capital stroke has been struck on either side. You will have a narrative of the blackened treachery of General Arnold, and the fall of the brave Major Andre; while every tongue acceded to the justice of his sentence, every eye dropped a tear at the necessity of its execution. Thus a man who was capable of winning the brightest laurels of glory in the field, has died by the hand of the executioner amidst the Armies of America, but without a personal enemy.

If you live to return to this place, you will find many alterations — some great fortunes squandered (and some little folks in rank) and perhaps some of the best patriots in America retired and unnoticed. But the flame can never be smothered, the operations of the passions, and the wheel of politicks as well as the wheel of fortune moves rapidly, and a little time may give more consistency and firmness to your country which has been relaxed by feeling those distresses, they had only beheld in theory; they have been duped by the artifices of their enemies and deceived by a depreciating currency. But American independency is an object of too much magnitude to be greatly affected by the local circumstances of parties; — we shall be a free people, but the prize cannot be obtained till the convulsion has shaken every nerve, and the nations wearied with slaughter shall feel the hand of nature and providence giving truce to the miseries of man.

You will hear a new form of government has taken place in the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Hancock is chosen Governor — your good father was appointed Lieutenant Governor, but as he was before vested with a very important publick employ he declined the acceptance of this temporary honour.

Mrs. Warren wrote again on December 16, 1780, defending General Gates's action in the North Carolina campaign:

Probably when you obtain the American intelligence, you may hear some censures cast on an officer of rank for his precipitate retreat from Hillsborough after a late unfortunate action. Censure falls heavily, where prejudice preponderates in the scale, before justice has time to decide. Yet few who know the man will believe General Gates either a coward or a traitor; doubtless this honest Republican rode off rather too fast for his own reputation (when he found all was lost by the shameful conduct of a body of Militia) but have not many of the most celebrated commanders in history been guilty of as capital errors, yet by a happy facillity of expedients, or by some fortuitous circumstance have retrieved both fortune and character; and I doubt not a short time will restore the Saratoga conqueror to the Zenith of public opinion. But his private happiness is broken and his domestic hopes cut off by the death of his only son; — a short fever put a period to the life of this sprightly, promising youth, a few days after his father's misfortune.

General Warren's letter of December 18, 1780, gives an interesting account of the extravagance of living conditions in Massachusetts:

There is a plenty of European goods but they are still high. Few are imported but by the way of Balboa, Holland, and Gottenburg, but many have been captured. Our money has for several months been as stable as gold, without any degree of depreciation. It has stood at about 75 for 1 and bills from 55 to 100. Our military affairs wear a good countenance, and if we can accomplish what we now aim at, that is, the filling up our battalions for 3 years or during the War and supplying them regularly, they will compleat my wishes relative to silly Britain, whose cruelty and rapacity have rendered them unworthy of any further confidence or connection with us, and I think we shall do it. Nothing but the love of money and the love of pleasure, the misfortunes of Society and the ruin of individuals, will prevent it. Could we agree to level to the ground all balls and assembly rooms, to abolish all extravagant living and equipage, and again recur to our ancient living and simple manners, to bring into countenance again patriotism, virtue and religion, we might soon regard Britain with all her fleets and armies as an insignificant Nation. I will not despair of this, if the example of some novel Governors is against it. I shall leave to others to inform you of the balls and feasts in our Capital. My ideas of the honor and dignity of my Country won't suffer me to mention what disgraces it so much. You may enquire and inform me how many balls the King of Prussia gives in a year. He is a Despot. His enmity to public liberty will stain his character in the annals of history; but if he destroys or attacks it, he does it like a man not like a petit-maitre. One observation I presume you may find verified by all your enquiry, that no Nation or individual was ever truly great where the love of money or pleasure was the predominant passion.

News of the consignment of Laurens to the Tower reached the United States in December, 1780, and General Warren wrote his son on January 9, 1781:

> Goods continue plenty here and from that circumstance and from the scarcity of money and the plenty of bills are rather falling. I had no expectation that you would have met Mr. Laurens in an enemies country when you took a letter for him, but as he was taken, I am glad you had an opportunity of seeing him. I hope you will have another, but we are told here that he is in the Tower. I have communicated what he desired you to do. Whether he is in the Tower or not, or however he may be used, I presume he will continue to support his spirits and the same dignity he has hitherto done. . . . Our troops have gained considerable advantages in Carolina. Arnold the traitor is said to be gone to Cape Fear with 3,000 men who may make a division in favour of the enemy and prevent the full effect of our operations. Newspapers will go to Mr. Adams, and by that means I hope you will have a sight of them. If I have not time to write to him, you will make my compliments and tell him that I hear Congress has appointed Mr. [Francis] Dana, Minister to the Court of Russia, and that I think there is a prospect of our having a fine and a permanent army in the field next spring.

As to conditions in America, Mrs. Warren wrote somewhat despondently on January 18, 1781:

> It would not be prudent to transmit to you all that might give entertainment to the inquisitive, in such a critical era as the present: — you will doubtless hear many exaggerated accounts, from this quarter of the world — you may perhaps hear our generals have revolted, our army disaffected, our medium sunk, and public credit destroyed. Thus sing the enemies of America, and thus sighs *avarice* and groans out his concern for his country over the hoarded bags that might prevent a thousand of its distresses.
>
> It is true we have lost the infamous Arnold, a man without principle from the beginning, and perhaps destitute of true courage though occasionally brave. He had sunk a character raised by little merit and a fortune accumulated by great crimes, long before he formed the plan

to betray his country and sacrifice a cause disgraced by the appointment of a man like himself to so important a trust.

The British army at New York has been lately thrown into a tumult of joy by the secession of a part of the Pennsylvania line; – but not a delay of arrearages, a deficiency of cloathing, nor the distresses of winter, could induce these brave fellows to listen to the flattering offers made them by General Clinton; his emissaries were sent to Congress; the soldiers returned to their duty; and justice, both in payment and penalty, we hope will take place.

But as more than two parts of the globe are convulsed by a spur caught in America, it may well be supposed to be so busy a theatre, that the limits of a sheet will not contain the transactions of the day, were I disposed to point in the narrative style. Yet I have some inclination to fill another page with the political situation of your country; but as you may have it more at large from other hands, I will only observe that, though great success has lately attended the united arms of America and France, some circumstances in our internal police will render it difficult, if not long, before we shall be set down a happy people, even if Britain should soon resheathe the sword that has so wantonly been dipped in human gore. The cabals of ministers, the intrigues of party, and the wretched systems of weak, avaricious, and unprincipled men, would be too unwieldy a picture (even in miniature) to convey across the Atlantic. I only add, I hope the rising generation will afford more frequent instances of real merit.

Meanwhile, before the arrival in England of the two American prisoners, Laurens and Warren, there had appeared in London two other Americans and an American-born Englishman — John Trumbull of Connecticut, a Major Tyler of Boston, and John Temple, the son-in-law of James Bowdoin, Sr., of Massachusetts — with whom Warren's fate was destined to be curiously implicated. Trumbull, who had served as an officer in the American army, had resigned on February 22, 1777, and during a residence in Boston he had become acquainted with John Temple, who had come to the United States on a peace errand in 1778. On Temple's advice he had decided to go to London to study painting under the famous Benjamin West, and had secured the requisite permission for such a move from Lord George Germain, the British secretary of war, accompanied by the caution that " if I chose to visit London for the purpose of studying the fine arts, no notice would be taken by the government of my past life; but that I must remember that the eye of precaution would be constantly upon me, and I must therefore avoid the smallest indiscretion, — but that so long as I avoided all political intervention, and pursued the study of the arts with assiduity, I might rely upon being unmolested."[5] Trumbull had embarked in May, 1780, in a French ship bound for Nantes and found on board Major John Steele Tyler of Boston (a brother of Royall Tyler, the judge and dramatist), who, he wrote, "like myself had been an officer in the American army, and took this voyage for the purpose of settling some mercantile concern of his father, who was lately dead."[6]

The two young men arrived in London just after the terrible anti-Catholic Lord George Gordon riots, which had caused such destruction and such fear of further disturbance. But to neither of these two enemy Americans did the British government apparently pay any particular attention.[7] Trumbull at once began to pursue his artistic studies, and Tyler seems to have set out upon a round of social pleasures. This was a singular feature of the War of the Revolution — the number of Americans who favored the "rebel cause" and who nevertheless went to England during the war for one purpose or another.[8] That there was, however, some opposition in the United States to Americans residing in an enemy country is shown by a letter from "A" in the *Independent Chronicle* of March 8, 1781:

> Is it not mysterious that the British government should treat Mr. Trumbull with such seeming severity, when the evidence against him, by the public accounts, was so trifling, and when that government have in so

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[5] *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull from 1756 to 1841* (New York, 1841), 58–59.

[6] Neither Trumbull, in his *Autobiography,* nor the London newspapers give Major Tyler's full name; but it was John Steele Tyler of Boston, who served as adjutant in the Boston Independent Corps, of which John Hancock was colonel, and who saw active military service from February 1, 1777, to March 1, 1779, as major in Colonel Henry Jackson's regiment in the Continental Army, and later as lieutenant-colonel of the Massachusetts troops in the Penobscot Expedition, from July 2 to October 8, 1779. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War,* XVI. 235. He was a son of the Royall Tyler who was a member of the Massachusetts Council. His nephew, General John S. Tyler, son of Judge Royall Tyler, was born in 1796 and died in 1876, a distinguished citizen of Boston.

[7] Samuel Huntington wrote to Jonathan Trumbull, December 29, 1780, that a gentleman just returned from London had talked with John Trumbull and with "a number of other Americans who had taken an active part in the war in America, and appeared openly in the city and no notice taken of them by authority." 7 *Collections,* III. 177.

[8] Prominent among the Americans who remained in London as merchants, ostensibly favoring the American cause, were Edmund Jennings and Thomas Digges; but they were suspected in some quarters of being British agents. See *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States,* Francis Wharton, Editor (Washington, 1889), I. 658; IV. 285 *n,* 623. Eveleigh of South Carolina, at Bristol, was "hearty in the cause of America," wrote Samuel Curwen. See, in general, Lewis Einstein, *Divided Loyalties* (Boston, 1933), 360–374.

> many other instances winked at or rather encouraged the appearance of American gentlemen in England?
>
> For what purpose do they encourage this? . . . Would any man in his senses expect to find any of the subjects of the United States of America, and particularly the sons of near relations of those who bear important offices in these States, not captives, but voluntary and open sojourners in England? Was ever such a sight seen before between two nations at war?
>
> Though the intention of these travellers may be innocent, is their conduct either honourable or safe to their country? What must our allies, what must the world think of it?
>
> If a few may be allowed to take this part, why not all? Why should any be restrained?
>
> Is not this point a serious one? Does it not lead to many more questions? and does it not require the particular and speedy attention of Congress, and the several governments of the United States? [9]

The lack of opposition in England to the presence of so many Americans in that country has been attributed by some writers to the fact that there were many Englishmen who, themselves, favored the American cause. Several interesting illustrations of this appeared at this time. At an election in Bristol the newspapers referred to the intense spirit of party which had "arrived at such a pitch that a friend of one of the candidates actually proceeded to the place of poll with drums beating and the American colors displayed." [10] At Bath, a little earlier, when a clergyman was preaching in the abbey before the new lord mayor and was delivering "severe censures on the American war, the wickedness of the Ministers, the righteousness of the American cause, etc. . . . some of the leading people walked off," while the rest remained, approving, until the archdeacon bade the organist "strike up; the bellows of the organ which were too strong to be overcome by the preacher's exertions, the service ended, and the parson was hissed out of Church." [11] It was at about the time of the Bath episode that John Wilkes delivered a famous speech in the House of Commons

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[9] See also in the same issue of that newspaper, "Extract of a letter from a gentleman of character in France," in which it is said: "I am sure if you and my other friends knew the importance of good intelligence on this side the water, you would be more particular; for it is no less strange than true, that all the intelligence we get is from England; and this day we have an account that Col. Trumbull is actually confined, and that Major Tyler has made his escape. Be assured, that so many Americans going to England has extremely disgusted the French."

[10] Letter from Bristol, February 4, 1781, in the *Pennsylvania Packet,* May 22, 1781.

[11] Letter from Bath, October 22, 1780, in *ibid.,* May 15, 1781.

(November 27, 1780) on a motion to extend thanks to Sir Henry Clinton, Admiral Arbuthnot, and Earl Cornwallis, in which he strongly upheld the American cause, saying that he "considered victories in that country as losses and our cause an unjust one. Without detracting, therefore, from the well-earned laurels of Lord Cornwallis, he could not thank him for such services as the victory at Camden. Had his Lordship triumphed over the natural enemies of Great Britain, the vote proposed should have met with his hearty concurrence."[12] There is also the case of the Earl of Nugent, who said (April 6, 1780): "America is irretrievably lost. I myself have supported the war, and I am not ashamed to own that I have been in the wrong." On September 19, 1780, Horace Walpole wrote: "America is now like the Holy Land, none but bigots will think of subdueing it." It was about this time that Coke of Norfolk was drinking every night the health of Washington as "the greatest man on earth."

Whatever the cause of the complacency with which the British government regarded the presence of Americans in London, it was suddenly interrupted on November 13, 1780, when the news arrived from America of Benedict Arnold's treason and of Major André's execution.[13] From that moment Americans in England were regarded as objects of suspicion or as spies; and the first persons on whom this suspicion rested were John Trumbull, Major Tyler, young Winslow Warren, and their English comrade, John Temple. All these men had been associated socially in London and had (with the exception of Tyler) known each other in Massachusetts (Temple being especially well known to Warren's parents through his relationship to their old friend, James Bowdoin).

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[12] The speech is printed in full in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 8, 1781. It is also to be recalled that there was in England at this time a committee for the relief of American prisoners, which issued an appeal for further funds on November 11, 1780, stating that since March about eighty pounds had been given for three hundred prisoners, the list of contributions being headed by the Duke of Grafton and Sir George Saville. See the *Pennsylvania Packet,* May 19, 1781, quoting the *London Evening Post,* November 11, 1780.

[13] The *London Daily Advertiser* published on November 15, 1780, Clinton's letter of October 12, and on the next day gave further details about André. On December 13 and 26 it published letters from Tappan giving details of André's execution and information about Arnold. The *Pennsylvania Packet* of March 20, 1781, contained an extract from a London newspaper of November 14, 1780, showing the manner in which the news was announced in London:

"Yesterday morning Colonel St. George, aid de camp to Sir Henry Clinton, arrived at Lord George Germain's house in Pall Mall from New York, with the following intelligence, viz., that in consequence of increasing jealousies and divisions among the leaders of the American army, the American General Arnold, grown tired of the service, contrived to give secret information thence to Sir Henry Clinton, adding that he not only had it in his power, but would actually bring over to the British Standard the major part of the rebel army, viz., 7,000 men, if his Excellency would countenance the revolt. Sir Henry Clinton, having duly weighed the matter and being convinced of the sincerity of Arnold's intention, sent Major André, one of his aid de camps, over to him in disguise, to forward so promising a design; unfortunately, however, the affair got wind the very night preceding the intended execution of the plan, in consequence of which Major André was apprehended and immediately hung up at American headquarters, while Arnold with the utmost difficulty escaped on horseback by getting within the lines of the royal army."

The first blow fell on John Trumbull, five days after the arrival of the news about Major André.[14] In his *Autobiography* he maintains that the attack on him was due to American Loyalists in London whose jealousy led them to "put an end to my unintelligible security and protection," and who "took their measures with great adroitness and prudence by lodging information against Major Tyler as a very plausible and dangerous man, doubtless in the character of a spy." [15] One of the leading Loyalists there was a young man twenty-seven years of age, from Woburn, Massachusetts — Sir Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford), who had just a month before been made under-secretary of state for the colonies. It was this man who now issued a warrant for the arrest of Tyler, and at the same time instructed the police that "in the

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William Hickey, in his *Memoirs* (II. 295), records a dinner at Mr. Paxton's during which "our mirth received a check by accounts coming in of the melancholy and lamented death of Major André, a rising and very promising officer who, having accepted the dangerous office of entering the enemy's camp in disguise in America, was discovered and hung as a spy."

[14] *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen* (3d ed., New York, 1845), 291 (entry of November 14, 1780): "Arriving at home, Cabot drank tea with me; S. Sparhawk came in afterwards, and abode two hours; from whom I heard the first account of Arnold's intentional withdrawing himself and four or five thousand troops under his command from congressional service to the royal standard at New-York; the failure of this scheme of treachery, and his lucky escape from his enemies' hands. From him also the relation of the seizure of Mr. Laurens' papers, late president of the Congress, and now a state prisoner in the tower; giving an account of the desperate situation of their affairs, with complaints of failure of their resources, and their inability to support the war any longer without loans from Holland, France or Spain. The above comes from Benjamin Thompson, a native of Massachusetts, (formerly an apprentice to my next door neighbor in Salem, Mr. John Appleton, an importer of British goods,) now under-secretary in the American department."

[15] That the American Loyalists in London were a serious menace to the American cause is seen from a letter of John Adams, who wrote to Thomas Cushing on December 15, 1780 (a letter which was intercepted and published by the British government), saying: "It is true, I believe, what you suggest, that Lord North showed a disposition to give up the contest, but was diverted from it, not unlikely, by the representations of the Americans in London, who, in conjunction with their coadjutors in America, have been thorns to us indeed on both sides the water. . . ." *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States,* IV. 195; see also Einstein, *Divided Loyalties, passim.*

same house with the person who is named in this warrant lodges another American who there are strong reasons for believing to be the most dangerous of the two. . . . You will not fail to secure Mr. Trumbull's person and papers for examination as well as Major Tyler." The explanation of the arrest as stated by the *London Daily Advertiser* of November 25, 1780, seems, however, to absolve the Loyalist group from responsibility.

> The following is said to be the means by which Government got possession of the secret papers and person of Mr. Trumbull, who is now a prisoner in New Prison, Clerkenwell. A man of the name of Gray, who had formerly served in the King's troops in America went to Bow Street and made a voluntary deposition to this purport: that when he was a soldier in the above service, he was made a captive and together with several of his brethren was put under a guard which was commanded by a Major Tyler, then an officer in Jackson's regiment, belonging to the Rebel forces. That after his release, he returned to England and had lately been much surprized to see Major Tyler under whose captivity he was in America, actually resident in this Metropolis; and finally that suspecting some species of foul play, he made his application to the magistrates of his country. In consequence of this affidavit, immediate recourse was made to Tyler's Chambers, who was gone out for the evening. His papers, however, were searched and as Mr. Trumbull's name was materially mentioned in them, and as he was present, for he lived in the same chamber with Mr. Tyler, he was accordingly taken into custody.

Trumbull was arrested at his lodgings on Saturday, November 18, and imprisoned in Clerkenwell Jail (all other prisons in London having been recently burned in the Lord George Gordon riots). At this point the unfortunate Warren came into the picture. For on Sunday, Warren, who was described by Trumbull as " a somewhat amphibious character, and withal young, handsome, and giddy," dined at Kensington, with a party of loyalist gentlemen from Boston, when the arrest of Tyler for high treason, and his probable fate, became a subject of conversation at dinner. " Tyler and Warren, from similarity of character, had become companions in the gaieties of London, and the moment Warren learned the danger of his friend, he excused himself from sitting after dinner to wine, by pretending an engagement to take tea with some ladies at the east end of the city, and knowing where Tyler was engaged to dine, he drove with all haste, found him, and warned him of his danger. Of course, he (Tyler) did not return to his lodgings, but prudently and safely made his escape to the continent. In the meantime, a few minutes after Tyler went out on Sunday morning, a party of police were stationed in an opposite alehouse to watch for him." It appears from the London newspapers that the agent of the police waited at Tyler's lodgings till Wednesday in expectation of his return, and that "expresses were sent off on Tuesday evening to all the different sea-ports thro'out the Kingdom, to prevent, if possible, the embarkation of the rebel . . . against whom several informations are lodged for high treason." [16] A London newspaper referred to Tyler and Trumbull as follows:

> For some months past, we have been honored with the company of the Rebel Major Tyler and the Rebel Colonel John Trumbull, son of the Rebel Governor of Connecticut. These men lived in some splendor in York Buildings, their goings out and comings in were known, and the Loyalists lamented that treason should be suffered to appear abroad unmolested — within these few days, however, Trumbull has been taken up and committed to prison. Tyler has absconded for the present, but we hope he will not be able to escape out of the Kingdom. Their papers are all seized and very curious ones they are.[17]

Tyler was never apprehended. He made a successful escape, and the mystery of his activities in London was not solved. For 150 years he passed out of the picture until, in 1933, a letter was discovered in the British archives written by Tyler from France to Lord George Germain, August 6, 1781, which showed that he need not have been feared as a spy; for in it he announced his readiness to serve the British cause as an officer in the army; he denounced the American alliance with France; and he requested one thousand pounds as compensation for his American property, which would be confiscated by his change of allegiance.[18]

Meanwhile, on November 21, three days after his arrest, Trumbull was brought up from prison for examination at Bow Street before government officials, Sir Sampson Wright and Justice Addington.[19] The newspapers described him as "a genteel looking man, about thirty-five years of age, and rather of a sallow complexion, appears to possess a clear and manly understanding, and conducted himself through the whole of this trying scene with a collected fortitude, highly becoming his situation." He testified that he had had several interviews with John Temple since his arrival, but that though living in the same house (York Buildings in George Street), " he had very little connexion with Tyler, since their arrival in England, their dispositions being widely different, Mr. Tyler being a man of pleasure, and he of a quite contrary turn." In spite of this attempt to dissociate himself from Tyler, and in spite of his statement in his *Autobiography* that his arrest was caused by jealousy of American Loyalists in London, and that he really was an innocent, abused, and ill-treated man, it is clear that there was ample ground for suspicion of his activities. Letters found in his possession, notably one to his father of September 8, 1780, proved conclusively, as the following extract shows, his connection with John Temple in activities fostering the American cause in England:

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[16] London account of November 24, 1780, in the *Boston Gazette,* March 5, 1781.

[17] London letter of December 6, 1780, in the *Royal Gazette,* N. Y., March 10, 1781.

[18] Einstein, *Divided Loyalties,* 366.

[19] London account of November 24, 1780, in the *Boston Gazette,* March 5, 1781. For further details as to Trumbull's arrest and examination, see Einstein, *Divided Loyalties,* Chapter XI.

> . . . his [Temple's] residence in this country, since he last left Boston has been essentially serviceable to the cause of America by giving such ideas of her temper and resources, as have preserved steady to her interests, the few noble friends she has in both Houses of Parliament, and staggered her numerous enemies. The Duke of Richmond, Mr. Hartley, Dr. Price and names of similar dignity and principles are Mr. Temple's acquaintances here; and among such names, his own principles or integrity cannot be doubted.[20]

Let us suppose that, in 1918, a native German had been found in this country with letters showing that he had been writing back to Germany of his association and activities among pro-Germans and American members of Congress and other politicians who were opposed to the war. Such a German would have been speedily interned. Accordingly it is not surprising that, after the hearing, Trumbull was sent back to prison.

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[20] London account of November 24, 1780, in the *Boston Gazette,* March 5, 1781. A letter of September 12, 1780, written by Trumbull to his father (7 *Collections,* III. 138) is probably the final copy of the draft published in London. Referring to Temple in it, he wrote: " His residence here since he last left Boston has been essentially of service to America. He has been indefatigable in his endeavours to defeat the misrepresentations of General Robertson and Mr. Galloway at the bar of the House of Commons, and to convince both the majority and minority of the impracticability of coercing America, and of the wisdom of putting an end to the war and making peace on our terms as soon as possible. His acquaintance is among the friends of his country, such as the Dukes of Richmond and Rutland, Mr. D. Hartley, Dr. Price, Mr. E. Burke, etc., who have paid great attention to his informations, if we may judge from their language." Trumbull then referred to Temple's " attachment to her [America's] cause " and said that " his assiduity in counteracting the base acts of the refugees has gain'd him their perpetual, implacable hatred, and there is no villainy to which they would not stoop for revenge. . . . his blood as well as mine would be exquisitely relish'd by them; but we are in no danger from such *little* enemies."

Horace Walpole recorded in his journal an interesting theory regarding Trumbull's arrest: "Mr. Turnbull [*sic*] son of the American Governor of Connecticut was taken up as a spy. His letters were immediately published, because, in one to his father, he said Mr. Temple was intimate with the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. David Hartley, and Dr. Price, who thence were represented as traitors. In reality the Ministry hoped to discover that American agents had been at the bottom of the late [Gordon] riots." [21]

After being kept a prisoner for about six months, during which time Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke, and other Whigs interested themselves in him, and Benjamin West saw the king in his behalf, Trumbull was finally released on June 12, 1781 (West and John Singleton Copley becoming his sureties); and, leaving England for Holland, he arrived at Amsterdam on July 6, 1781.[22]

Through the revelations contained in Trumbull's papers and in those captured from Henry Laurens, John Temple found himself in a peculiar position. He was suspected and distrusted equally by both sides. In the United States, since his trip to that country in 1778, he had been regarded as a British spy and agent. At that time, though the son-in-law of James Bowdoin, he had been denied permission to go to Philadelphia to present information to the Continental Congress.[23] In England, because of his American relations and activities prior to the Revolution, he was regarded as an American agent and as a possible spy — a suspicion which was now emphasized by the papers found in Trumbull's possession and by those captured from Henry Laurens.[24]

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[21] *Journal of the Reign of King George the Third,* Dr. Doran, Editor (London, 1854), II. 433–434; see also *ibid.,* 436. On the other hand, a Whitehaven (England) newspaper of November 28, 1780, stated that Trumbull's arrest was due to a "suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the Court of France by furnishing the enemy with correct charts and plans of all our coasts and garrisons." See the *Royal Gazette,* February 14, 1781.

[22] In a letter of John De Neufville & Son to Jonathan Trumbull, Amsterdam, May 1, 1781 (7 *Collections,* III. 222), it was stated that John Trumbull's "greatest persecutor seems to be [Sir Benjamin] Thompson, the Secretary to Lord George Germain, for he declared that not a letter should reach that minister from Mr. Trumbull; so the refugees appear in general. . . ." See also letter of John Trumbull to his father, July 10, 1781. *Ibid.,* 238.

[23] 6 *Collections,* IX. 418 ff.

[24] As to these papers, see the *London Daily Advertiser,* November 28 and December 1, 1780; as to the examination of Laurens before Justice Addington and the

A London paper referred to the trio as follows:

> This metropolis is filled with Americans, numbers of whom are so unjust to the asylum afforded them as to be duly employed in abetting the business of sedition and giving a new spur to rebellion. The other day, one of these transatlantic serpents in a public coffee house in the environs of Covent Garden, being asked for a toast, gave "the three T's." Some of the company, not immediately devising his meaning, requested an explanation. "Why," (replied the impudent traitor), "I mean Temple, Tyler and Trumbull."
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> It is a matter of wonder to every intelligent and honest patriot that the members of the minority, among whom there are, no doubt, several gentlemen of the most incorruptible integrity as well as infinite abilities, should, for a moment, persevere in affording any protection to a man who has been convicted by an indisputable testimony of having acted in a manner not only injurious but disgraceful to his country.[25]

The *London Chronicle* of November 25, 1780, published the following attack upon Temple:

> The Mr. Temple who is mentioned in the letters was an American refugee and possessed the confidence of the Premier so much that he was actually sent over as an assistant to the Commissioners on the last negotiation for peace. This Gentleman has been for many years in the pay of the Treasury, and what is very extraordinary, a short time ago presented a memorial to Lord North for an additional increase to his allowance. This application, made at the very time that he was planning the destruction of this devoted country, shows a confirmed impudence and villainy that marks the author of it as the fairest object of the utmost severity of punishment. Messrs. Temple and Tyler are

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secretaries of state, see the *Boston Gazette,* February 12, 1781. See also the London account of November 28, 1780, in the *Continental Journal,* March 29, 1781, about the papers in Laurens's trunks and about Temple: "It may not be improper previously to remind the public that Mr. Temple, at the time the following letters were written in his favor to the Rebel Congress was in America, having been sent over by Government to use his boasted influence, to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies, under the powers of the last commission. For this purpose he received a considerable sum of the public money: How faithfully he executed that trust, will appear from the following authentic correspondence. . . . This Mr. Temple is the particular friend and associate of Mr. Trumbull, now in Clerkenwell Bridewell for treasonable practices against the State." The letters referred to were letters of recommendation of Temple to Laurens from the council of Massachusetts Bay, November 3, 1778; from Governor Trumbull, November 16, 1778; from Washington, November 23, 1778; and from William Livingston, November 29, 1778.

Another London letter, December 6, 1780, in the *Royal Gazette* of February 17, 1781, said: "Laurens' papers are worth millions of money to us. . . . They shew us the wretched state of the rebel army and prove beyond contradiction the impossibility of their providing for another campaign without a large loan."

[25] London letter of November 30, 1780, in the *Royal Gazette,* February 21, 1781.

much deeper in this dangerous enterprize than Mr. Trumbull, who is now in custody; and the most strict scrutiny is now making after them in every quarter. When Mr. Trumbull first arrived in England, he had an interview with Lord George Germain; he then assured his Lordship that he had left America with a design of studying painting under Mr. West; that he sincerely wished to see peace restored between this country and her colonies; he at the same time requested a certificate from his Lordship as security during his stay in England. Whether Lord George suspected him or not, we cannot say; he only replied: " Mr. Trumbull, while you demean yourself peaceably, you may depend upon the protection of his Majesty's Ministers."

To this and similar newspaper attacks, Temple published in the *London Courant* of December 6, 1780, a long reply, explaining that he had never been sent over to America by the government in 1778, but that he had gone of his own accord in the hope of assisting in bringing about an agreement for peace on fair, honest, and honorable terms; that though an American by birth, he had " never been an enemy to this country "; and that he had returned to England in 1779 to act " a fair and manly part " by giving a " just representation of the truth " as to American conditions.[26] Temple also wrote to Franklin that he would be glad to find a country where he could be " at liberty to write an innocent letter to a friend in another kingdom without running the risque of having Mr. Wedderburn's extraordinary tallents at *constructive treason* exercised upon it." [27] In spite of newspaper attacks upon Temple, however, nothing was done by the British government with respect to him, as he had influential friends and relations among certain prominent Whigs. He found it wise, nevertheless, to leave England, and in March, 1781, he crossed over to Holland where, two months later, he was met by Trumbull on the latter's release.[28]

[26] 6 *Collections,* IX. 445–447. L. De Neufville wrote from Amsterdam to James Bowdoin (May 1, 1781) : ". . . [Mr. Temple] did what he could to serve Mr. Trumbull, who was unfortunately taken up against the express promiss given by Lord Geo. Germain that he would be safe. Mr. Temple had at that time himself a hard task to sustain all the sarcasms that were thrown upon him, but he withstood them with the greatest firmness." *Ibid.,* 453.

[27] *Ibid.,* 455.

[28] See letter of John Trumbull to his father, Amsterdam, July 13, 1781 (7 *Collections,* III. 246) : " Mr. Temple came over from England some weeks before me, and is now here. It is my duty to say that the paragraph in the London papers advertising me as an incendiary and sign'd with the initials of his name was a villainous trick of some American refugees to ruin him and me at once. . . . This, however, will remove all idea of his being such a wretch, for on the contrary I have every reason to believe that he is an honest friend to his country."

Of the treatment of " poor Trumbull and Tyler, as well as Mr. Laurens," John Adams wrote to General Warren that he hoped it would convince the Americans that " Great Britain has become literally in the Language of old Authors concerning Attila, ' The Scourge of God and the Plague of Mankind.' She must be abandoned and renounced forever. There has been too much weak Communication with them which must be cut off "; and he reëchoed General Warren's hope that " all Intercourse with that accursed and barbarous Nation should be intirely broke off. . . ." [29]

Meanwhile, Winslow Warren, the friend of all three of the suspected characters — Trumbull, Tyler, and Temple — had also been under surveillance, and, as a possible spy, his fate for some time hung in the balance. Luckily, the part which he took in the escape of Tyler never became known; and although his papers were seized in his lodgings, nothing of an incriminating nature was found, as they consisted chiefly of instructive letters on Massachusetts commerce and politics from his father, and of letters containing highly moral and political advice from his mother. After a rigid examination before Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies and the most determined foe to America, Warren was finally released on February 1, 1781, on condition that he proceed to Holland, which had been his original destination. Just before sailing from Margate, however, he was again detained and his papers searched once more. Again nothing was found, and he was allowed to leave England towards the end of March.[30] From Delft he wrote a description of his adventures to his mother, but this letter, unfortunately, has been lost.[31] He wrote another lively account, however, from Amsterdam on April 28, 1781:

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[29] Adams to Warren, December 9, 1780 (*Collections,* LXXIII. 154–155), in reply to Warren's letter of July 19 (*ibid.,* 136–137).

[30] See also letters from Margate, February 3 and 9, 1781, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of June 2, 1781, stating that ". . . an American gentleman of the name of Berrisford was stopt here some days ago and held a prisoner till his papers had been sent express to Lord Hillsborough and directions received from that office as to what other steps were to be taken. After 4 days' confinement, he was released and permitted to embark for Ostend, nothing criminal appearing from his papers. The strictest search is now obtained at this place upon all travellers abroad, especially those who embark on neutral vessels." It seems probable that this " Berrisford " was Winslow Warren, as the dates and locality exactly correspond.

[31] Mrs. Warren wrote to her son on September 28, 1781, acknowledging receipt at the end of May of his letters of February 24, 28, and March 9, which " relieved my mind from the greatest anxiety. I, at times, apprehended everything. I fear the

Lest my letters from Delft should miscarry, I again mention my having been arrested in London on suspicion of too intimate an acquaintance with Temple, Trumbull, etc. Lord Hillsborough asked me many questions about my situation and views, reprimanded me for visiting Mr. Trumbull confined in Tothill Fields, Bridewell. His Lordship condescended to give me a great deal of advice, saying he was prepossessed in my favour from my appearance. He and others to whom my papers were consigned, lavished many praises on my mother's letters — said " they would do honour to the greatest writer that ever wrote," and added, " Mr. Warren, I hope you will profit by her instructions and advice." I had the honour of three private conferences with him. On the last, which was the day before I left London, I requested a passport from him to Ostend. He answered that the communication was free and open to every one, that he did not think it necessary, wished me a pleasant ride down and an agreeable passage over. His Lordship told me that as I was going to France, he supposed I should next be advised by the most " hypocritical, abandoned, old rascal that ever existed — a man who, if ever one goes to Hell, he will. Franklin has uniformly deceived from first to last. He has deceived his Majesty, His Majesty's Ministers — in short his whole system has been deception. It is the character of your countrymen." I replied, I hoped His Lordship meant to make some exceptions. He wished I would not go to France, but " return and persuade my father and friends to submit to the best of Kings." I told him I must be excused, my business abroad was commercial, not political. But I forbear giving you more particularly of the conversation. If I proceed, I shall not know where to stop till I have finished the whole, which would be much too tedious. After this, when I arrived at Margate, I was again arrested by His Lordship's orders. You may easily suppose how much I was astonished at this; but I have every reason to suppose it was done in hopes of getting some hold of Mr. Temple by again seizing my papers; but in this they are monstrously disappointed. Sir James Wright told me before I left that I was watched during my whole stay in London — where I went — when I removed my lodgings — who accompanied me to the House of Commons and who were my acquaintances. I replied that I was of more consequence than I before thought myself. At Margate, they took from me all my private papers, among which was the particulars of the examination, which immediately on my discharge I had taken down on two sheets of large paper. This was not returned with my other papers which I received, as promised, by the officer, after waiting four days.

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enemy, the sea-sickness and imprisonment, but above all the dread influence of vice cloathed in the specious disguise of politeness and pleasure and backed by the example of the most splendid and brilliant characters. But I am happy to find by the narration, a beloved son has escaped the first — by his style and sentiment. I trust he will never be endangered from the last — but beware of the smiles of beauty and the deceptive allurements of female art, where gallantry is the spontaneous growth of the soil and intrigue the great business of life."

To this he added an account of seeing Henry Laurens, who was still confined in the Tower in the same cell which John Wilkes had previously occupied, and near the one in which Lord George Gordon had lived prior to his trial:

> I walked into the Tower when at London, where I had the pleasure of seeing Gov. Laurens. He was walking on the platform attended by the Royal Guard. We bowed to each other, but it was out of my power to speak to him. This is a favour not permitted even to his son. He appeared to be very well. I related to you before, the conversation he had with me at Newfoundland, and what he said about his papers that were taken from him. They are indeed of very great consequence and I know not his motive for telling me he thought they were not.

Warren's experiences had not impressed him with the existence of any British support for the American cause, and he wrote to his mother: " When you are told that there are many who wish well to America, it is a misrepresentation. There are few who do, and those are of little or no consequence to us. Individuals may clamor at losing money, but the majority will persevere and gratify their inveteracy against our country. England, that luxurious country, notwithstanding the powerful confederacy against her, appears to be perfectly at ease and pursuing its pleasure as if in time of profound peace." [32]

Incidentally, it may be noted that as a result of the suspected activities of these Americans whose adventures have just been described the British government developed something of a " spy fever." As early as November 28, 1780, the *London Chronicle* referred to the arrest in the Strand of a " gentleman belonging to the Temple on suspicion of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of this country "; and it stated that " it is said that Government are at this time in possession of information against no less a number of incendiaries than 47 now residing in and near this metropolis who have lately come over from America." The London newspapers through December, 1780, and January, 1781, contained frequent accounts of arrests and examinations of alleged American, French, and German spies.[33] Even the Russian ambassador to Great Britain was regarded as "a spy at the British Court in favour of the French." [34]

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[32] John Trumbull wrote to his father on July 13, 1781 (7 *Collections,* III. 244–245), to the same effect: ". . . tho it is become a prevailing opinion in Great Britain that the conquest of America is a chimera, yet there is very little inclination, even in those who call themselves the friends of America, to accede to the acknowledgement of our independance. There are few who think liberally, and by far the majority will rather push forward, tho' to ruin, than give up their insolent ideas of superiority."

Warren's own description of his experience as a suspected spy was supplemented for his parents by an account of his examination before Lord Hillsborough which appeared in an American newspaper. General Warren wrote the youth (June 5, 1781) that he thought this version showed him as "behaving with dignity." The father wrote a few days earlier (May 24) to his friend James Bowdoin a brief account of his son's experiences and of the latter's opinion that it would have been good policy for the British ministry to suffer John Temple to leave England early "as his residence there is very prejudicial to them." The general quoted Winslow as expressing "great resentment at the suspicions that have been malevolently circulated" and wishing "he was able to express his esteem in stronger language," since Temple "wish'd as well to the great American cause as I do." [35] Evidently, however, during his stay in Holland Winslow Warren altered his views somewhat, for General Warren, in his letter to him on June 5, 1781, after saying that he had communicated to James Bowdoin "everything you say in favour of Mr. Temple," added: "I see your opinion was a little staggered after you got on the Continent. But the confidence of this country [in Temple] is so lost that I see but little reason to suppose it can be easily regained, however well he may deserve."

John Temple himself arrived in Boston in August, 1781, and had an interview with Mercy Warren, about which she wrote her son on December 3, 1781: "From him I learned the circumstances of your affairs in England — who were your friends, and who endeavoured to injure you. He applauded your discretion and dignity when a slight circumstance aroused the jealousy of the enemies of your country; from him I had the history of your interview with Lord Hillsborough and the polite treatment you received from that nobleman." The father wrote at the same time reporting Temple's expressions of great friendship for young Warren. He also told of Temple's saying that he was "suspected here by many people who wish to have him sent out of the country," and that he had been examined by the governor and council, who had referred him to the assembly.

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[33] See, for instance, the *London Chronicle,* November 28, December 30, 1780, January 11, 16, 20, 23, 1781.

[34] *Plymouth* (England) *Advertiser,* January 26, 1781, quoted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 7, 1781. That American spies were actually employed in England is probably a fact. John Adams wrote to Thomas Cushing from Amsterdam on December 15, 1780, a letter (intercepted and published by the British government) saying: "Heartwell, who has been sometime in London incognito, will give you much useful information; he will tell you the talk we have had about a stipend for ——— which would be money well laid out. Those who exert themselves in our cause ought to be rewarded, as we are most essentially served by it; but profound secrecy must be observed."

[35] 6 *Collections,* IX. 454–455.

Meanwhile, Winslow Warren, after finally being allowed to leave England, had spent several months in Flanders and Holland. Arriving at The Hague in May, 1781, he had met his father's old friend, John Adams, then American minister to Holland, who, Warren wrote, was "just setting out for Leyden with his coach and four, many servants, gay livery, his equipage, I think much too Dutchified."[36] Mr. Adams introduced Warren and his travelling companion, George Mason, Jr., of Virginia, in Europe for his health, to "a Mr. Dumas, a disagreeable, dirty old fellow. They say he is sensible, very officious, too much so."[37] Warren reported Adams as saying, when he introduced Mason: "Sir, this is Mr. Mason whose father drew the Constitution of the Government of Virginia, after which all the States have copied. By that and his other patriotic conduct, he has made his name forever dear to his countrymen." Adams also said "many handsome things" about General and Mrs. Warren.

Leaving Holland, young Warren travelled to Paris through Flanders, and gave a striking description of the country:

> I again observe that it is not possible by description to come nearer when I say three quarters of the Low Country look like the Barnstable Great Marshes at high water — only the prospect is larger. You see the country round till it makes an horizon and ride on dykes like the mud that is thrown out of the ditches at the Great Marshes — as to this you must be very cautious as it is little more than the width of one carriage. If your horses step down the dyke, you must inevitably break your neck or run the chance of being drowned in the canal. The Austrian Flanders looked melancholy to me beyond description. The great cities look desolate, scarcely any inhabitants to be seen but the religious, or beggars. I have thought ten thousand times that they

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[36] Mrs. Warren had given her son a letter to Adams, dated May 15, 1780, which he had destroyed on being captured, and she had written again to Adams on July 24 and November 15, 1780. *Collections,* LXXIII. 145–148, 156.

[37] Charles William Frederick Dumas, an agent of Franklin; Adams did not care much for Franklin's associates.

would not fail of being hereafter in some measure rewarded, if it was only for assiduities or attention. In my opinion, it is not possible for an American to have a more powerful incentive to action, or anything that can more thoroughly convince him of the value of the blessings for which we are fighting, than to travel in the European country and see the extremes of despotism and misery. Nothing can exceed the appearance thereof in the Austrian country. Where one man enjoys a competency, there is one thousand without it, and all equally subject to the insolence and caprice of civil and military tyrants.

Arriving in Paris, Warren was thrown into contact again with John Adams for a week, and he wrote (July 25, 1781) a lively account of talks with him:

His Excellency, Mr. Adams, has lately arrived from The Hague. I waited on him the 13th instant and the next day dined with him in a large collection of company. After dinner rode out with him, when he freely expressed his bad opinion of De Vergennes, the Prime Minister of France, also of Dr. Franklin of whom he said, "an hypocritical old scoundrel; when I reflect upon the time and care and property that has been devoted for so many years to such honourable purposes, it is melancholy to think it should be in the power of such an infamous character in any measure to counteract the good effects they were intended to produce." This he tells me in confidence, adding he [Franklin] "has been writing against me [Adams] to Congress and received me here with smiles and complaisance and catched me in his arms, not knowing I was informed of his conduct."

We went to the Montagne Montmartre from whence there is a fine view of Paris. We walked a long time here. The first president of the Parliament have a chateau and gardens here. Mr. Adams said the first time he was in Paris, he rode out with a brother Commissioner, sent their names and desired permission to walk in the gardens. Madame sent out her servants, forbad them to show all the gardens, intending, she said, to have us to dine when she would have the honour of showing the rest herself, "but we never heard of her afterward." Henry the 4th encamped his troops here when he besieged Paris. I was with Mr. Adams every day till the 21st, when he took leave and set off for Holland. He appeared to be very anxious. I went with him to the Palais to hear the lawyers plead; he advised me to attend often as it would be of advantage in perfecting the French language, and to see the Comedie, for the same purpose. He gave me his opinion of Junius and other writers and of Americans now resident in France. We dined together on the 19th at the Rue Montmartre and afterwards rode down by the Tuilleries and the Ecole Militaire. In riding by the Maréchal's ground, "there," said he, "are the 12,000 guardians of French liberty." We visited the Duke de Chartres' Palace Royal together, where is the best collection of paintings in France. He observed " the people of England seem to have an hereditary hatred to a republican form of government." " There," said he, " are those two cities of Athens and Rome, the mistresses of human kind. All the Nations that have existed since have studied to imitate their example, and have taught their infants the study of their orators and to revere their arts and aims. They were striking instances of the advantages of such a government. And what are those two cities now but the greatest disgrace to human nature — and all owing to the difference in government? "

From thence we went to the Palais Bourbon. The Prince of Condé has expended twelve thousand livres upon this palace. I observed to Mr. Adams that I thought the little pavillion of Madam du Barry at Marly at least equal if not superior to anything in this. He hesitated some time and then said, " Yes, it was placed there by the late King as a monument of his Infamy and as a testimonial to his Nation of their base submission. It is the duty of the present King to erase it from the ground, that there may not remain a vestige of it." " But what would you do with Madam, sir? " He looked at me about two minutes, but did not reply — changed the subject. He gave his opinion of Rousseau. Observed it was the policy of the French Government to encourage all sorts of amusements, which keeps their subjects from thinking of anything more serious. For that purpose, they have just finished a playhouse at Bordeaux which cost several millions of livres. He talked of peace — was very polite and invited me to come to see him at The Hague where he expects soon to be fixed.

Shortly afterwards Warren dined with Dr. Franklin at Passy and wrote: " No conversation except with his guest. The old gentleman did not speak three times. After dinner, he and the Jesuitical Bancroft were in conversation apart until I left him." Young Warren appears to have acquired a prejudice against Franklin, which was undoubtedly fostered by Adams's remarks to him. This feeling was shared by General and Mrs. Warren, who had obtained their impressions of Franklin, two years before, chiefly from their intimate friend Arthur Lee.[38] The tone of Mrs. Warren's reply to her son (September 28, 1781) was, therefore, only to be expected: " You ask me, is Dr. Franklin a knave, or is he an honest man? " Then referring to her son's account of Lord Hillsborough's attack upon Franklin, she continued: " Do you think Lord Hillsborough a good painter? I take a certain portrait of his to be no contemptible specimen of his art." In a later letter (November 17, 1781) Mrs. Warren wrote that she was not surprised at the reception he met from Franklin: "He knows the integrity of some of your nearest connections; he knows that every man of probity and penetration have long seen and despised his duplicity of character and probably he thinks, and I hope justly, that your education and principles render you a very unfit instrument for his purposes."

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[38] There is plentiful evidence as to Lee's opinion of Franklin. See, for instance, his letter to James Warren, December 25, 1780 (*Collections,* LXXIII. 158–159), and his letter to James Bowdoin of the same date (6 *Collections,* IX. 448).

After staying in Paris for two months, Warren started on a trip through France to Nantes, stopping at Passy to "make our adieus to old and young Franklin." Just before leaving he wrote the following comment:

> Everybody in Paris call the Americans either "Bostonians" or "Insurgents." Though they have but little liberty themselves, they seem passionately fond of the liberties of America and their cause. The Chevalier de Belour seems fond of talking of the "Insurgents"— "Americans, Sir," I tell him. The French call all the inhabitants of the West India Islands, of Cayenne, and South America, by the general name of Americans, which makes this confusion and the necessity of discrimination. But an opposition to Monarchy is such a phenomenon in this country that, in short, they know not what to call us.

After a sojourn in and around Nantes for about ten months, Warren returned to Paris, where he again dined with Franklin and was taken by him to call on the mother of the Marquis de Lafayette. Leaving Paris a second time, in October, 1782, he made a trip through the south of France; and he was in Marseilles on February 3, 1783, when he heard that peace had been signed and announced by the king at Versailles on January 22.

Meanwhile, very interesting letters, descriptive of political and commercial conditions in the United States, were written by Warren's parents to their son. Five months before the Battle of Yorktown his father wrote (June 5, 1781):

> I came to Town two days ago with your Mamah and Brother George, having left Plymouth for the present to reside at Milton upon the Farm that was Gov. Hutchinson's which I purchased last winter of M. Broome as I have wrote you in a former letter. Our furniture is on the water and I hope will be up Tomorrow. When you return shall be happy to see you at our new habitation. This remove is thought by some an extraordinary step at our Time of Life, is applauded by some, and thought by others to be wrong, but, if you have not altered your mind, is an event that falls within your Taste. . . .
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> As to public matters, our currency which has so long embarrassed

us, has now arrived at the last stage of wretchedness. This introduces confusion in our commerce and produces every evil work. A late rapid depreciation or rather stagnation of the old money has occasioned a great convulsion. What the events may be I can't say, but I hope we shall get through it. We are determined to support the war, and shall have a fine army in the field. Nothing is wanting but a loan of money from Europe. A superior naval force to put a finishing stroke in America to that power you have imbibed such an opinion of. At a little distance from the seat of war, every thing but our currency wears the mask of ease and profound peace, too much so to be consistent with the character of Christians or wise men, and perhaps that is the case in England, there they hunt foxes and run round in the country and dance in the assemblies in the city, while their country is on the verge of ruin, at once thoughtless of the misery of individuals, and the danger of the public. Have you ever seen the like here? And yet the inference will prove as strongly in one case great ability as in the other. The French fleet has arrived in the West Indies and by a brig, this day from Guadalupe, we learn have cut off the retreat of the English to St. Lucia, have had an action, beat them, and were pursuing: so I hope Rodney has gone the length of his tether. Various has been the fortune of war in the South. However, the Enemy have such an advantage of transporting succours [ ] there that our affairs don't wear a very promising aspect in that quarter.

On September 28, 1781, General Warren wrote:

Things here are quite in a different state from what they have been. There is no paper money of any sort passing. The folly or wickedness of the People have run it down to nothing, and consequently out of existence; and left posterity, or the present generation if they please, to contemplate and determine which acts the most ridiculous and wicked part. The Britons, who give entire credit to their paper currency when common sense must dictate that it is no better than old raggs — or the Americans, who give no credit at all to theirs when the same common sense must dictate that it was on a stable foundation and deserved the greatest confidence. But so it is, and now nothing but hard money is current, and that is so scarce and the demand so great for payment of taxes, etc., that goods, provisions, etc., have fallen nearly to their old price. West India goods are already at that price and the arrival of the Holland fleet may bring the European to the same state or nearly to it, or at least so near it that they cannot afford to pay a freight of 12½ per cent, and insurance. So much for business matters. The next article or subject must be political. Our affairs wear a pleasing aspect and afford a most agreeable prospect. Lord Rawdon has been beat in every encounter and drove from every port in So. Carolina and Georgia except Charlestown and Savannah. The French Squadron commands the Chesapeake and Lord Cornwallis was surrounded by Gen. Washington in such a manner that there is no probability of

> his escaping. I expect every Hour to hear of his surrendering himself and army. Clinton is confined to New York and Long Island, only at Liberty to make a few savage excursions by water to burn and plunder the coasts of Connecticut, staining still deeper, if possible, with indelible infamy by the most barbarous murders the character of a Nation who have boasted themselves humane, generous, and brave, but who have not now a trace of either of them remaining and who are exceeded by the most uncivilized Nations of America in everything (except learning) that enters into the dignity of men there. Charlestown, Georgia, New York and Penobscot, are all the possessions they can boast of, after a war of six or seven years carried on at the expense of many millions of money and many thousands of lives and of what is perhaps still more at the expense of national justice, interest and character. I wish I could give you the particulars of a late naval engagement between the two fleets off the Chesapeake, but we only know that the Britons have been soundly drubbed and chased into New York by the French squadron under Count de Grasse. Under all these circumstances, I can suppose that the idea you had formed of their grandeur while in England will dwindle into contempt.

From this last remark, as well as from similar ones in other letters, it is evident that Winslow had formed too high an opinion of the British to suit his parents. General Warren continued with an interesting reference to his new home, the Governor Hutchinson mansion on Milton Hill:

> I am now on Milton Hill. The place is pleasant. I could enjoy it if it was paid for, but you know I hate to be in debt. I struck a bold stroke when I bought it. I gave a great sum for it, but should have done well enough if there had not been such a revolution in the currency; but as it is, I shall be pushed and straightened, but I will struggle to keep it. It is too sweet a place to part with. Can't you send me some handsome papers for two lodgings rooms each side of the Hall, and for two entries? The lodgings rooms will take about 6 or 7 rolls each, and the two entries about 7 or 8 more in both.

On December 16, 1781, General Warren wrote a letter to be carried on the ship *Alliance*, informing his son of the " great events which have taken place in Virginia and South Carolina. What will be the feelings in England when the news reaches them, and how much longer can they continue a war here? Perhaps another campaign may remove all their troops for them if they don't choose to do it themselves. Another circumstance no less discouraging to them is the easy, quiet death of all our paper money; it has expired like the snuff of a candle without a murmur or any of those confusions and disturbances they so much relied on." General Warren desired his son to pay his respects to Lafayette and the latter's brother-in-law, the Comte de Noailles, who were to sail on the *Alliance*. "Experience," he wrote, "has decided the superiority of Frenchmen to Englishmen, in the cabinet, in the field and on the ocean," and he warned his son to dismiss "all foolish prejudices [against the French] imbibed in that rascally part of Europe where you first landed." A rather amusing reference is made in this letter to a Bostonian who later became of note. Young Winslow had purchased certain goods from the firm of Akker & Heneken and consigned them to his father for sale in Boston. Akker's letters, the general wrote, "were delivered to me by a Mr. David Sears, who having been to Europe, assumes at once the airs of a fine gentleman and a man of importance in business; this young fellow says he is their agent and desired me to write a letter binding myself as security for the fulfillment of your contracts, and had the assurance to make a draft of his own for me to sign. I told him I could write my own letters. . . . I rather suspect it to proceed from his own officiousness to recommend himself to them or from a spirit of envy to you."

On December 13, 1781, Mrs. Warren wrote her son an interesting letter expressing her fears of the demoralizing influence of France and especially of the Americans in France whom her son was meeting:

> By Mr. B. I am told that your deportment in Holland gained you the approbation and love of all your acquaintances; — but France, the seat of dissipation, where luxury is refined upon, and enormities are fashionable that would put a savage to the blush, may yet be fatal to the best intentions of youth. Fashion in all countries, in the most polished stages of society, gives sanction to the grosser crimes — when the poise of reason is lost and the free agent grows too timid to resist temptation or the influence of dignified example. Indeed, few youths are proof against the arts of vice decked with the alurements of flattery and dissimulation or the long practiced and the fascinating intrigues of beauty.
>
> France has the reputation of displaying the charms of luxury in the zenith of refinement. Pleasure is the idol that has there set up her standard; the deluded votaries flock to her shrine, while she smiles at the novice who is not aware nothing more is meant by her caresses than to rob him of honour, character, fortune and peace.
>
> Yet, I am as much afraid of some of your own countrymen as of the more intriguing spirit that reigns in the ancient cities of Europe.

> There are few; very few of them that I could wish to see your companions in your travels; — their principles are derogatory to their country, and the licentious manners of some of them (even before they left America) disgraceful to human nature.
>
> It has been observed that the youth of Britain gain little advantage by visiting foreign countries, from their too constantly associating with the unlettered and inexperienced travellers of their own nation; this may as well be applied to Americans, to Frenchmen, or to any other people, as to the English. And how can a young gentleman expect to learn much of the laws, government, or language of foreigners, if he converses generally with those who know nothing of the history of mankind, little of the political interest of their own country, and less of themselves? Who carry nothing from home but ignorance, vanity, and vice, and acquire nothing abroad but the frivolous and corrupt manners of strangers?

On July 17, 1782, Mrs. Warren again spicily expressed her distrust of the Americans in France, and her apprehensions as to the rise in power in this country of certain anti-republicans:

> I find you have been mistaken in the characters of some — and may be again liable to the same mistake from the semblance of friendship easily assumed, from the warmth of passion by which it is expressed, and from the goodness of your own heart which does not naturally lead you to suspicion; but every deception at once learns us caution and teaches the necessity of irreproachable probity in our own conduct. Heaven guard you from the machinations of the malevolent, and from the insinuations of the artful and unprincipled of either sex!
>
> The divisions among the Americans who reside in France may easily be accounted for; in many the seeds were sown at home, in others a competition of interest prevails, and few of them have been educated in a manner that guides their movements by any permanent principle either in business, politics, religion or morals. I do not apprehend there is much danger of your becoming partizan among them, as there are few, very few that I know of who are intitled to more than civility from you, unless they should stand in need of your benevolence. Your friendships I hope will be formed only with persons marked with some traits of distinguished worth.
>
> There is one part of your letter to which I know not how to give a full answer at this distance; — there are in this country, courts and courtiers, sycophants, flatterers, and pimps, and all the necessary train of danglers, who usually wait at the levee of power, ready to attend the embryo monarchy about to be reared in America. Your father with all the principles of uncorrupted patriotism, a firm, independent private gentleman, is above paying homage to men in high office — much less to those who by several fortunate circumstances are possessed of power without dignity, and who are both in point of ability and

integrity, generally below the standard of merit which marked the early opposers of British tyranny.

In a letter of October 22, 1782, Mrs. Warren showed her anxiety over her son's return to Paris, a city, she said " where you daily meet with politeness without sincerity, and civility without friendship, where refinement has eradicated virtue, where literature flourishes without principles, and erudition serves but to embellish vice."

On December 18, 1782, Mrs. Warren wrote that " all Americans are sighing for peace." At the same time she expressed the fear that " the councils of a certain powerful Court [France] would have too great an influence on the interest and happiness of this country. Much gratitude is certainly due to France for their early, and spirited exertions in our favour; — but as we have shaken off the yoke of dependence on one foreign power, we ought ever to hold ourselves independent of all others; — neither our weakness, our fears, or our complaisance should suffer us to listen to the intrigues, to be awed by the threats, or led by the dictates of ministerial authority, though he pleads with ever so much address the merits of his master or the obligations due to the people he represents."

Mrs. Warren's descriptions of the conditions in this country after the war are strikingly illuminating and show that the demoralization of a post-war era obtained then as in later days:

> But as the Americans in general have lost sight of their object, and Congress have in some measure out-lived their dignity, and vested most of their powers in the hands of artful and avaricious men, it may be long before we see a nervous, equal, systematical administration of government. This people are marked with characters too distinct for unison; we talk high of the excellency of the republican system, and our legislatures are established on this liberal plan, while in principles and manners and in fashion, monarchic habits mark many characters.
>
> The consequences of this absurdity appear at once in the want of consistency and decision in design, and uniformity and vigour in execution through the higher departments; as well as in that servility of mind and that insolence of imagined independence which has nearly destroyed the proper ideas of subordination, decency, and civility among the lower classes. The truth is, so far has this country deviated from the principles, manners, and spirit that instigated an opposition to Britain, and so dazzled are many with the splendor of courts, the parade of armies, the pride and pomp of war, the soft indulgencies of sudden affluence, and the reigning taste for luxurious and expensive

pleasures, that they are prepared to ask a King, though a voice from heaven denounced as to the ungrateful Israelites that their sons should run before his chariots.

You have doubtless seen by the American papers that there has been a project for a tax through the Continent by an impost of five per cent of all articles of commerce, this to be payed by the importer on the arrival of his goods. It was to have been a permanent revenue to be appropriated without controul or inquiry as Congress should see fit.

This measure was not to be inforced without the consent of the representatives of the people by each legislature making it an act of their own. There has been little difficulty to obtain a compliance except in the small state of Rhode Island, who have stood alone in opposition till most of the other States begin to be sick of the project.

This country is at present under a cloud that may not suddenly be dissipated – the morals of the people are depreciated, private engagements evaded and public credit suffers: – but as the conduct of mankind in all ages depends much on the character and genius of their leaders, there may yet appear some in America who have capacity enough to form the manners of the people and virtue enough to save their contemporaries from irretrievable ruin in consequence of the inexperience, the weakness, the extravagance, the venality and supple complaisance of their predecessors.

But the political stars either in the southern or more northern hemisphere do not at present augur such an happy revolution in favour of purer morals or more energetic government; the cities are setting up the work of their own hands and making for themselves Gods, regardless of the secret Hand that directs the wheels of revolution and throws down the proudest Empires. Yet the modern idols differ in one point from the favorite images we have read of in sacred story, for the heads of most of them seem to be of the same clay materials with the feet – and if I am not mistaken in the prophecies, several of them will be scattered as the chaff of the summer threshing floor.

The history of all ages has taught us that the wind of popular fame is much less stable than the hurricane that sweeps down both the cedar and the thistle; yet by a strange concurrence of circumstances we often see, after the most violent struggles in favour of civil liberty, all authority is vested in the hand of the weakest or the wickedest, who perhaps were only called in the beginning of the conflict to aid in pulling down the more gigantic abetters of tyranny; – men who are better qualified for the glare of royal pageantry, the managers of a play-house, or the patrons of a ball room than for the first magistrates of a free republic whose manners ought to be simple and their morals uncorrupt.

After the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, Mrs. Warren wrote (April 28, 1783) an interesting view of the benefits of a commercial career, and also of America's future position in the world:

In all times, in all societies, in all ages, in all nations, sincerity adorns the gentleman — probity dignifies the man — punctuality generally ensures success to the merchant — and truth sets the Christian above the shocks of fortune and the severest disappointments of life. These short maxims, the excellence or utility of which nor fashion, caprice or opinion can debase, should be wrote in capitals in the diary of every young man till the characters are so deeply engraven on his heart that all his actions evince the uprightness of his intentions.

It has been observed by some that commerce has a tendency to narrow the mind; but I do not think the opinion just; it may well enough apply to the little trafficker, who only aims at accumulations without a wish to benefit society; but the merchant who has understanding enough to view things on a broader bottom and to consider a well regulated commerce, as advantageous to society, may enlarge the bounds of intercourse, spread knowledge, encourage industry, and rank himself among the first class of benefactors to his country. How few of the celebrated statesmen of former ages have done this; nor have many of the politicians of our own time had much more in view than the aggrandizement of an individual or a family — and but from a coincidence of fortuitous events they might never have been drawn from useless obscurity.

It is long since we had an opportunity of writing you — longer since we have been so happy as to hear from you. Great and important events have since taken place; the nations have resheathed the sword, and the European world is hushed in tranquillity. America stands alone; may she long stand independent of every foreign power, and superior to the spirit of intrigue, or the corrupt principles of usurpation, that may spring from the successful exertions of her own sons.

What a field for genius? What a display of capacity both in science and business, will this theatre exhibit? enough to fire the ambition and light up every noble spark in the bosom of such as are in the morning of life. Yet there are few, very few who take a just view of the magnitude of the prospect before them, or that seem to have any idea how greatly a wide extended Empire may stand in need of their abilities, how influential their example, and how much their character and conduct may affect the happiness of millions. So complicated is the system of divine government and so interwoven are the interests of society, that, weak as the individual may appear, yet exerting to the utmost all the powers of his mind (either for good or evil) he knows not how much he may add to the score of misery among mankind or enhance the sum of felicity in human life. . . .

Yet I must again enjoin you to remember — few things expose a man to greater inconveniences or more highly impeach his character than an injudicious choice of his friends and companions; this circumstance alone cuts off the highest expectation of the parent and involves the unsuspecting generous mind in perplexities irretrievable. If you again visit England on your return, may you be introduced only to those whose manners prove their descent from that line of ancestry that has rendered their name illustrious among the nations. But many will court your acquaintance both Britons and Americans whom a young gentleman of character might blush to name as his associates though they may be distinguished both by fortune and title.

On March 12, 1783, Winslow Warren sailed for the United States and landed in Philadelphia in May, where he hoped to receive from Congress a consular appointment in Europe. General Warren wrote to him there on May 18:

After a long interval of silence and suspense, we received a few days ago your letter of the 19th of Jan'y, and while I was contemplating the contents, devising how I should gratify your wishes on this side the water, and advise you with regard to your conduct on the other, I was agreeably surprised with yours from Philadelphia of May 2, 7, informing me of your arrival on this Continent at a time when tho' I eagerly wished for it, I had no encouragement to expect it. I presume the resolution for this voyage was sudden and the excursion rapid. Enterprize has often succeeded and without it a young man cannot expect to make a great figure. I wish you success and not only wish it, but will do all in my power to promote it, and perhaps it is not so unfavourable a circumstance as it might at first appear to you, that I am not at Philadelphia. I should be in the minority and consequently not a popular member in the House or favoured with the smiles of the Court out of it. My days of influence are over. While patriotism and virtue were the ruling factions, it was honourable to be in the majority. When the love of money may become the ruling faction, an honest man should be content to be in the minority and to devote himself to prevent the baneful operation of that principle in its full extent. I will write to my friends on the subject of your expectation. Mr. Gerry will do the same. Among my friends, Franklin, Doctor Lee, B. Lincoln and our Delegates at Congress, tho' I have no acquaintance with Mr. Higginson, but I don't know why he should not rather do me good office than not. I wish Mr. Gerry was at Congress. He got in about 3 weeks. Mr. Morris could do you great service if he would, either in the political or mercantile line; but I can't ask favours of him, for reasons I will give you when you come here. Perhaps Mr. Gerry may write to him among others. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, I never saw. We are acquainted with his mother and family. I am considering whether to write to him myself directly or to have it done by others, but when will such appointment be made? May it be expected soon, or will there be some general arrangement first? I hope you will be able soon to discharge all your debts in Europe. I wish you may succeed in obtaining your money of your friend Cole, but I suspect you will not and the failure may be a great loss to you. I have remitted you since I wrote by the —— a set of French bills for 5313 livres, one of them went by M. Lovell to look for a conveyance via Phila. or Baltimore. Another went in a ship of Marquand's via London, another by Marston Watson, who is gone in a ship from Providence to London to meet his brother there. They all went under cover to Mr. Williams. Your goods from L'Orient are just arrived, but to a miserable market. I got them out of the ship yesterday and took much pains to sell them so as to save you the first cost and charges, but could not do it. I shall try again the first opportunity. I can not think of selling them under Mr. Sever, and Mr. Drew's goods are not arrived.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 8, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions.

From MATT B. JONES, two letters of William Winslow to Daniel Ayrault, Jr., merchant in New York, dated at Boston, September 22, 1729, and Bay Bulls, April 25, 1730.

From the Good Government Association, its reports and files, 1907–1933.

From Miss Grace L. Murray, several papers, 1788–1832, relating to Eliot and Kittery, Maine.

From Miss Mary R. Hodge, by deposit, the commission of James Thatcher as surgeon in the Massachusetts militia, October 16, 1793, signed by Samuel Adams.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From LAWRENCE S. MAYO, an impression in wax of the seal of the Brook Farm Phalanx, given to him by Miss Theodora Cabot, whose father, Frederick Cabot, was a member of Brook Farm.

From Miss Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, Massachusetts, the following Winthrop portraits: Adam Winthrop, 1498–1562 (copy); Governor John Winthrop, 1588–1649 (copy); Governor John Winthrop, Jr., 1606–1676 (copy); Governor Fitz-John Winthrop, 1639–1707 (copy); Chief Justice Wait Still Winthrop, 1643–1717 (copy); Ninigret, an Indian (copy); Colonel Stephen Winthrop, 1618–1658 (copy); Mary Winthrop Livingston (copy); Ann Dudley Winthrop (copy); Governor Joseph Dudley; John Still Winthrop, 1720–1776 (copy); John Winthrop, 1681–1747 (copy); Elizabeth Bowdoin, Lady Temple, 1750–1809 (copy after Stuart); Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple Winthrop (1769–1825), by Stuart; Margaret Temple, by Blackburn; Sir John Temple (1731–1798), by Stuart after Trumbull; Mary Winthrop, wife of Governor Joseph Wanton (copy after Feke); Sir Grenville Temple (1768–1829), by Trumbull; Governor James Bowdoin, 1726–1790 (copy after Copley); Colonel Israel Thorndike (1755–1832), by Stuart; Thomas Lindall Winthrop, 1760–1841; and Robert Charles Winthrop (1809–1894), by Healy. Accompanying the portraits are several Winthrop relics: a large bowl brought in the *Arbella* by Governor John Winthrop; the cane given by James Bowdoin in 1788 to George Washington; a ring given by Daniel Webster to Robert C. Winthrop; Fitz-

John Winthrop's armor, six pieces; and the busts of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, by Powers, and George William Erving.

Mr. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., read the following paper:

Some Old-Fashioned Winters in Boston

It is sometimes said that our climate is changing, that our winters are growing milder; but the manifestations of nature are repeated from time to time, and it will be found that the averages over periods of years do not differ greatly. The exceedingly cold winter of 1917–1918 is not so long passed as to be forgotten, and in February, 1920, there was a blizzard the like of which had not been seen since the great storm of November, 1898, when the steamer *Portland* went down. On December 26, 1909, there was a heavy northeast snowstorm, with a very destructive tide that rivalled in height the great tide in the gale of April 16, 1851, which destroyed the first Minot's Lighthouse.[1] And the ice storm of November, 1921, was but a greater one than that described by Samuel Sewall as taking place the last of November, 1699: " The Rain freezes upon the branches of the Trees to that thickness and weight, that great havock is thereby made of the Wood and Timber. Many young and strong Trees are broken off in the midst; and multitudes of Boughs rent off." He mentioned especially the damage done to the orchards and added: " Some think the Spoil that is made amounts to Thousands of pounds. How suddenly and with surprise can God destroy! "[2]

In the storm of 1921 the rain froze as it fell for parts of three days, breaking down with the weight of the ice wires and poles as well as trees. The storm extended sixty miles west and north of Boston and did damage estimated in millions of dollars.[3] Doubtless there have been other storms of like character, and scarcely a year goes by when there is not a severe easterly gale with a high tide, though no recent tide has equalled the two great ones already mentioned.[4] But, as in the storm of 1909, recent high tides caused much damage along the shores of Boston Harbor; and in the storm of February 20, 1927, the five-masted schooner *Nancy* was driven so high on Nantasket Beach as to make it unprofitable to float her, and she was broken up in December, 1933.

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[1] The observations of the tide of 1909 were figured as averaging 15.60 feet above " Boston City Base," so called, as against 15.62 feet for the tide of 1851, Boston City Base being accounted as about 64/100 feet *below* mean low water. In the storm when the *Portland* went down, the tide rose 14.94 feet above Boston City Base. See *Hecht vs. Boston Wharf Co.*, 220 Massachusetts Reports, 404, and the notes in my paper, " Storms and Shipwrecks in Boston Bay and the Record of the Life Savers of Hull," *Publications*, Bostonian Society, Second Series, II. 16–19, 64–65.

A tide that has been estimated to have risen sixteen feet above Boston City Base, perhaps the greatest that has occurred here, accompanied the storm of February 24, 1723 (*Publications*, Bostonian Society, 2nd Ser., II. 16) , and is described in a letter of Cotton Mather, printed in 1 *Collections*, II. 11.

[2] 5 *Collections*, V. 506.

[3] " Great Ice Storm of November 26–29, in Massachusetts," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Monthly Weather Review*, XLIX (Washington, 1921) , 612.

In one particular, however, it seems that a change has taken place — the freezing of the waters of the harbor. On January 9, 1918, the *Boston Herald* inquired in an editorial as to why it was, in view of the low temperatures at the time, that ice had not formed in the harbor as in earlier years. There were then said to be twelve inches of ice in Fort Point Channel. Later in the month there was more ice in the harbor, and on the twenty-ninth the superintendent of the school on Thompson's Island repeated a feat of former years when he drove over the ice in a sleigh to Squantum, attended a meeting of the trustees in Boston, and returned to school the same way.[5] Yet the extent of the ice in the harbor in 1918 was much less than has been recorded in earlier years.

When the freezing of Boston Harbor is mentioned, there comes to mind the familiar picture of the Cunard steamship *Britannia* leaving her dock in East Boston through a channel cut in the ice. That was in February, 1844; but it was not the first time that a vessel had had to be helped through ice in the harbor, nor was it the last.

* * * * *

The first winters in the settlement at Boston were severe. Edward Johnson wrote of 1632: "This year of sad distresses was ended with a terrible cold Winter, with weekly Snowes, and fierce Frosts betweene while congealing Charles River, as well from the Towne to Seaward, as above, inasmuch that men frequently pass from one Island to another upon the Ice."[6]

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[4] Beginning in 1902 a record of tides, measured by a gauge, has been kept at the United States Navy Yard in Charlestown, the elevation of the tides being figured from mean low water, called the "Navy Yard Base." "Boston City Base" is now determined to be 62/100 feet *below* mean low water.

The tide of 1909 registered 14.97 above the Navy Yard Base, and is the highest in the record of the yard. But one other tide has been recorded as reaching 14 feet — that of March 4, 1931, which rose to 14.05 feet.

[5] *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 29, 1918.

[6] *Wonder-Working Providence*, J. Franklin Jameson, Editor (New York, 1910), 84.

Similar winters followed. Governor Winthrop mentions the freezing of the harbor in the winter of 1634–1635, and relates that at the end of January three men coming from Deer Island had their boat frozen in at Bird Island, were obliged to spend the night there, and the next morning proceeded to Noddle's Island over the ice. At the same time, he says, six others were kept a week at the Governor's Garden before they could get away in their boat, "for, near all that time, there was no open place between the Garden and Boston." On January 22, 1637/38, he wrote his son that they were almost ready to break up for want of wood when "it pleased the Lord to open the bay, (which was so frozen as men went over it in all places,)" and he referred to some men in a pinnace stranded on Long Island who "came home upon the ice."

The cold in the winter of 1641–1642 he describes as such that "all the bay was frozen over, so much and so long, as the like, by Indians' relation, had not been these 40 years." This condition lasted from January 18 to February 21 "so as horses and carts went over in many places where ships have sailed. . . . It was frozen also to sea so far as one could well discern." The story of this winter is of further interest in that Winthrop states that "To the southward also the frost was as great and the snow as deep, and at Virginia itself the great bay was much of it frozen over."

The governor's journal also records that the winter of 1645–1646, which he refers to as the "earliest and sharpest" since their arrival, "was as vehement cold to the southward as here. Divers of our ships were put from their anchors with the ice and driven ashore . . . and one ketch carried out to sea, and wrecked upon Lovell's Island. At New Haven a ship bound for England was forced to be cut out of the ice three miles. And in Virginia the ships were frozen up six weeks." [7]

Writing in his diary of the winter of 1654–1655, John Hull, the mintmaster, said: "About the 16th of December, the frost was extreme, and suddenly froze the Bay over, that, in a very few days, it was firm to pass betwixt the town and Long Island, and a constant passage to Charltowne and Noddles Island, etc; and so continued above a month." The remainder of the winter, he says, was "as is usual"; but April was cold. He refers to the following winters, except for a cold period in February, 1656/57, as having little cold weather or snow until the end of December, 1659.

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[7] *The History of New England,* James Savage, Editor (Boston, 1825–1826), I. 154, 193; II. 60, 254.

Then they had "much sharp frost," and all the bay was again frozen, though the channel was affected for only a few days; there was "much snow," which continued until February 15, and a "pretty cold March," with "a very great storm of wind and snow" on the sixteenth of the month, "such as none went beyond it all winter."

Thereafter Hull tells of temperate winters and intemperate springs, saying of 1664–1665: "On the 19th February, the winter did, as it were, begin again. A cold spring: no tree budded until the 1st of May." Entries in his diary for the following year make a tale of early New England weather that would have pleased Mark Twain.

> Jan. 5. The first week in January, the frosts were violent. Charles River was passed over on foot, and only the channel open before Boston. About 12th January, all open again, and 25th all frozen again, and Boston Channel, all down to the castle, passable to any. 30th January, all open again. Feb. 6, all frozen down to the castle. 11th February, began to open to the channel, and so gradually."

Hull also mentions that they had "several cold fits" in December, 1674, "much snow" in the following January, and very cold weather in February, the "19th, 20th, 21st, as cold a time as in many years, and so dry and windy that the dust blew like snow." [8]

Sewall wrote in his diary for Sunday, January 24, 1685/86: "Friday night and Satterday were extream cold, so that the Harbour frozen up, and to the Castle. This day so cold that the Sacramental Bread is frozen pretty hard, and rattles sadly as broken into the Plates." [9]

There was cold weather in New England in the seventeenth century, and its closing years saw many an icy blast. A note in Hutchinson's history reads: "The winter of 1696 was as cold as had been known from the first arrival of the English; slays and loaded sleds passing great part of the time upon the ice from Boston as far as Nantasket." [10]

Writing of January 23, 1696/97, Cotton Mather said:

> I attempted, this Day, the Exercises of a secret Fast before the Lord. But so extremely cold was the weather, that in a warm Room, on a

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[8] *Transactions and Collections,* American Antiquarian Society, III. 177, 190, 215, 220, 239.

[9] 5 *Collections,* v. 118.

[10] *History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, 1691–1750,* 101 *n.*

> great Fire, the Juices forced out at the End of short Billets of Wood, by the Heat of the Flame, on which they were laid, yett froze into Ice, at their coming out. This Extremity of the Cold caused mee to desist for the purpose, which I was upon; because I saw it impossible to serve the Lord, without such Distraction, as was inconvenient.[11]

The next winter, 1697–1698, was of such severity that the people prayed for some mitigation of the weather, and Sewall notes that on January 23 of this second year of suffering Mr. Wigglesworth preached on the text, "Who can stand before his Cold?" Riding over to Charlestown on January 26, Sewall saw unbroken ice as far as the Castle. On February 3 he saw "Water a little below the Castle" and hoped that the ice would "begin to remove." Some ice went out the night of February 25, with the result that he was able to write the next day: "now there is a glade of water along by Governor's Island about as far as Bird Island."[12]

Clough's *New England Almanack* for 1701 contains what may be considered a contemporaneous account of this same winter:

> In the year 1697, 8 there was an exceeding Cold Winter; from the middle of *January* to the First or Second of *March* it held Cold, with very little or no intermission; all the Bay was frozen over quite out to Sea, so as it was common to go Horse and Man over all the Ferrys for two months together. The main channel in *Boston* Harbour did not open till the first of *March*. It Snow'd that year between Twenty and Thirty times.

Both Sewall and Mather tell of extremely cold weather in February, 1699/1700, and again at the end of December, 1705. January, 1711/12, was severely cold, and the harbor froze to such an extent that vessels were unable to enter or leave the port during most of the month. The meeting of the General Court, which had adjourned to February 6, was postponed to March 12, when the governor notified the members that the season was "so unusually Cold" he thought "the Gentlemen remote" would not attend and those present might be "impatient." He therefore would not sit long, but give them a further session the next month.[13]

Sewall records Sunday, January 15, 1715/16, as another day when the sacramental bread froze, but adds, "though twas so Cold, yet John Tuckerman was baptised." Sewall had further evidence of the cold on that day: "at six a-clock my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my Wive's Chamber" — which is borne out by his manuscript.[14]

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[11] 7 *Collections*, VII. 216.

[12] 5 *Collections*, V. 467–472.

[13] *Boston News-Letter*, January 14, 21, 28, 1711/12; Massachusetts Archives, CVIII. 106. The harbors of New York and Philadelphia also froze, it being said of the latter: "Horses and Men continually pass over the River." *Boston News-Letter*, February 4, 11, 1711/12.

The next winter, 1716–1717, Boston was overwhelmed with snow — a memorable winter, with a storm in February that was known thereafter as the "great snow," perhaps the greatest that has occurred in New England. The next month Mather wrote: "Tis a Time of Much Rebuke from Heaven upon us, in the Season. Such Storms and Heaps of Snow, visit us in the approach of the Spring, as were hardly ever known in the Depth of Winter."[15]

John Tudor, writing of the winter of 1732–1733, says that it was exceedingly cold. The harbor froze "down to Long Island head," vessels were "frose up in the Harbor," and "people went Dayly to the Castle on the Ise."[16]

Of the winter of 1740–1741 Belcher wrote to Richard Partridge on February 21: "The weather has been so severe for 8 or 9 weeks past as has hardly been known in the memory of man, and a land of ice near 10 miles from this town into the ocean has in a manner stopt all vessels from coming in or going out, and the excessive snows have render'd the roads unpassable for horses for about a month past."

Tudor described this winter as "the Coldest the Old People ever remember'd." The harbor froze twice, and "there was a Tent kept on the Ice between Boston and the Castle for entertainment." In February they had the deepest snow for twenty-five years, and on March 10 "the Snow and Ice in some of the Streets was 3 feet deep and lay in part til the Middle of April." This was a notable season, like those mentioned by Winthrop, severe in the South as well as in the North, and was long remembered.[17]

Writing of January, 1752, Tudor made several interesting entries in his diary:

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[14] 5 *Collections*, VII. 71.

[15] 1 *Collections*, V. 209 *n*; 7 *Collections*, VIII. 440; "Notices of Remarkably Cold Winters," *American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1837*, 169; Sidney Perley, *Historic Storms of New England* (Salem, 1891), 31.

[16] *Deacon Tudor's Diary*, William Tudor, Editor (Boston, 1896), 1.

[17] 6 *Collections*, II. 533; *Tudor's Diary*, 2; *American Almanac for 1837*, 171; Perley, *Historic Storms*, 49.

Decr. 31. This night the Harbor frose up and remain'd so til the 7th of Jany.

21st Jany. I went from Boston on the Ice to the Castle with som Gentlemen and dined with Capt. Larrabee the Commander. This Week many hundreds of people on foot and som in Slays pas'd on the Ice to the Castle and other places.

Jany. 18. Capt. Atkins and I rode in a slay to the Castle, on our return we rode oute to the Channel whare a Number of Men was cutting the Ice to open the Channel way for Vessels to go oute. The ice was 9 Inches thick, But they cut with Saws etc. from as low as the Castle up to Clark's Wharfe in 9 or ten Days and finished January 21st. The next Day a number of Vessells Sail'd.[18]

What the deacon thus describes took place almost a hundred years before the cutting out of the *Britannia,* and one can not presume to say that it was the first time that anything of the sort was done.

On January 23, 1763, Tudor wrote: " This Lord's day morning extreem Cold. The Harbor frose over and continued so for 9 Days, when the 1st of Feby. [came] the Weather Moderated and the High Tides together, broke up the Ice when several Vessels that lay below came up to Town." Three years later Bostonians had a like experience. The harbor remained frozen from Sunday, January 5, until the following Saturday when an extraordinary thaw and south wind dissipated the ice. Tudor commented that it was " very remarkable for the Harbor to frees up so strong and be so clear again in 6 Days." He also tells of more than three weeks of extremely cold weather in January and February, 1770, in which, however, he says " the Chanilway did not frees up the whole Time." But he relates that a man who rode over the ice from Charlestown on February 6 told him that he brought another person " in his shays " and " it seem'd as safe Riding as on the Land." [19]

John Rowe frequently refers in his diary to the severity of the winter weather. He notes that the harbor froze as far as the Castle on December 21, 1767, and again on February 9, 1769, and mentions several occasions when his ink froze. He says that on Sunday, January 23, 1774, " it froze all the way from the South End down to Castle William, also almost the whole harbour." [20]

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[18] *Tudor's Diary,* 6.

[19] *Ibid.,* 15, 21, 30.

[20] *Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston Merchant,* Anne R. Cunningham, Editor (Boston, 1903) , 147, 183, 223, 239, 260–261. See also *Tudor's Diary,* 29, 37, 38, 42.

From December 22 to 29, 1778, there were eight days of extremely cold weather.[21] Christmas Day was particularly cold, as appears from Tudor's diary: "I had about a gil of N. E. Rum in a Case Bottle cork'd, that stood on a shelf in the pantry, At dinner time found it frose, but two full Bottles in the case was not frose. This was the coldest Christmas that ever I remember, nor do I remember that I ever had any Rum frose before in my keeping, having now kept house near 47 years." Rowe states that it was "the Coldest morning as by the Thermometer for 40 years," and was followed by a heavy snowstorm, in which a number of lives were lost, including members of the crews of the privateers *General Arnold* and *General Stark* that were wrecked in the storm, the former at Plymouth and the latter at Nantucket.[22]

The following spring was unusually cold, and the next winter, 1779–1780, of great severity, beginning with much snow, which greatly interfered with travel. The state constitutional convention, which had adjourned to January 5, was unable to transact business for lack of numbers until the twenty-seventh of the month, and then the attendance was very small. Tudor tells that Sunday, January 23, 1780, was extremely cold and that the harbor froze "as far as we can see." This season has been termed the "last really 'old-fashioned winter,'"[23] but there have since been winters of old-time severity, although the effects may not have been quite the same as in the more primitive days.

Abigail Adams described this winter in a letter to her husband, February 26, 1780, as the "sublimest" she ever saw:

> In the latter part of December and beginning of January there fell the highest snow known since the year 1740; and from that time to this day the Bay has been frozen so hard that people have walked, rode, and sledded over it to Boston. It was frozen across Nantasket Road so that no vessel could come in or go out for a month after the storms. We had neither snow, rain, nor the least thaw. It was remarkably healthy, and we have lived along very comfortable, though many people have suffered greatly for fuel.[24]

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[21] Diary of Professor John Winthrop in interleaved almanac in Harvard College Library.

[22] *Tudor's Diary*, 74–75; *Diary of John Rowe*, 325. The *General Arnold* left Boston Christmas morning and on the approach of the storm put into Plymouth Harbor, only to meet with disaster there. *Collections*, LXXVII. 142, 153; *Boston Evening Post*, January 2, 9, 1779.

[23] *Tudor's Diary*, 81; Samuel E. Morison, "History of the Constitution of Massachusetts," *Manual of the Constitutional Convention of 1917*, 20.

[24] *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife*, Charles F. Adams, Editor (New York, 1876), 377–378. It is said in a communication to the *Franklin Mercury*, quoted

The Reverend William Gordon wrote that it was " a very hard winter, by which many of the islands, in the Bay, Rhode Island, Long Island, etc., etc., have been joined to the Continent," and that Boston had been " exposed to the oppressive incursions of the country, who have extorted a hundred and a hundred and twenty pounds, lawful not old tenor, per cord for their wood. . . ." [25] This was a famous winter, severe all over the country, and was recalled and referred to for many years after because of the amount and long duration of the snow and cold weather that came with it.[26]

There was further frigid weather in the eighteenth century, the winter of 1790–1791 being extremely cold, as was January, 1792, with its coldest day on the twenty-third. The closing years of the century are also known for the great snowstorms described by Sidney Perley as " the snowstorms of December, 1786 " and " the long storm of November, 1798." The former occurred on the fourth and fifth and the eighth and ninth of the month, when, it has been thought, there was more snow on the ground than in the " great snow " of 1717. The storm of November, 1798, which began on the seventeenth, ended on the twenty-first with a fall of snow unprecedented for that time of the year.

These storms were followed by " the great snowstorm of February, 1802," when there was almost a week of snow.[27] January, 1809, was very cold, and January, 1810, is remembered for its " cold Friday," the nineteenth, one of the famous days in the weather annals of New England. The winter had been exceptionally mild, with no snow or ice, and the temperature on Thursday afternoon, the eighteenth, was in the high forties. Then, in the evening, there arose a violent northwest gale, and the next day the thermometer is said to have registered in Boston as low as twelve below zero, and twenty and more below inland, and it continued to be extremely cold until the following Monday. The storm also brought much snow, though little fell in Boston.[28]

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in the *Boston Courier* of February 19, 1836, that in 1780 people walked on the ice from Hingham to Boston, and loads of wood were transported over the ice from Hingham to Hull.

[25] *Proceedings,* LXIII. 430.

[26] *American Almanac for 1837,* 131. The depth of the snow was so great as to close the roads for a time, with the result that, as in 1717, in some parts of New England there was no travel except upon snowshoes.

[27] Perley, *Historic Storms,* 124, 153, 161.

[28] The *Boston Gazette* of January 22, 1810, states that the highest temperature on Thursday was 48 above zero, and the lowest on Friday, 9 below. The *Bulletin* of the New England Section, Climatological Service of the Weather Bureau, for January,

January, 1812, was very cold, and February, 1817, brought another "cold Friday" with a cutting northwest wind — "the cold Valentine's Day." [29] The thermometer, according to Professor John Farrar,[30] fell from a few degrees above zero on Friday morning to sixteen below that night and eighteen below on Saturday morning. He said that the latter mark was the lowest in the twenty-seven years of his register of the thermometer.[31] The *Boston Daily Advertiser* (February 17) states that on that day "Capt. Roulstone went down to Fort Independence on the ice with seven heavily loaded horse teams," and that it was believed "so firm a bridge of ice to the Castle" had not been known since the winter of 1779–1780.[32] February, 1818, and January, 1821, saw cold

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1904, gives (3) the figures, as furnished by Isaac Y. Chubbuck of Roxbury, as 48 above zero at 3 P.M. on Thursday, and 12 below on Friday. Perley states (*Historic Storms*, 180) that the temperature at Salem was 45 above zero on Thursday, and the next morning, eighteen hours later, 5 below. The *Columbian Centinel* of January 27, 1810, quotes Dr. Edward A. Holyoke as saying that they had not had any such three days together as those of January 19, 20, and 21, 1810, since January 17, 18 and 19, 1786, when the thermometer registered as low as 11 below zero. Cf. Holyoke's "Meteorological Journal," *Memoirs*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, I. 119–167. The newspapers also state that it was extremely cold in New York.

Isaac Y. Chubbuck gathered and compiled data relating to the weather in and about Boston that the Weather Bureau has referred to from time to time with respect to periods previous to its existence. It was expected that this material would be preserved in some form, but after Chubbuck's death his compilation appears to have been lost.

[29] *Columbian Centinel*, February 19, 1817.

[30] Farrar succeeded Samuel Webber as Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1807, and continued the record of the thermometer that had been kept by his predecessor since 1790. He set forth the results to 1813 in a communication to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which was published in Volume III of its *Memoirs*. One of Farrar's tables, with the years 1813, 1816, and 1817 added, is printed in the article "Remarkably Cold Winters" in the *American Almanac for 1837*. Farrar figured the mean temperature of the three days in the cold wave of January, 1810, as, respectively, 4.4, 3.0 and 0.7 degrees below zero.

[31] Letter in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 18, 1817, in which he gave the following figures for "the coldest days which have occurred since 1790."

			7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.
1792	Jan.	23	12½ below	2 below	5 below
1807	Jan.	26	9 "	1 "	9½ "
1810	Jan.	19	5 "	2 "	6 "
1812	Jan.	18	6 "	2 "	9½ "
1815	Jan.	31	11½ "	6 "	13 "
1817	Feb.	14	2 above	4 "	16 "
1817	Feb.	15	18 below	5 above	0

The *Columbian Centinel* of February 19, 1817, states that "a weather glass on Pemberton's Hill" registered 20 below at 7 A.M. on the fifteenth.

[32] Ice formed in New York harbor at this time, and the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 19 quotes the *New York Post* as stating that the North River was frozen "so that people pass and re-pass on the ice from shore to shore."

weather, and the next decades of the nineteenth century produced some winter weather of extraordinary severity.

The winter of 1834–1835 was inclement throughout the country, with intense cold in New England in the first part of January and an unusually backward spring.[33] It was followed in 1835–1836 by one of the severest winters in local history. The first snow fell on November 23, and, with the storms that followed, there was sleighing in and about Boston with little interruption until the end of March, and longer in the interior. The snow did not entirely disappear from the Harvard Yard until April 19 and lasted in other places in the vicinity until May.[34] Cold weather came with the snow. It is said that on November 27 the thermometer registered as low as fifteen above zero, on December 2 it fell to eight, and on the morning of December 3 stood at only six above, a degree of cold rarely recorded at the beginning of December.[35] The mercury remained low enough for the Connecticut River to freeze so hard that at most of the ferries loaded teams were able to pass over on the ice, a thing which had not happened so early in the winter for many years.[36] Then, on December 16, came "the cold Wednesday," when "it was as cold as Nova Zembla," and "people who burned anthracite coal in an open grate had to keep themselves from freezing by smart exercise of the poker."[37]

In a communication to the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of December 18, dated at Cambridge and signed "J. F." (presumably Professor Farrar), it is stated that the thermometer fell "pretty regularly from 7 o'clock A.M., and earlier, till about 4 o'clock P.M., when it stood at 15 below," and that the day was believed to be "the coldest on record in the vicinity of Boston." The writer said that while there had been occasions when the thermometer stood lower for a short time, it was thought that never had it ranged so low from sunrise to sunset, and that the day was "distinguished" because so early in the season, and particularly because of "the severity of the cold in the middle of the day, the thermometer varying from

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[33] "Remarks on the Winter of 1834–5," *American Almanac for 1836*, 178.

[34] "Notices of Remarkably Cold Winters," *American Almanac for 1837*, 169, 185. The same article states that "even in the city of Washington" the sleighing "lasted for two months, from the middle of January to the middle of March: — a circumstance before unknown to the oldest inhabitants." The *Boston Courier* of January 21, 1836, reports that sleighing was then "all the go — and the stable-keepers of our city and tavern-keepers within twenty miles of Boston, all wear smiling faces."

[35] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 8, 1835.

[36] *Boston Courier*, December 11, 1835, quoting the *Hampshire Gazette*.

[37] *Ibid.*, December 17, 1835.

12 to 14 below 0, in what is usually the warmest part of the day, that is, from noon to 3 o'clock P.M." [38]

The effect of the cold was intensified by a strong wind, but such weather did not last long. In an item headed "Consolatory," the *Boston Evening Transcript* of December 17 advised its readers that "cold spells like the present usually continue three days," and that a thaw might be expected thereafter. This turned out to be an accurate prophecy. The thaw came and brought a menace of its own, people being knocked down in the streets by snow slides from the roofs. Ice formed around the wharves during December 16, and one of the East Boston ferryboats ran all that night to keep the crossing open. The next morning there was a solid field of ice on both sides of the passageway, and it was feared that the harbor might be closed; but the ice went out when the weather moderated.[39]

The weather then turned cold again, and early in January, 1836, the newspapers gave notice of the purpose of a Captain Seward Porter to give a demonstration in the harbor of the efficiency of his steamboat "in breaking the ice and opening a passage for navigation." The undertaking was indorsed in a letter from Loammi Baldwin, which was printed with the notice and contained the following somewhat startling statement: "As the difficulty now is,

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[38] There is considerable variation in the reported readings of the thermometer on the sixteenth, but Professor Farrar's figures may be used for comparison. He gave the mean of the readings in his records on previous cold days at the hours of 7 A.M., 2 P.M. and 9 P.M., and at the same hours on December 16, 1835, as: January 23, 1792, —8; January 8, 1797, —7½; January 26, 1807, —6½; January 18, 1812, —5 7/10; February 5, 1817, —6; February 14, 1817, —7 2/3; January 4, 1834, —5; and December 16, 1835, —10. It is interesting to compare his readings on December 16 with the records of the Weather Bureau in Boston for the same hours on two recent cold December days: December 30, 1917, when the minimum was 14 below zero, and December 29, 1933, when it was 17 below:

	7 A.M.	12 M.	2 P.M.	3 P.M.	4 P.M.	9 P.M.
Dec. 16, 1835	— 5	—12	—13	—14	—15	—12
Dec. 30, 1917	—14	— 3	+ 2	+ 2	+ 1	— 5
Dec. 29, 1933	—17	—11	— 6	— 6	— 7	—12

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of December 17, 1835, reported that at the toll house on Western Avenue on the sixteenth the thermometer was 16 below at about 2 P.M.; and the *Boston Evening Transcript* of the same date quoted a correspondent at Dorchester Lower Mills as writing that it was 17 below there at 4 P.M. and 21 below from 6 to 9 P.M.

Perley (*Historic Storms,* 263) states that "taking the whole of the day, December 16, 1835, "was the severest on record, being colder than either of the 'cold Fridays,'" and he gives the readings at Salem as: 6 A.M., 8 below; 9 A.M., 5 below; 12 M., 8 below; 2 P.M., 12 below; 3 P.M., 10 below; and 8 P.M., 18 below.

[39] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* December 17, 22, 1835.

there are four or six weeks, almost every winter, when the harbor becomes completely closed — during which time a few enterprising merchants are at the expense of cutting a channel through the ice for sending ships to sea." He stated further that it was " made a great objection to the Navy Yard at Charlestown, that the ice prevents ships coming in when the harbor is closed," and that Porter's experiment would show whether the ice should " serve to block up our Navy Yard for five or six weeks every winter."[40] Possibly a desire to further Captain Porter's project may have led Baldwin to overstate the conditions. It is evident, however, that cutting a channel through ice in the harbor was not an unfamiliar undertaking.

The demonstration of the ice-breaker does not appear to have taken place as planned, but Captain Porter filed a bill in the legislature to incorporate the Boston Harbor Ice and Tow Boat Company for the declared purpose, in addition to towing, of " keeping an open passage into and out of Boston harbor, for ships and vessels, and preventing the same from being obstructed by ice." The second section of the bill provided that, with some exceptions, all vessels enabled to enter the harbor by the efforts of the corporation " when the entrance would otherwise have been obstructed, and access from the sea prevented by said harbor's being frozen over," should pay the corporation at fixed rates, for which the masters, owners, and consignees of the vessels were to be made liable. The same rates were to be imposed upon vessels enabled to leave the harbor, and questions as to the liability of parties taking advantage of the way opened by the corporation were to be referred to the Chamber of Commerce of Boston, whose decision would be final.

The measure was considered by a special committee, which reported it, saying that, while they did not approve, they were willing to give the petitioner and his associates the opportunity to present their case. The committee apparently expected opposition, and they were not disappointed; for a motion to recommit was made, and a lively discussion followed. The bill was earnestly advocated by Henry Williams of Boston, who argued that the services the proposed company would render were much needed and would prove of great benefit to the commercial and maritime interests of the community; and he pointed out that Baltimore had a similar organization which was considered indispensable. No objection was made to the creation of the corporation. The second section, however, was attacked by George S. Hillard as unconstitutional, and by Charles A. Andrew of Salem, who suggested a more expeditious way of getting rid of the ice in the harbor: "if the gentleman from Boston would go upon the wharves, and speak with the warmth and fervency which characterized his speeches in the House, there would be no need of an ice breaker." [41] The measure was thereafter passed without the second section.[42]

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[40] *Ibid.,* January 7, 1836; *Boston Courier,* January 8, 1836. The steamboat was known as the *Patent,* and, as appears from the records in the Custom House at Boston, was built at Medford in 1821. She was about the size of a modern harbor tug.

It was demonstrated as the winter developed that the need of an ice-breaker was more than the dream of a visionary. The last of January was extremely cold, and in February there were two periods of zero weather, the like of which had not been known since the famous cold winters of the previous century.[43] The first, at the very beginning of the month, completely closing the harbor, was referred to in the following item in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of February 5: "Freezological. The inner harbor is entirely frozen over. A pilot walked up to town this morning on the ice from Quarantine Island [Rainsford Island, at the westerly end of Nantasket Roads]. There is also much ice in the outer harbor. The skating is very good to Fort Independence." [44]

On Thursday, February 4, the brig *Regulator,* William D. Phelps master, from Smyrna to Boston was wrecked on a shoal in Plymouth Harbor known as Brown's Island, with the loss of five of her crew. The others, all more or less frozen, were rescued by the crew of the brig *Cervantes* at the risk of their lives and taken into Nantasket Roads, and the pilot, John Sullivan, brought to Boston the story of the wreck and the need of the survivors for treatment. Thereupon, Dr. J. V. C. Smith, the port physician and afterwards mayor of Boston, went down to them over the ice and returned the same way two days later with a companion, "each holding one end of a rope, intending in case either should fall through any thin place in the ice, the other might draw him out." That the venture was difficult as well as dangerous appears from the statement that the snow and water in many places were knee deep.[45]

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[41] *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Courier,* January 29, 1836.

[42] Chapter 23 of the Acts of 1836. It was approved on March 12.

[43] "Notices of Remarkably Cold Winters," *American Almanac for 1837,* 184–185. See also the communication to the *Franklin Mercury* quoted in the *Boston Courier* of February 19, 1836.

[44] The *Boston Courier* of February 6 says that the thermometer registered 10 below zero at sunrise on the morning of the fifth.

Another story of this cold spell was more belated in the telling. The *Boston Evening Transcript* of July 19, 1890, published a letter from T. W. Ricker,[46] who wrote that in 1836 he was first officer of the bark *Highlander* of Boston, owned by Joseph V. Bacon and commanded by Bailey Foster. According to Ricker's account, they arrived in Boston Bay from Mantanzas in one of the coldest winters he had known on the coast, and, after being held off by adverse winds, entered and anchored in Nantasket Roads the night of February 29. The next morning they found the harbor frozen to within a hundred feet of the vessel. Following a southeast storm which broke up the ice as far as the Castle,

> We got under way and beat up to the Castle and made fast to the ice. In the meantime, two other vessels arrived. We held a consultation and agreed to cut our way up to the wharf. They then made fast to us astern, sent on board their hawsers, axes, crowbars with their crews, and we commenced to cut a passage by running our hawsers ahead, cutting a hole in the ice and toggling the hawser with a handspike; the men then hove at the windlass, with a large number under the bows cutting with axes and crowbars, and in this way we cut a channel to Central Wharf through ice a foot thick and made fast to the wharf after three days' hard labor.

This graphic account was given more than fifty years after the event, and the writer was wrong in his dates. It appears from the marine news of the time that the *Highlander* arrived in Nantasket Roads the night of February 7 and came up to Boston on the tenth, as did several other vessels that were in the Roads, among them the *Cervantes*.[47] The newspapers do not mention this particular event, but in the marine news of February 9 there is the following:

> Mr. S. L. Cutter, wharfinger of Commercial wharf has been engaged today with a sloop and gang of men in breaking a passage through the ice. At night he had reached the outer verge of the firm ice, a little above the Fort; and from present appearances, (the wind being SW,

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[45] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 8, 9, 1836; *Boston Evening Transcript,* February 8, 1836. A short account of the wreck may also be found in Southworth A. Howland, *Steamboat and Railroad Accidents in the United States, Recent Shipwrecks, etc.* (Worcester, 1840 and 1846).

[46] Reprinted in "Notes and Queries," *Boston Evening Transcript,* August 13, 1904.

[47] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 9, 11, 1836. The *Highlander* sailed from Boston, March 3. *Ibid.,* March 4, 1836.

> and the weather mild) the outward-bound will force their way out, and the inward-bound come up to the wharves. Much of the ice is thin, and it is expected, if the weather continues moderate for a day or two, the navigation will be free.[48]

This was the day before the *Highlander* and the other vessels came to the wharves, and whether the two accounts relate to the same occasion or can be reconciled, I do not undertake to say. The significant fact is that the harbor was so frozen that something had to be done to get vessels to and from the wharves, and the cutting of a channel for the purpose attracted so little attention as to pass almost unnoticed.

The second cold period in February, 1836, began about the middle of the month when there was so much ice in the harbor that no vessels arrived or left for several days.[49] The *Boston Courier* of February 19 said:

> The whole magazine of Boreal blasts seem to have been let loose upon us without stint or mercy this season; it is an old-times winter, and worse than an old-times one, for that long-lived, veracious, observing, and ever remembering ancient chronicler, the oldest inhabitant, cannot call to mind, with all the powers of his green old age and flourishing faculties, anything comparable to the present state of things. Former winters were remarkable now and then, for *the* cold day, but the winter whose icy clutch is now fast upon us, will admit of no "the" in the matter; there are vastly too many cold days to allow a hope of distinguishing any one by a definite article; or, rather, to use a popular French locution, "every one is colder than the other." Each night we lie down to rest, sweltering under a shroud of blankets and comforters, in the hope that the day past is to be numbered among the "last of the cold days"; but every morning finds our noses still below zero, and a northwester whistling through the cracks of the windows, sharp enough to cut our lungs into mince meat.

Further information as to the character of this season is furnished by an article, "Rail Roads in Winter," in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 25. Many persons had predicted that the recently finished railroads could not be kept open in winter, and the article was written to give an account of the operation of the Boston and Worcester Railroad in a winter that was said to have subjected the roads to "an unusually severe trial" because of "the severity of the cold, the quantity of snow and frequency of snowstorms, and, in several instances, the falling of snow accompanied with rain followed immediately by cold weather." The article tells not only of snowstorms but of days when it rained and hailed as well, and when ice formed on the tracks. The following account of a day in February is of particular interest.

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[48] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 10, 1836.

[49] *Boston Courier*, February 22, 1836.

> Feb. 2. Very cold. The train went out from Boston with two engines, but finding the snow much drifted, and so hard that the snow plough ran on the top, instead of removing it, they returned. At 1 P.M. two engines with the passengers from Worcester arrived, the drifts having been removed by the snow contractors. The morning train with two engines set out again, and reached Needham, where they froze up, the Lion, a new engine, not being provided with heating apparatus. The passengers were sent forward the next morning in sleighs. The 3 o'clock train set out with two engines and a snow plough, and the snow drifted so fast that after proceeding about a mile their progress was stopped, and while unavailing efforts were made to proceed, the road was so filled up in the rear that they could not return. Horses were sent out from town and the cars were hauled back to the depot. A third engine from Worcester froze up near Needham.

This severe weather was not confined to Massachusetts. Long Island Sound froze so that it was possible to walk over the ice to the mainland.[50] Ice was even reported as being "no rarity" in Florida.[51] In short, taking into consideration the early arrival of the snow and cold weather in this season, and the character and extent of both, one may well class it as an "old-fashioned winter."[52]

The cutting of a channel for the *Britannia* took place in 1844 and aroused an interest that is better understood if we recall some of the story of the coming of the Cunard Line to Boston. Times were hard in the 1830's. In April, 1839, it was learned in Boston that Samuel Cunard had obtained a contract from the British government for carrying the mail by steam vessels from England to Halifax and Boston, concerning which Mr. Cunard wrote: "It will be a great advantage to Boston, and I think you should all encourage me, and I have no doubt but you will do so."[53] The days of the ship under sail were not over. Donald McKay had not then built his superior sailing packets, and the golden age of the square-rigged vessel was yet to come. But Cunard's undertaking presented to the merchants of the city an opportunity to further a new adventure in navigation and make Boston a port of call for steam vessels, to which they were not slow to respond.

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[50] The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 22 says that two men crossed over from Hempstead Harbor to Rye Point in Connecticut, a distance of 7½ miles, and returned the same way.

[51] *Ibid.*, February 23, 1836.

[52] The *American Almanac for 1837* declares (185) that the winter was "remarkable for the lowness of its mean temperature, the number of extremely cold days, and the great quantity and long duration of snow."

[53] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 13, 22, 23, 1839. A sketch of Cunard's life will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

A meeting was held, April 20, 1839, with Francis J. Oliver as chairman, at which, after resolutions showing how the enterprise would benefit the city and be a "harbinger of future peace" with England and her provinces — a reflection of the then troublesome dispute over the boundary of Maine — and pointing out the natural advantages of the port of Boston in respect of ocean communication with the British Isles, it was voted as the sense of the meeting: "That a suitable Pier and Dock should be provided for a term of years, for the reception of the Liverpool Steam Packets in this port, where they may receive and discharge their lading free from expense to the owners of the steamers, and that such other facilities be afforded as the importance of the subject may require." A committee was appointed to communicate with Mr. Cunard and to attend to the matter of the pier and dock.[54] The latter were obtained in due time. Meanwhile Cunard's organization, then known as the British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, had constructed on the Clyde four wooden paddle-wheel steamers of 1,150 tons and some 200 feet in length, named *Britannia, Acadia, Caledonia,* and *Columbia.*

The *Britannia* was the first of the new fleet to make the passage to North America, though she was not the first vessel of the new company to enter Boston Harbor. That distinction belongs to the smaller steamer *Unicorn,* which appears to have been in service between Liverpool and Glasgow and was sent over to be used here as an auxiliary on the coast, Cunard's contract with the British government calling for the carriage of the mail from Halifax to Quebec as well as to Boston.[55]

The *Unicorn* arrived on June 3, 1840, with a few passengers, among them Mr. Cunard's son, Edward, and was received with enthusiasm. The steamer was saluted in the harbor, and two days later young Cunard and Captain Douglas, the master of the vessel, were welcomed at a "collation." Those attending the festivities met at City Hall and, headed by the city marshal and a band, marched in procession to Faneuil Hall, which was decorated for the occasion, where Mayor Jonathan Chapman presided and made an address, to which the visitors replied briefly, followed by the British consul, Thomas Colley Grattan. Toasts followed, offered or responded to, among others, by Mayor Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Robert C. Winthrop, then Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Henry W. Longfellow, and George S. Hillard.[56] Edward Cunard reciprocated by taking a party on the *Unicorn* for an "excursion" in the bay, after which the steamer returned to Halifax.

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[54] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* April 22; *Boston Courier,* April 23, 1839. The committee consisted of Francis J. Oliver, chairman, Robert G. Shaw, William Appleton, George Bond, George Bancroft, Charles Leighton, E. Hasket Derby, James Read, Martin Brimmer, George Darracoat, and Benjamin T. Read, secretary.

[55] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* June 5, 6, 1840.

Although it was expected that the *Britannia* would leave England for her maiden voyage on July 1, 1840, she did not get away until the fourth, which, being a Friday, was thought by some to bode misfortune, but, being Independence Day in the United States, was regarded by others as indicative of future prosperity.[57] She reached Boston on Saturday, July 18, fourteen days and eight hours from Liverpool, including the stop at Halifax, and with her came Samuel Cunard, who was given "an unprecedented ovation."[58] Like the *Unicorn*, she was saluted as she came to her dock, and later two committees of citizens went aboard the vessel to wait upon Mr. Cunard, one, headed by E. Hasket Derby to bid him welcome, and the other, by Robert G. Shaw, to invite him to a "public festival."[59]

The festival was held on the afternoon of the twenty-first at East Boston and was an elaborate affair. The subscribers and invited guests assembled on the Cunard Wharf, and, after an inspection of the steamer, were formed in procession, announced by the firing of a gun which was a signal for "a grand salute of artillery." Preceded by the Boston Brigade Band, they then marched to a "pavilion" consisting of a high canvas tent spread from the roof of the Maverick House over the tables and "covering the long balconies on the southern side which were set apart exclusively for the ladies." A "grand triumphal arch of banners" was suspended across the street in front of the pavilion, and within there was an arch "bearing the simple word CUNARD in letters of gold, upon the right the name of Fulton and the American Eagle, and on the left Watt and the British Arms, both elegantly and appropriately painted on canvas." The names of the new steamships appeared on the balcony, "and the whole was surmounted by a second arch on which were inscribed the names of the three cities, indissolubly united on this occasion by the power of steam, Liverpool, Boston, and Halifax."[60] It was estimated that more than fifteen hundred people were in attendance. Josiah Quincy, Jr., presided and proposed a toast to Mr. Cunard, and then called upon the British consul and Captain Woodruff, the master of the *Britannia.* The other speakers included such notables as Daniel Webster, Judge Joseph Story, President Quincy of Harvard College, George Bancroft, then collector of the port, and the mayors of Boston and Salem.[61]

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[56] *Ibid.*, June 6, 11, 1840. See also the *Boston Daily Atlas*, June 6. *The Boston Daily Atlas* of June 8 and the *Boston Semi-Weekly Atlas* of June 10 print the order of the procession to Faneuil Hall, the speeches and toasts there, and a letter from Edward Everett. Cf. the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 9, 1840.

[57] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 5, 1840, quoting the *Liverpool Chronicle* of May 16; *History of the Cunard Company*, 7.

[58] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1840. It was hoped that the passage to Boston might be made in 12 days (*ibid.*, April 22, 1839), but the vessel was delayed by head winds during the whole of the voyage to Halifax.

[59] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1840, which prints the address of welcome presented to Mr. Cunard.

The Reverend Ezra S. Gannett preached a sermon in honor of the occasion in the Federal Street Meeting-House the day after the steamer docked, voicing the sentiment of the community in the following words:

> We look upon it — and how can we help looking upon it — as a landmark in the progress of our community. I confess that no event which has occurred since the commencement of the present century seems to me to have involved more important consequences to this city, than are likely to flow from the establishment of regular and efficient steam communication between the capital of New England and the great commercial island — the maritime threshold, if I may so style it — of the Old World.[62]

Dr. Gannett's text was from Genesis XLIX:13: "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for a haven of ships." He took the occasion to warn of the danger, "if business should revive from its long depression," of ill-advised undertakings, lest "the same course of unreasonable calculation, extravagant enterprise,

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[60] *Boston Daily Atlas,* July 22, 1840.

[61] *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Daily Atlas,* July 22, 1840.

[62] The sermon was published in a pamphlet, *The Arrival of the Britannia,* a facsimile of which was printed by the Cunard Company in 1930.

(with extravagant expenditure too), and ultimate disaster be again run, which has signalized the history of the last few years." Commenting on the event, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* declared: "For the future two doors are opened for the most important purpose of intercourse between Europe and America. New York is placed at one of these doors, and Boston at the other."

This was the inauguration of a fortnightly service, and it is not surprising, in light of their expectations, that the people of Boston were concerned when the *Britannia* was frozen in at her dock in less than four years.[63] The freezing of the harbor in 1844 occurred at the end of an exceptionally cold January, the last week of which was stated by Jonathan P. Hall[64] to have been the "coldest seven consecutive days" that his records for the years 1821–1856 showed.[65]

As a result of the long cold spell, ice began to form in the harbor, and by January 29 the inner harbor was frozen down to Castle Island, except where the ferryboats with difficulty maintained a passageway. The "West or Back Way" froze as far as Nantasket Roads, and Shirley Gut froze so that it was said to be safe to pass over it with a team.[66] Beyond Castle Island the harbor was filled with drifting fields of ice, in which vessels were caught. The bark *Roman,* which sailed on the twenty-seventh, being prevented from getting to sea, anchored in the ice near the east end of Long Island and was unable to leave until January 30. The pilot boat *George Washington,* on the other hand, was not so lucky, was dragged ashore on Governor's Island flats, and leaked so badly when floated that she was beached at Gallup's Island.[67]

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[63] Readers of Dickens will recall that he made his first voyage to the United States, in 1842, on the *Britannia.* He made amusing and somewhat uncomplimentary remarks about his "stateroom" aboard the steamer, and returned to England from New York on the sailing packet *George Washington.*

[64] Whereas Hall's own inclination was to the profession of medicine, he yielded to the wishes of his father and worked with him as a druggist for twenty-three years. But he did not lose his interest in scientific pursuits, and kept a record of the temperature at Number 51 Hancock Street, Boston, from 1821 to within a few days of his death in 1866. He was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1850, and appointed its meteorological observer. In 1857 the Academy published his observations, under the title "Register of the Thermometer," for the period 1821–1856. *Memoirs,* American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, VI. 229 ff.

[65] Although the winter as a whole was one of the coldest on record, the thermometer does not appear to have reached the extremes reported in some of the other cold winters. Hall figured the mean of the last seven days in January as 6.71 above zero, and his lowest readings were 3 below on January 28 and 30. *Ibid.,* 230, 279. The lowest figures recorded at the Harvard Observatory were 9 below zero on January 12, 2 below in December, and 5 below in February. "Meteorological Observations Made During the Years 1840 to 1888," *Annals,* Harvard Observatory, XIX. 43.

[66] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 29, 30, February 2, 1844. *Boston Daily Atlas* and *Boston Evening Journal,* January 29, 1844.

The *Britannia* was due to leave on February 1, and on January 30 the merchants of Boston held a meeting, at which Mayor Martin Brimmer presided, to consider the situation. It was decided to take steps to open the harbor, and a committee was appointed to obtain subscriptions and carry out the project. Several hundred dollars were promised at the meeting, and Matthew Hunt, a pilot, was engaged to cut a channel for the steamer. Hunt started at once with a large force of men, but gave up the undertaking the next day because of the cold and a strong wind that made it difficult for the men to keep their footing. A written agreement was then made with John Hill and Messrs. Gage, Hittinger & Company, icemen,[68] the original of which, somewhat mutilated, is in the possession of the Bostonian Society. In this agreement the contractors bound themselves " to cut a passage for the Steamship Britannia to proceed to Sea " and — to facilitate connection with the channel from other wharves — a passage " from the Eastern Ferry way as far as India Wharf . . . the whole to be accomplished within three days from the first day of February at sunrise." For this they were to receive $1,500 when the work was finished and no pay if they did not complete it as stipulated.

The new contractors employed horses and machines as well as men, and on February 1 a large number of people went out on the ice to witness the operations and enjoy an unusual experience. Many were on skates and some in sleighs, and, with the tents and booths that were erected on the ice, " parts of the harbor bore the appearance of a Russian holiday scene." It is reported that on this day Boat-Keeper Berry of the *George Washington* walked over the ice from Gallup's Island to Boston.[69] The *Boston Evening Transcript* tells of the " clever business " done by men at the foot of Long Wharf, who charged a cent for the use of ladders to get to or from

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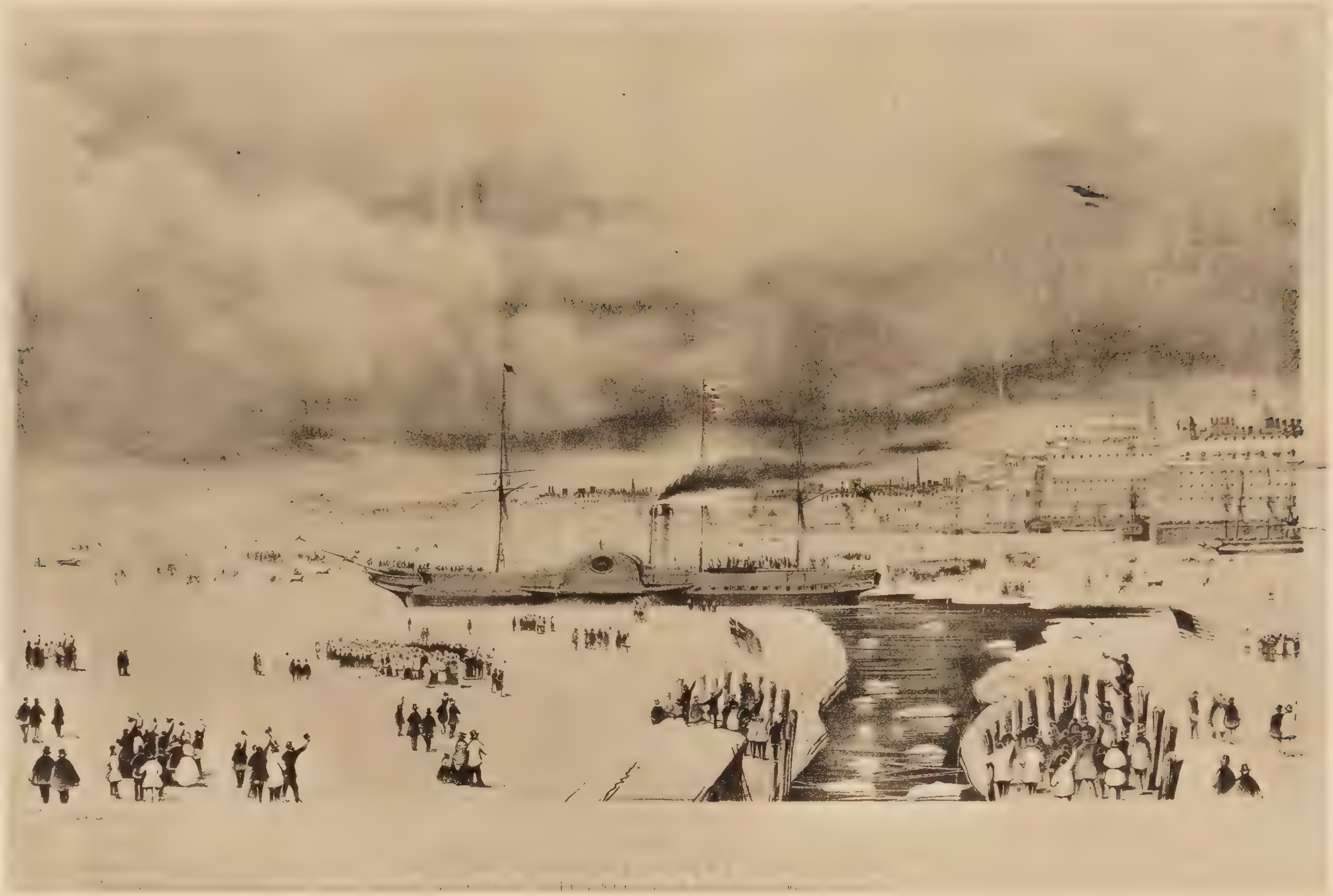
[67] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 29, 30, February 1, 1844; *Boston Daily Atlas,* January 30, February 1, 1844; *Boston Journal,* January 29, 30, 1844.

[68] *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Daily Atlas,* January 31, February 1, 1844; *Boston Journal,* January 30, 31, 1844; *Boston Evening Transcript,* January 31, 1844. The committee of merchants included, in addition to Chairman Brimmer and John J. Dimmock, the secretary of the meeting, Benjamin Rich, Caleb Curtis, Ozias Goodwin, Thomas C. Smith, Samuel Quincy, Thomas Gray, Charles Brown. Thomas B. Curtis, and A. C. Lombard. The agreement with Hill and Messrs. Gage, Hittinger & Company is dated January 31, 1844, and signed for the committee by Benjamin Rich, Samuel Quincy, and Thomas C. Smith.

[69] *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Daily Atlas,* February 2, 1844; *Boston Journal* February 1, 1844.



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the ice, holes being cut at the foot of some of the stairways "to prevent people running the toll." [70] From what the *Boston Journal* describes as the modus operandi of the contractors, the privilege of witnessing the work was well worth the toll, and the occasion one to be remembered.

> A channel of about sixty feet in width is first marked out, which is then divided into blocks of about thirty feet square. The sections marked are then *ploughed*, by which the ice is cut nearly down to the water. The plough used for this purpose is formed of seven different ploughshares, perfectly flat, and very sharp, which are arranged in a row, nearly similar to what is called a cultivator. After ploughing, the ice is sawed, so as to detach the cakes entirely from each other, after which two grapnels are attached to the cakes and they are hauled under the stationary ice by a gang of about one hundred and fifty men, some fifteen or twenty men standing on the cake in order to sink it sufficiently to make it pass under.
>
> The blocks of ice on one side only are thus disposed of, thus forming a channel of thirty feet in width. The blocks on the other side are to be detached after this channel has been finished, and will float out to sea with the ebb tide.[71]

In this manner a channel of sufficient width for the steamer was completed the next day, and on the morning of February 3 the *Britannia* steamed slowly through the passageway to open water and the sea. People gathered on the ice to see her leave, and a group of about two hundred accompanied her as far as Castle Island.[72] The merchants were much pleased with the result of their undertaking, while Boston's public spirit created a very favorable impression on the other side of the Atlantic, and "rather astonished the people of New York who had never regarded the coming of the Cunard ships to Boston with much complacency." [73]

The ice broke up after the steamer left. Nevertheless, the experiences of the winter appear to have convinced the community of the worth of an organization prepared to act in situations such as the freezing weather produced; for on February 12, 1844, Robert B. Forbes and his associates were incorporated as the Relief Steamboat Company "to employ one or more steamboats, with such apparatus and appendages as may be deemed requisite, for the purpose of keeping the harbor of Boston clear of ice," and to tow and assist vessels in distress. In this enterprise insurance companies were expressly authorized to invest.[74]

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[70] *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 1, 1844.

[71] *Boston Journal*, February 1, 1844. Mr. Hill, the contractor, was hurt in stepping from floating ice. *Boston Daily Atlas*, February 3, 1844.

[72] *Boston Daily Atlas*, February 5, 1844. The delay in her departure enabled the steamer to take letters that arrived in the mail from the South the morning she left, and her mail was described as "the largest ever carried across the Atlantic, containing over *thirty thousand letters*."

[73] *Memorial History of Boston*, IV. 226.

The cutting out of the *Britannia* was commemorated by a lithograph, engraved by A. de Vaudricourt from a sketch by J. C. King, and published by Bouvé & Sharp of Boston, with a dedication to the merchants of the city.[75] It depicts the steamer leaving her dock in East Boston, but while it shows open water astern of the vessel, none is disclosed in front of her, with the result that she seems to be held in the ice. There is a story that the picture was banned in Boston as being a bad advertisement of the port. A photograph of the print appeared as recently as July 16, 1932, in the English magazine *The Sphere,* with the title, " A Picture that was Suppressed: The Cunard paddle steamer, Britannia, caught in the ice at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1844." After quoting the inscription on the original, referring to the cutting of the channel for the vessel, the magazine added: " The Bostonians refused to have the cost refunded to them, and the Cunard Line made their terminal at New York, where their ships were not so likely to be frozen in. All pictures of this event were suppressed by the Merchants of Boston as they realized the disadvantages of the port in those days." [76]

The Cunard Company did not move its terminal to New York on account of the *Britannia's* experience. Being a native of Nova Scotia, Samuel Cunard was well aware of winter conditions in the easternmost ports of North America. As a matter of fact, ice formed in the waterways and harbors of the Atlantic coast in January, 1844, as far south as Baltimore. Long Island Sound froze so that navigation there was suspended, and the newspapers tell of the obstruction of navigation and damage to vessels by ice in New York Harbor.[77]

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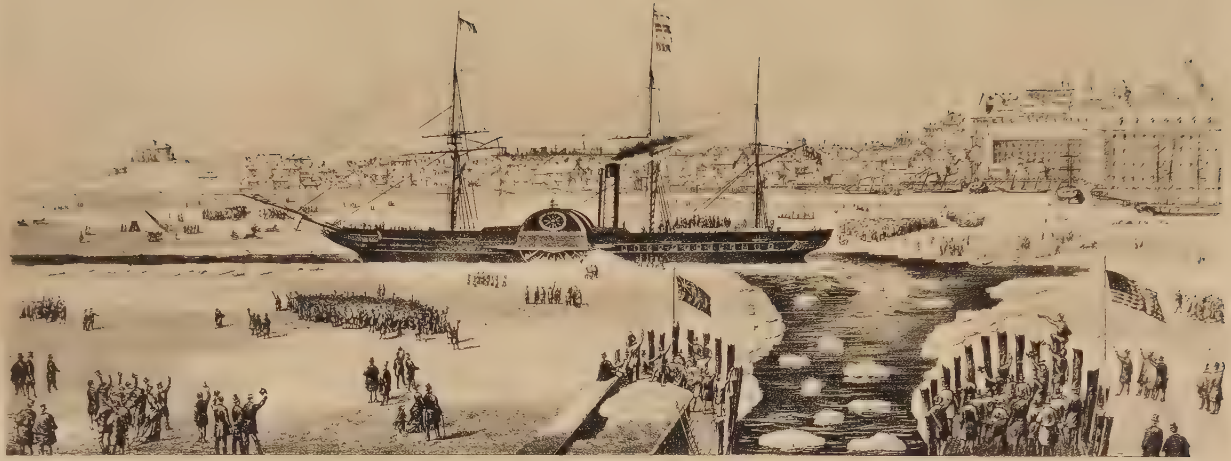
[74] Chapter 22 of the Acts of 1844.

[75] Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (Garden City, 1931), 102.

[76] This story was taken from the account of prints in the MacPherson Collection published by Captain Harry Parker and Frank S. Bowen in 1928 as *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century;* and I have not been able to discover the source of it. Captain Parker wrote, in response to my inquiry, that he had destroyed his notes and could not tell where he got the story. He thought it might have been from the files of the Cunard Company in Liverpool, but the company has no more definite information than that several shipping authorities in England and America have referred to the story.

[77] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 29, 31, 1844; *Boston Daily Atlas,* January 29, 30, 31, 1844; *Boston Journal,* January 27, 29, 31, 1844. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of January 31 quotes the *New York Journal of Commerce* of January 29 as saying that " men crossed this morning from Manhattan to Blackwell's Island on the ice, a thing that has not happened before since 1836."



THE CUNARD ROYAL MAIL STEAMSHIP "BRITANNIA" (JOHN HEWITT, COMMANDER,)
As she appeared leaving her Dock at East Boston February 3d 1844 bound from BOSTON TO LIVERPOOL. The original Print bore this inscription dedicated by the Publishers to the MERCHANTS OF BOSTON who projected and paid for a canal cut in the Ice 7 miles long 100 feet wide, much credit was due the Committee and to the Contractors Messrs Gage, Hittinger & Co and John Hill for their perseverance in accomplishing so arduous an undertaking

Presented by the Cunard Steamship Company 99 State Street, Boston.

JAMES ALEXANDER, AGENT. FEBRUARY, 1876.

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What led to making New York a terminal was the fact that the demand for postal facilities became so great, and the service of Cunard's company proved so satisfactory that the British government determined to extend the service. The result was that when the contract with the company was renewed, a weekly sailing to Boston and New York alternately was substituted for the fortnightly sailing to Boston alone. This schedule became effective January 1, 1848, the steamer that started it being the *Hibernia,* which, after calling at Halifax and Boston, proceeded to New York for her return trip.[78]

The merchants of Boston may well have objected to the picture of the *Britannia* as an incorrect representation of the event it was supposed to commemorate. That it was suppressed or destroyed by them is open to question. While the print is rare and brings a good price, copies in black and white and others in color turn up for sale from time to time both here and in England.[79] It was reproduced by the Cunard Company in 1876, and this is the print that one commonly sees. The reproduction is not so realistic as the original, but it contains a significant change in that it shows the channel in the ice ahead of the steamer as well as the open water about the dock, and it may be that the story of the suppression of the picture had its inception at this time when it was published anew.

A comparison of the prints discloses further differences. In the reproduction the steamer is given a rounded stern in place of the square stern of the wooden packets of the 1840's, and the dress of the people on the ice is changed, that of the women in particular, who no longer appear in poke bonnets and full skirts of the earlier period, but in the small bonnets and trailing skirts of the 1870's.[80] But, notwithstanding the addition of the channel, the picture is still incorrect to seamen, who point out that the steamer could not have backed out of the dock into the position in which she appears unless the ice were cut more than shown in the picture, an observation justified by an actual occurrence hereinafter related.

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[78] *History of the Cunard Company,* 8, and information from the Boston office of the line.

[79] Goodspeed's Book Shop in Boston recently offered a copy in black and white for $100, and the Parker Gallery in London, one in colors for £45.

[80] The Cunard lithograph is also smaller, measuring 14 x 24 inches, while the original is some 15 x 25 inches. Two other pictures of the *Britannia* in the ice are referred to in Parker and Bowen, *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century,* 38: a zincotype in colors, 9¾ x 17⅞ inches, a photographic copy of the original print, and a chromolithograph, 11½ x 17½ inches, by Marcus Ward & Co., Belfast and London, published by W. Ridley & Co., Liverpool. Whereas the others show a port view of the vessel, the latter shows a starboard view. The query arises whether it may not have been made from the sketch of the *America* hereinafter referred to.

It does not appear to be generally known that the task performed for the *Britannia* had to be repeated a few years later for another Cunarder, the *America*.[81] This took place in the winter of 1856–1857, described by Perley, writing more than forty years ago, as "the last very rigorous season that has occurred in New England."[82]

Meanwhile, on February 6 and 7, 1855, a cold wave struck Boston, the first day of which Jonathan Hall recorded as the coldest day in his register, though the minimum of sixteen or more below zero was not reached until the next morning.[83] The cold was so severe that there was much suspension of business in the city, and the harbor filled with large cakes of drift ice as far as Long Island, which, as they froze together, seriously interfered with the passage of vessels. The channel opened, however, when the tide ebbed.[84]

The winter of 1856–1857 is famous for its January weather. On the morning of Sunday, the eighteenth, the thermometer registered thirteen below zero.[85] That evening there came a violent snowstorm, the "great snow storm of 1857," which completely blocked the railroads and caused the wrecks of the brig *Judge Hathaway* and the schooner *Geneva* at Scituate, one man being lost on the former and four on the latter, and of the bark *Tedesco* at Swampscott, with the loss of all on board. The bark *New Empire* was wrecked at Cohasset, and the ship *California,* which had anchored at Gloucester, was dragged out of the harbor by drifting

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[81] The *America* was larger than the *Britannia,* being of about 2,200 tons, and was one of four new paddle-wheel steamers added to the Cunard fleet in 1848, when the company doubled its service by including New York as a terminal. *History of the Cunard Company,* 8. The next year the *Britannia* was sold to the German government.

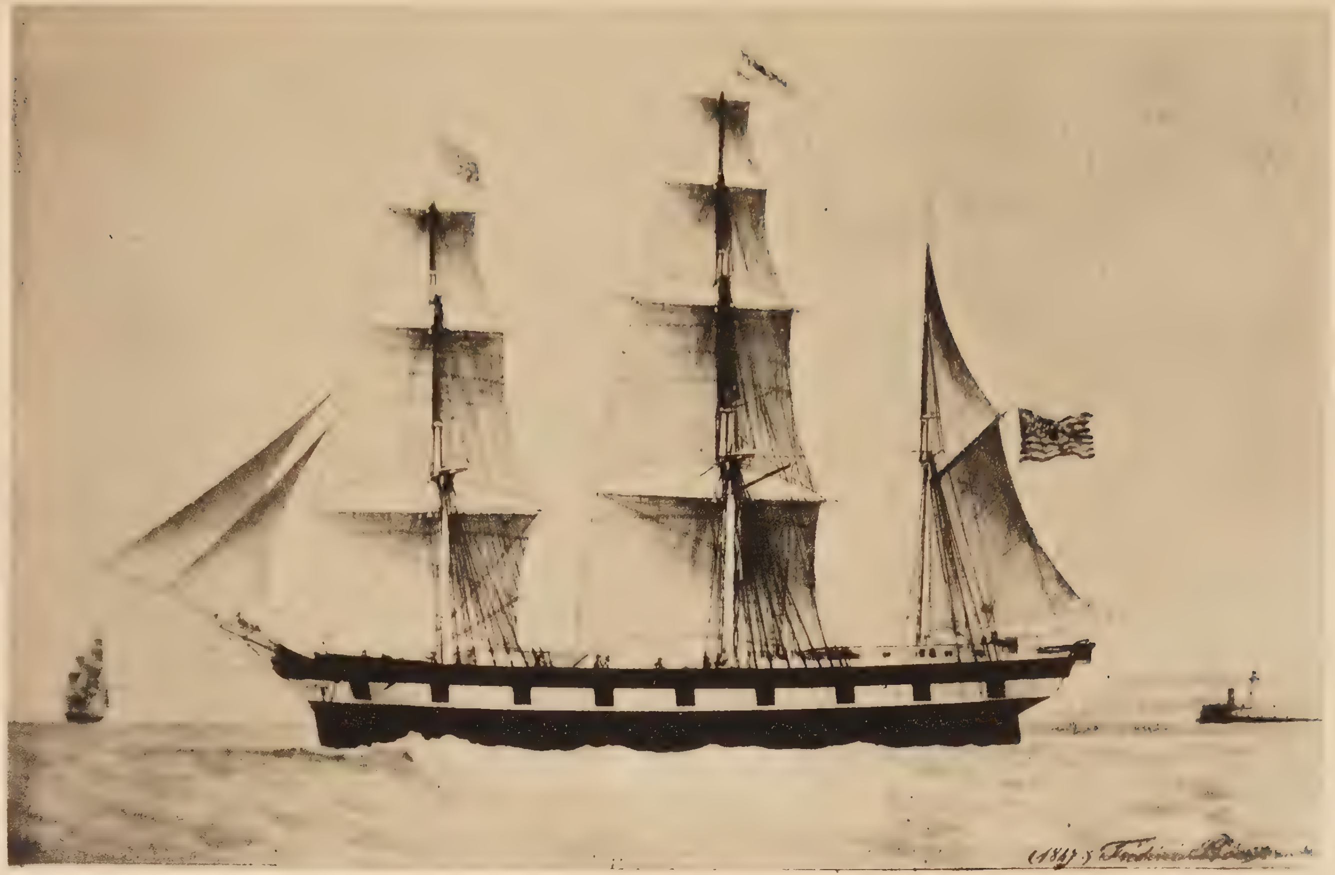
[82] *Historic Storms,* 323.

[83] *Memoirs,* American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, VI. 230. Hall recorded readings on the sixth at 7 A.M., 6 below; 2:30 P.M., 5½ below; and 9 P.M., 11½ below; and on the seventh at 7 A.M., 16 below.

At the Harvard Observatory the following were recorded: on the sixth, at sunrise, 8½ below; 9 A.M., 10 below; 3 P.M., 9 below; 9 P.M., 13 below; and 10:05 P.M., 14.2 below; and on the seventh, before sunrise, ten thermometers from 15.7 to 17.5 below; and at sunrise an ordinary thermometer 16 below; 9 A.M., 11 below; and 3 P.M., 9 above. *Annals,* Harvard Observatory, XIX. 138.

[84] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 8, 1855. See also the *Daily Evening Traveler,* February 6, 7, 8, for other observations of the thermometer, including the statement that the temperature at noon on the sixth was the lowest at that hour since December 16, 1835.

[85] *Annals,* Harvard Observatory, XIX. 138.



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ice, driven across the bay, and wrecked near the *New Empire.* Their crews, except one man on the *New Empire,* were saved.[86] Because of the drifts made by the high wind, the appearance of the streets of Boston after the storm was " wild and picturesque in the extreme "; but the interruption to travel on land and the threatened freezing of the harbor took the attention of the community. The *America* was expected to arrive on the twenty-first, and the city harbor committee, under the energetic direction of its chairman, Colonel Oliver Frost, engaged the steam tug *Enoch Train* to keep the channel open for her. This the tug endeavored to do until the continued cold made her efforts futile, and the harbor froze solid " as far down as the Castle." Several of the ferryboats and other vessels were caught in the ice, and the pilot boat *Phantom* was dragged ashore on the south side of George's Island but got off without injury.[87]

The weather moderated somewhat, and the harbor committee, renewing its efforts by employing additional tugs to break the ice, succeeded in opening a channel to " the clear waters of the bay," which another vessel was ordered to keep open. The *America* arrived on time, proceeded through the channel, and tied up at her dock. Then came one of the coldest periods known in the weather annals of New England and sealed her in.

For the thirty-six hours from 9 P.M. on Thursday, January 22, until 9 A.M. on January 24, the thermometer did not rise above zero.[88] Readings taken at the Harvard Observatory give the temperature on January 22 at 9 P.M. as three below; on January 23 at 7 A.M., sixteen below; 9 A.M., fifteen below; 2 P.M., eight below; and 9 P.M., eight below; on January 24 at 7 A.M., sixteen below; and at 9 A.M., twelve below. The next reading was not until five hours later, when it was ten above; and it is reasonable to infer that there was some further sub-zero weather in the interval, making the period when the thermometer was below zero more than thirty-six hours.[89]

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[86] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 21, 22, 24; *Boston Journal,* January 19, 20, 21, 22, 1857; see also *Publications,* Bostonian Society, 2nd Ser., II. 39. Another vessel at Gloucester, the schooner *Bonita,* was finally driven ashore on Race Point, Cape Cod, and there were other marine disasters in that locality. *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Journal,* January 21, 22, 1857; Perley, *Historic Storms,* 325.

[87] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 19, 20, 21, 22, 1857; *Boston Journal,* January 19, 21, 24, 1857. A number of the banks, whose officers and clerks lived out of town, were left in poor condition to do business; and one was unable to get into its vaults, " its cashier being on board one of the ferryboats locked up in the ice and the keys in his pocket."

[88] *Bulletin,* New England Section, Climatological Service of the Weather Bureau (January, 1904), 4; data furnished by Isaac Y. Chubbuck.

The ice then extended "below the Castle," and as the day for the *America's* sailing was fast approaching, and the weather gave no indication of change, the harbor committee, as thirteen years before, engaged two ice dealers to cut a channel. The contractors on this occasion were John Hill and Messrs. Kenny and Peirce,[90] and the story of the release of the steamer reads from this point on much like that of the *Britannia.*[91]

The city officials had expended some $2,000 in their efforts to keep the harbor open and doubted their authority to spend more, with the result that a meeting of the merchants was called. They met on the morning of the twenty-sixth with James M. Beebe, president of the Board of Trade, as chairman, who explained the position of the officials and pointed out that the business and shipping interests were appealed to "not only for their advantage, but for the credit of the city." Resolutions were passed reciting the necessity for the immediate opening of the harbor so that there would be a passageway for vessels and "no detention in the departure of the British steamer at her appointed hour for sailing on the 28th." A committee was appointed to raise the money and do what was required to further the undertaking,[92] and the work in the harbor was pursued with such success that the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of January 28 reported:

> We are proud to say that through the prompt action of the city government and the energy and public spirit of the citizens, the channel of the harbor has been opened. The Steamship "America," which on last Sunday was frozen in her dock at a distance probably of seven miles from open water will sail today. At five o'clock last evening the workmen, beginning at the outer edge, had worked up to within a mile and

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[89] *Annals,* Harvard Observatory, XIX. 138. Much lower temperatures were recorded elsewhere in New England, the lowest, according to Perley, being 50 below in northern Vermont and 52 below at Bath, Maine. *Historic Storms,* 326, where a number of readings are given.

[90] *Boston Journal* and *Boston Evening Transcript,* January 26, 1857.

[91] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 26, 1857. On Sunday, January 25, many people went out on the ice, as in 1844, among them "several ladies" who "ventured out to share in the excitement of a pedestrian harbor excursion."

[92] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 26, 27, 1857. Samuel T. Frothingham, Jr., was the secretary of the meeting, and the other members of the committee were Charles H. Mills, H. K. Horton, Samuel F. Dana, E. D. Brigham, William B. Reynolds, George T. Lyman, Peter Butler, Jr., C. J. Morrill, S. R. Spalding, Henry S. Hallett, Otis Norcross, E. G. Farwell, C. G. Nazro, William Perkins, Edward S. Tobey, F. W. Thayer, Alfred Winsor, and Andrew Pierce, Jr.

> a quarter of the Cunard wharf, and the remaining distance will soon be accomplished.

It turned out, however, that this was too optimistic. When the steamer, with a crowd watching, tried to leave her dock that afternoon, it was found that the ice had not been removed sufficiently to enable her to back around and point her bow seaward, and she had to tie up again and did not get away until the following day.[93] Then her progress was slow because of the broken ice in the channel, which the *Enoch Train,* by passing back and forth in the way, helped her through. With this assistance she got clear. People gathered on the ice as on the day before, and some followed the steamer down the harbor. After she was clear, several vessels that lay below came up the channel, and the next day the steamer *Arabia* made her dock in the same manner.[94]

In *Ballou's Pictorial* of February 28, 1857, there is an article illustrated by a woodcut of a sketch by A. Hill entitled "British Mail Steamer Coming up Boston Harbor through the Ice."

> The sketch represents the Royal Mail Steamship America coming in through the channel-way. In the distance is seen the steamer Enoch Train, which did yeoman's service in keeping the channel open until Jack Frost redoubled his energies, and for a brief space put a stop to navigation. In the background are seen the gray bastions of the fort. Beyond the channel-way, a crowd of persons are descried upon the granite ice; while in the foreground are seen pedestrians unconcernedly strolling about, and fishermen at holes cut through the surface, busily pursuing their pleasure or avocation.

The remainder of the article, referring to a later time, tells in like style of booths improvised on the ice "where cigars and potables were dispensed," of visits made over the ice to all parts of the harbor, and of the "great achievement" in cutting the channel.

The greater publicity given the feat in 1844 and 1857 as compared with 1836 was due to circumstances that affected the interests and aroused the civic pride of the community. The people of Boston did not wish the Cunard Company to be discouraged in its purpose to make Boston a port of call, nor did they desire the city's rivals to be able to point out the port as one where vessels might be frozen in so that they could not get out. It is not difficult to appreciate the satisfaction of the people over the success of their efforts as expressed by the writer in *Ballou's Pictorial:* " There is nothing that Boston capital and Boston energy cannot accomplish when they choose."

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[93] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 29, 1857. It appears from an interview with Albert F. Newhouse in the *Boston Globe* of March 7, 1909, that some work was done on the channel during the night of the twenty-eighth. The picture published with his story, however, is of the *Britannia.*

[94] *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Boston Daily Atlas,* January 31, 1857. Hamilton A. Hill says he was a passenger on the *Arabia* at the time. *Memorial History of Boston,* IV. 226 *n.* This steamer was a handsome vessel of 3,900 tons, with two funnels and two masts, built about 1852, and the last of the wooden Cunarders. Parker and Bowen, *Mail and Passenger Steamships of the Nineteenth Century,* 13, and plate IV. There is a sketch of her also in *Gleason's Pictorial,* April 2, 1853.

In the inscription on the *Britannia* lithograph it is stated that the " canal " cut in the ice for the steamer was seven miles long; and the article on the *America* describes the opening that was made for her as " eight miles in length by its windings." A course of seven or eight miles from East Boston takes a vessel well through the narrows lying between Lovell's and Gallup's and George's Islands. There was ice in the narrows and in the outer waters of the harbor in both 1844 and 1857. Indeed, it is stated in one account that in 1844 the harbor froze " down to the lower light, a distance of about ten miles," and the same has been said of 1857.[95] But it does not follow that the ice had to be cut the entire distance.

It will be recalled that on the two previous occasions that have been mentioned when a channel was opened through the ice in the harbor, it was cut from Castle Island, which is about two and a half miles from the wharves. The suggestion made in connection with Captain Porter's scheme for an ice-breaker in 1836 was that the vessel would operate in freezing weather " from Charles River Bridge to South Boston Bridge and down as far as Fort Independence," [96] which is on Castle Island. And, while the force and means employed to release the Cunarders were more efficient than those used in the earlier years, it does not seem that it would have been possible to cut a channel of the length claimed, wide enough for a paddle-wheel steamer, in the short time that was devoted to the task.

The location of the outer edge of the firm ice, where the channels ended, is left uncertain in the accounts, except that it was *below* Castle Island, and it is difficult to reconcile some of the statements.

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[95] *Boston Journal,* February 1, 1844. Cf. *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 2, 1844. Albert F. Newhouse is quoted in the *Boston Globe* of March 7, 1909, as saying that the ice extended to Boston Light in 1857, but he gave the distance as only seven miles.

[96] *Boston Courier,* January 8, 1836.

There is a difference also in the stated widths of the channels. It appears from the contract made for the *Britannia* that the part from the Eastern Ferry to India Wharf, at least, was to be two hundred feet wide. The inscription on the picture of the steamer says that the channel cut for her was one hundred feet wide; the newspapers give widths of 125 and 150 feet; and the contract made for the *America* called for a channel seventy-five feet wide.[97] A like discrepancy exists concerning the thickness of the ice, the figures running from six to twelve inches in 1844, and to more than twelve inches in 1857.[98]

The accounts report, however, that in 1844 the men worked from both ends of the way, and that those at the inner end, where two lanes were to be cut, accomplished about a mile and a half the first day and met the others the second day.[99] In view of this and of information given the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (February 2, 1844) by a man who made a trip to Deer Island the day the work was started — that there was then nothing to prevent a vessel from coming into the harbor from Broad Sound "to within about two miles of Fort Independence" — and in view of the fact that the brig *North America,* previously thought to be in difficulty, was reported in the marine news to be anchored "southwest of Deer Island Point in a safe situation and in clear water" on the days when the work was done,[1] there is reason to believe that the ice which had to be cut extended little, if any, farther than the "middle ground" below the fort, or about four miles from the wharves.[2] The same may be said with respect to the channel cut in 1857.

There is no doubt that in the frigid winters referred to, the bays of the harbor and some of the waterways between the islands, as well as the inner harbor, froze solid, and that it was by walking across the bays and from island to island that feats such as those of Pilot Sullivan and Dr. Smith in 1836, of Boat-Keeper Berry in 1844, and of the excursionists in 1857 were accomplished. What interfered with navigation in the outer and wider spaces of the harbor was drifting cakes and floes of ice that had to be moved aside or broken up.

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[97] *Boston Courier, Boston Daily Advertiser,* and *Boston Daily Atlas,* February 3, 1844; *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 26, 1857.

[98] *Boston Journal* and *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 1, 1844; *Annals,* Harvard Observatory, XIX. 146; *Boston Journal,* January 27, 1857; *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 20, 1857; *Boston Evening Transcript,* January 26, 1857.

[99] *Boston Journal* and *Boston Evening Transcript,* February 1, 2, 1844.

[1] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 2, 1844; *Boston Daily Atlas,* February 3, 1844.

[2] The "Marine Journal" in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 5, 1844, states that the *Britannia* left her dock at 10:35 A.M. and at 11:40 "was in open water about 5 miles from the city."

February, 1857, was comparatively mild and a welcome relief from the weather of the previous month, but the winter was not over. On March 2 there came a severe northeast snowstorm that wrecked the ship *Delaware* on Toddy Rocks, off Telegraph Hill, the brig *Odessa* on Stony Beach, and the brig *Lorena* on Nantasket Beach,[3] making a total of eight wrecks during the winter.

The channel made for the *America* was the last that had to be cut to enable vessels to enter and leave the port of Boston. Ice has since formed in the harbor, as recently as in the winter of 1917–1918, though not so as to close the main channel.

The city had a scare in a severe cold spell early in January, 1859, the third in the decade of the 1850's. The first week of the month was mild, with the temperature the afternoon of Friday, the seventh, at about 47, and the wind from the south and southwest. Then, shortly after one o'clock the next morning, the wind changed to the west in a short and violent squall. From that time the thermometer dropped steadily, and after midnight Sunday, when the wind came strong from the north, fell rapidly until at sunrise on Monday, January 10, the mark of four below zero was reached in Boston and eight below at the observatory in Cambridge.[4] The cold continued throughout the day and ended with what the *Boston Daily Traveler* described as " a bitter cold night " with a temperature of twelve below zero.[5]

The harbor began to freeze, throwing up a vapor so dense that it seemed to be smoldering, and the city committee hired a small iron steamer, with the appropriate name *Wide Awake,* to break up the ice. The *America* was in port at the time, but, due to the ice-breaking operations and the moderation of the weather during the night of the eleventh, she was able to leave without difficulty at her appointed hour the next afternoon, and the city was saved the cost and experience of cutting her out again.[6]

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[3] *Publications,* Bostonian Society, 2nd Ser., II. 38, 39, 66. The crews of the brigs were able to get ashore, and that of the *Delaware* was rescued by Captain Joshua James and his volunteer lifesavers of Hull.

[4] *Boston Daily Traveler,* January 8, 10, 1859.

[5] *Ibid.,* January 11, 12, 1859. As was not unusual, lower temperatures than in Boston proper were recorded in adjacent places. The temperatures recorded at the Harvard Observatory (18 below on the eleventh) are in its *Annals,* XIX. 138.

[6] *Boston Daily Traveler,* January 10, 11, 12, 13, 1859. See also the " Marine Journal " in the *Boston Daily Advertiser,* January 12, 13, 1859.

Two years later there was another extraordinary cold wave, the account of which makes a fit ending for this chronicle of frigid winters. It came with a furious storm that swept the Atlantic coast in February, 1861, leaving a trail of damage all the way from Baltimore. Between 3 P.M. and 10 P.M. on Thursday, the seventh, the temperature as registered at the observatory fell from 40.5 above zero to 3 below zero, and by six the next morning, when the minimum was noted, it had reached 19 below. On February 8 the mean of the readings at the observatory was about twelve below zero, making the day perhaps the coldest of all "cold Fridays."[7] Yet, while the harbor filled with ice, the cold blast appears to have been too sudden and too brief to have occasioned any serious freezing of the waterways.

* * * * *

There is no way of telling how cold it was in the earliest years. The thermometer was then in the making, and it was a long time before one was developed with a satisfactory scale. Fahrenheit's instrument, with the scale that is now so familiar, was not produced until about 1714, and many years elapsed before it came into general use in this country[8] and before any systematic record of readings of the thermometer was kept here. Even when that time had come, one must take into consideration the fact that the minimum readings of the thermometer vary in every winter, dependent upon the circumstances in which they were taken, the position and accuracy of the instrument, and the effect of such other factors as the direction and velocity of the wind.

The determination of the coldest periods is, therefore, in many respects troublesome, and without some fixed or standard records of the weather accurate comparisons cannot be made. The only "official" records are those now kept by the Weather Bureau of the federal Department of Agriculture, but they were not begun until 1871, and before that time one must look to such other sources as have already been cited in the footnotes. Some of these records were made from readings taken at stated hours of the day, in the morning, early afternoon, and evening, a method likely to miss the true low for failure to include a reading in the coldest part of the day, which is usually before sunrise. The Weather Bureau, however, has recognized the records of the observatory as "semi-official" for the years previous to 1871.

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[7] The readings for Friday, February 8, at the observatory are printed in its *Annals,* XIX. 138. Newspapers reported a temperature of 26 below at East Boston and South Boston on that day. *Boston Post,* February 9, 1861.

[8] George F. Dow quotes from the *Boston Gazette* of May 21, 1754, an advertisement of "A Fahrenheit's Thermometer, graduated to boiling Water." *Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704–1775* (Topsfield, 1927), 114.

The Cambridge records run somewhat colder than those made in Boston. Jonathan Hall's readings for December 16, 1835, for example, are higher than Professor Farrar's; and the monthly means in Hall's register and in that of the Weather Bureau in the years they overlap the records of the observatory are higher than those in the latter. But each register shows the coldest periods in the years it covers, and by resort to them one can come to an approximation of the comparative severity of the periods.

The lowest reading on any day in the records is the nineteen below zero taken at the observatory on February 8, 1861. Comparable with it are others as follows:

Date	*Reading*	*Register*
February 8, 1861	19 below 6 A.M.	Harvard Observatory
	18 " 7 A.M.	
February 15, 1817	18 " 7 A.M.	Professor Farrar
January 11, 1859	18 " 2 A.M.	Harvard Observatory
	17 " 7 A.M.	
December 29, 1933	17 " 7 A.M.	Weather Bureau
	17 " 9 A.M.	
February 7, 1855	17½ " before sunrise	Harvard Observatory
	16 " at sunrise	
	16 " 7 A.M.	Jonathan P. Hall
January 23, 1857	16 " 7 A.M.	Harvard Observatory
January 24, 1857	16 " 7 A.M.	
December 16, 1835	5 " 7 A.M.	
	15 " 4 P.M.	Professor Farrar

Professor Farrar refers also to a reading of sixteen below in January, 1807 (day not stated) ,[9] and it is likely that the thermometer fell lower than fifteen below during the night of December 16, 1835.[10]

The coldest month in the records is January, 1857, when the mean temperature, as determined at the observatory, was 15.2 above zero, followed by January, 1844, with the mean, determined at the same place, of 15.4.[11] With respect to the coldest winter, it is stated in the *American Almanac for 1837* (176 *n*) that the mean temperature of the season of 1835–1836 was 21.34 above zero. The source of this figure is not given, but one can arrive at the means of the various winters by averaging the means of the winter months as given in the records. Determined in this way, Hall's mean for the winter of 1835–1836 is 23.77. At that, however, it is the coldest in his register, and he states that 1836 was the coldest year.[12]

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[9] *Boston Daily Advertiser,* February 18, 1817. See also the table in *Memoirs,* American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, III. 391.

[10] The communication to the *Franklin Mercury* quoted in the *Boston Courier* of February 19, 1836, referring to December 16, 1835, states that in Boston "it is said at 11 o'clock P.M. the mercury stood at 18 below zero." Cf. note 38, above.

[11] *Bulletin,* New England Section, Climatological Service of the Weather Bureau (January, 1904), 3.

To complete the comparison I averaged the monthly means of the winters in the records of Professors Webber and Farrar, of the observatory to 1871, and of the Weather Bureau from 1871 to and including the winter of 1932–1933, with the result that, if one accepts the figure in the *American Almanac for 1837,* the winter of 1835–1836 leads as the coldest of all, with others in the following order:

Winter	*Mean Temperature*	*Register*
1835–36	21.34	American Almanac
1867–68	21.73	Harvard Observatory
1790–91	22.00	Professor Webber
1855–56	22.10	Harvard Observatory
1843–44	22.30	Harvard Observatory
1864–65	22.80	Harvard Observatory
1816–17	22.98	Professor Farrar
1842–43	23.33	Harvard Observatory
1806–07	23.70	Professor Farrar
1851–52	23.70	Harvard Observatory
1808–09	23.73	Professor Farrar
1917–18	23.87	Weather Bureau
1856–57	24.27	Harvard Observatory
1854–55	24.33	Harvard Observatory
1903–04	24.40	Weather Bureau
1798–99	24.57	Professor Webber
1874–75	24.57	Weather Bureau
1848–49	24.60	Harvard Observatory
1853–54	24.60	Harvard Observatory
1811–12	24.70	Professor Farrar
1845–46	24.77	Harvard Observatory
1904–05	24.77	Weather Bureau
1872–73	24.87	Weather Bureau
1840–41	24.97	Harvard Observatory
1791–92	25.17	Professor Webber
1861–62	25.40	Harvard Observatory
1880–81	25.53	Weather Bureau
1919–20	25.77	Weather Bureau
1892–93	25.80	Weather Bureau
1906–07	25.90	Weather Bureau
1810–11	25.93	Professor Farrar
1859–60	25.97	Harvard Observatory
1866–67	26.00	Harvard Observatory
1863–64	26.03	Harvard Observatory

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[12] *Memoirs,* American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, VI. 230.

A surprising feature of this list is the standing of the winter of 1867–1868. Notable also is the number of extremely cold winters in the 1840's and 1850's. But what is perhaps of the most interest to us is the presence and position in the list of the winter of 1917–1918 and others in the present century.[13]

The winter of 1867–1868 is the coldest in the register of the observatory at Blue Hill in Milton, begun in 1885 and extended back to 1851 by adjustments with a record kept in the town.[14] Its severity is accounted for by three uniformly cold months, with the mean temperatures, as determined at the Harvard Observatory, of 23.1 for December, 22.0 for January, and 20.1 for February, whereas in some of the winters famous for their extremes one of the months raised the average for the season. The season of 1867–1868 may also be distinguished as one of many snowstorms. I have a letter written by my father, April 10, 1868, in which he said that they were " in the midst of a second winter," that there had been two big snowstorms that month, and that they were having another that day, " the forty-second of the season." (This last statement was probably made without any pretension of complete accuracy.) The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 11, 1868, states that the last storm brought five or six inches of snow and " was not regarded as one of the April showers having the effect to bring forth May flowers "; and my mother wrote that they were then having as fine sleighing as at any time during the winter.

The winter of 1917–1918 is the coldest in the register of the Weather Bureau, the official record for Boston. That winter is also memorable for its "heatless Mondays," enforced as a war measure to conserve fuel. The freezing of hydrants added to the menace of fire, and the frost struck so deep that fear was felt for the water and sewage systems of the city. I have been informed by Captain Thomas I. Kemp, a well-known Boston shipmaster, that one morning during the winter when he went down the harbor in a government tug to a vessel frozen in at President Roads, they had to break through ice firm enough to walk on all the way, the only time that he had seen the harbor frozen from shore to shore.

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[13] Hall's figures, though warmer, result in ranking the winters of the 1850's in the same order as in the list, excepting the winter of 1856–1857, which his register does not cover; but they differ materially as to the order of the winters in the 1840's, and are of further interest as showing the relative severity of winters of the 1830's and others not covered by the other registers.

[14] Table in *Annals*, Harvard Observatory, XLIII (II), 101, and information from the Blue Hill Observatory.

Because of modern improvements, some of the experiences of our ancestors are not now repeated. One suggested explanation of why the harbor no longer freezes so often or so extensively as related of earlier years is the deepening of the waterways that has since taken place and, especially, the frequent passage of powered vessels.[15] Whatever the answer, and whether or not our winters are growing milder, it can be agreed that the New England weather we have inherited, with its variations and extremes, continues to run true to form.

Judge Robert Grant read excerpts from his forthcoming autobiography.

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[15] Editorial in the *Boston Herald,* January 9, 1918.

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 8, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Eustis L. Hopkins of New York, a letter from Paul Revere to William Eustis, February 20, 1804, on behalf of Mrs. Deborah Gannett of Sharon, who, as Deborah Sampson, served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War in male attire; also two letters written by Lafayette to William Eustis, dated at La Grange, March 7, and September 18, 1816.

From Miss Annie Fuller of Cambridge, the last secretary and treasurer of the Industries League, the records and reports of the league, 1893–1922.

From Miss Agnes C. Storer of Newport, a collection of engravings, letters, and signatures of distinguished persons in this country.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the late Edwin T. Fearing of Newton, by bequest, a silver service given to Albert Fearing of Hingham by the Whigs in 1838 in recognition of his having served as chairman of the State Convention in that year.

Mr. WILLIAM L. LANGER read a paper entitled " Some Aspects of Late Victorian Imperialism."

ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL, 1934

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 12, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Sarah K. Burgess of Dedham, the papers of her grandfather, the Reverend Ebenezer Burgess, relating to the slave trade and Liberia, 1818–1828.

From Mrs. Ellen Parkman Vaughan, the journal of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough for December 21–31, 1742, and for the years 1749 and 1755. The Society already has his journals, in the Francis Parkman Papers, for the years 1771–1773, 1781, and 1782.

The chair announced the death of HAROLD MURDOCK, a Resident Member, on April 5, 1934.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. MORISON read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The diminished income from the Society's invested funds continues to limit our acquisitive and publishing activities. Even after a rigid curtailment of book purchases and publications, and the 10 per cent cut in all salaries instituted in January, 1933, an assessment on resident members had to be adopted in order to avoid a deficit. Although salaries consume a large proportion of the Society's income, no decrease in the number of the staff can be expected in view of the building the Society occupies and the obligations it has undertaken.

Three years ago the Society took active steps to discharge an obligation assumed over twenty years since in accepting the Sibley Fund. Dr. Clifford K. Shipton was appointed as a part-time member of the staff to prepare the continuation of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates.* During the past year the first visible fruits of this policy have appeared in the shape of Volume IV (the first published by the Society), covering the classes 1690–1700. The Harvard University Press, which published this volume for the Society, contributed a substantial part of the cost of printing. Dr. Shipton's work on the fifth volume (1701–1712) is well advanced, and the Council hopes to retain his services as Sibley editor indefinitely.

Mr. Stewart Mitchell, the Society's Editor, has charge of all other publications. He completed last December a much-needed *Handbook of the Publications and Photostats, 1792–1933,* an impressive summary of the Society's publications, with a synopsis of the contents of each volume, and information as to what volumes are in print. Separates of this *Handbook* were distributed to booksellers and to a limited list of libraries. Members will receive it as a part of Volume LXV of the *Proceedings.*

Although actually two volumes of the *House Journals* will appear in 1934, Volume XIV, covering the years 1736–1737, which is now being printed and bound, will carry the date 1933 on the title-page. Volume XV will be edited by Mr. Mitchell this spring.

Copy for the third volume of *Winthrop Papers,* covering the years 1631–1634, is not yet ready for the press. Additions to the Robert Charles Winthrop Fund will probably make it possible to publish this volume in 1935. Mr. Matteson reports substantial progress on the General Index which he is compiling to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings.*

Two additional and necessary publications will be prepared as soon as funds for printing them are in sight: a new edition of the Society's *By-Laws and List of Members,* the latest of which appeared in 1918; and a handbook of the Society's manuscripts. The Society owns one of the best manuscript collections on American history in the country; but except for the index to the Pickering Papers (6 *Collections,* VIII), published in 1896, it has done little to make the contents of this collection known to scholars.

Mr. Allyn B. Forbes went on half-time duty as assistant librarian on October 1, 1933, and is engaged in cataloging the Parkman Papers, a large and valuable collection of transcripts from French and other foreign archives given by the late Francis Parkman.

The Photostat Committee is continuing this valuable part of the Society's work. Last year the *Virginia Gazette* for 1774–1775 was delivered to subscribers, and early this year the first instalment of the *Boston Gazette,* covering the years 1719–1725, was issued. During the past year a new scale of prices was established for piece work. By this step it is hoped to make the photostat pay its own way, even after a fair share of the general expenses of the building is charged against its operation.

The time has come when the Society should exercise more discrimination in its acceptance of gifts. In the matter of books, manuscripts, paintings, and prints, almost anything is grist for our mill; of books and manuscripts, especially, we can never have too many, but there is no reason why we should be treated as a dumping-ground for supposedly historical relics and "antiques" which other institutions are glad to receive. The smaller ones are difficult to classify and preserve, the larger ones gather dust and take up space needed for books and manuscripts. Busts are a special problem. Ejected from the drawing-rooms where once they were fashionable, and the lawyers' offices to which they lent dignity, a procession of marble and plaster busts of departed worthies has sought a final resting place within the Society's portals. They meet the eye in every corner of the building. The Council has now adopted the policy of presenting these busts to such societies and schools as can be induced to receive them.

Occasionally valuable manuscripts which the Society has saved from dispersal or destruction have later been returned to the institution from which they originally came, or given to a society that seemed to have superior claims. The Hutchinson and Trumbull manuscripts are cases in point. This year a collection of eighteenth-century manuscripts from the town archives of Northampton, which the Society purchased for a small sum in New York some years ago, has been returned to the Northampton city archives on the request of the mayor and council.

Mr. Mitchell has recently made a survey of the Resident Membership and meetings of the Society during the last generation. From his report it appears that the proportion of professional historians and clergymen in the membership has changed places. The one class has increased from 4 to 16 per cent, and the other has sunk from 16 to 4 per cent. The proportion of Harvard graduates has remained constant: 65 per cent in 1900, and 64 per cent in 1930. The average attendance at meetings during the present season is as high as at any time in the past eighteen years. There is now, as always, a minority of the members who neither attend meetings nor take any part in any of the Society's activities.

The present prolonged crisis has accentuated conditions long existing in the Society. Our funds, facilities, and equipment are inadequate to do the work reasonably expected of the oldest historical society in America; or even properly to care for the treasures already in our hands. As long as the Society is organized like an eighteenth-century academy, we can not expect financial support from the public, but must look mainly to our own members. Membership is rightly considered an honor and a privilege; it also implies duties and obligations.

SAMUEL E. MORISON
For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

During the twelve months the Society spent $1,393.45 more than was available from current income, a practice that should certainly not be encouraged. After deductions, including amortization of bond premiums, the net return from investments was $36,033.82, a sum that compares with $36,442.46 a year ago, even though the amounts invested were greater by several thousand dollars. The aggregate amount added to capital under the terms that sequester certain of the funds was $6,056.90. The John Langdon Sibley Fund, now amounting to $242,749.27, carries an obligation that is not to be ignored, notwithstanding the Society's other services are on a restrained budget, and the shortened purse is reflected in an income rate of 4.6%. Looking forward to another year, it is difficult to see how the publication of material other than Sibley's "Harvard Graduates" and the House Journals can be favored while income is on the present low level. The Photostat deficit amounted to $1,703.54, comparing with $928.26 in 1933.

Royalties increased the Adams Fund by $157.73, but there were no gifts or legacies other than subscriptions by generous and interested members who contributed $975 to the Five Year Income Fund.

The Finance Committee advised the sale of certain securities that were less favorably regarded, and while the reserve for revaluation has been cut down from $61,397.00 to $42,546.72, the actual capital loss is $13,795.28; the $5,055 difference represents the reduction in the value of 400 shares of Pacific Mills stock to the cost figure, the book value of the investment having been raised as of

March 31, 1913, to correspond more nearly with the then market price. The list of bonds as it now stands is greatly improved, the current demand for coupon securities having lifted prices to a point where 95.1 is now the index figure. In other words, if all the Society's bonds were to be sold at present quotations the capital loss would be less than $20,000.

The Society's situation in respect to stocks, common and preferred, is not so favorable. Together they represent 53% of the Society's holdings, about 23% preferred and 30% common; and the ratio of market value to book value is expressed by 66. The index for bonds and stocks combined is 79.6. A few stocks, American Smelting, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, Boston & Providence Railroad, General Electric, United Fruit, Boston Insurance Company, and Second National Bank, show an appreciation over cost, but the remaining shares will have to await a fuller measure of recovery before the Society's investments can be placed on a firmer base.

Complete data are presented for the convenience of members who may wish to examine further into the Society's finances.

Acknowledgment is made to members of the Finance Committee for their care and patience.

G. G. Wolkins
Treasurer

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1934

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Company . . .	$ 933.43	
Petty Cash on hand at 1154 Boylston Street	200.00	$ 1,133.43
Investments — Bonds	$389,375.97	
Investments — Stocks	450,132.88	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,496.15	841,005.00
Real Estate		97,990.32
Deferred Charges: prepaid insurance	$ 1,172.93	
publications	3,779.75	
photostat material	143.20	
structural items	586.97	
postage	57.30	
items, 1932–1933, not yet transferred	1,093.42	6,833.57
Accounts Receivable: prior to Apr. 1, 1933	$ 360.70	
items for 1933–34	594.95	955.65
Gain and loss		13,926.78
		$961,844.75

Liabilities:

Funds — Principal (Ellis House Fund not included) . .	$786,626.83	
Funds — Income	19,359.51	$805,986.34
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street . . .		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve [1]		56,342.00
Accounts Payable		1,526.09
		$961,844.75

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1934

Schedule of Bonds

Government, State, and Municipal	*Book Value*	*Income 1933–1934*
Boston Metropolitan Dist. T. E. 4¾'s, 1962	$ 10,565.55	$ 522.50
New York City Corporation Stock 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼'s, 1933–38, not called . . .	10,117.43	425.00
U. S. Treasury 3¼'s, 1941 [2]	10,100.00	0
	$ 39,882.98	$ 1,397.50
Railroad		
Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5's, 1938	$ 10,075.00	$ 500.00
Boston & Maine Railroad registered 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. 4½'s, 1946	10,000.00	450.00
Chesapeake Corporation 5's, 1947	4,000.00	200.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co., 4¾'s, 1949	10,140.00	475.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 1935 . . .	4,807.87	250.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 1936 . . .	4,796.32	250.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948 . .	25,000.00	1,500.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad 1st 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co. 4¾'s, 1963	8,779.25	427.50
Pere Marquette Railway Co. 1st 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$118,123.44	$ 6,022.50
Public Utility		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. s. f. 5's, 1960 . . .	$ 9,807.50	$ 500.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1939	9,975.00	500.00
Central Georgia Power Co. 5's, 1938	9,950.00	500.00
Connecticut Power Co. 5's, 1963	8,640.00	450.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York 4½'s, 1951	10,063.00	450.00
Dedham Water Co. 5's, 1935	5,000.00	250.00
Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5's, 1935 . . .	22,390.82	0
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Home Telephone & Telegraph Co. of Spokane 5's, 1936	19,025.00	1,000.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n 6's, 1953	5,180.00	300.00
Massachusetts Gas Companies debs. 5's, 1955	7,840.00	400.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1950	4,987.50	250.00
Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 5½'s, 1952	9,800.00	550.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1937	9,565.00	500.00
Western Union Telegraph Co. 5's, 1937	8,716.53	500.00
	$150,340.35	$ 6,650.00
Carry forward	$308,346.77	$14,070.00

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[1] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

[2] Bought February 28–March 26, 1934, due May 1, 1935.

	Book Value	*Income 1933–1934*
Brought forward	$308,346.77	$14,070.00
Industrial		
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	9,919.44	500.00
Quincy Market C. S. & W. H. Co. 5½'s, 1946	10,000.00	550.00
Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5's, 1946	26,071.76	775.00
Warren Brothers Co. 5½'s, 1937	9,975.00	550.00
	$ 55,966.20	$ 2,375.00
Foreign		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$ 9,502.50	$ 600.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,560.50	900.00
	$ 25,063.00	$ 1,500.00
Total Bonds	$389,375.97 [3]	

Crucible Steel Co. of America 5's, 1940, sold November 29, 1933	$ 323.33
Boston Elevated Railway Co. 6's, 1942, sold January 15, 1934	450.00
American Sugar Refining Co. 6's, 1937, sold February 14, March 8, 1934	1,442.01
International Telephone & Telegraph Corp'n, 4½'s, 1952, sold December 12, 1933	412.50
International Paper Co. 5's, 1947, sold December 12, 1933	473.20
	$ 3,101.04
Total Income from Bonds	$21,046.04

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

	Railroad	*Book Value*	*Income 1933–34*
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co.	$ 15,800.00	$ 758.40 [4]
90	Boston & Maine Railroad prior preference	9,000.00	0
25	Boston & Maine Railroad "A" 1st	2,725.00	0
		$ 27,525.00	$ 758.40
	Public Utility		
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. Series A. cumulative	$ 880.00	$ 50.00
100	Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
300	Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100	Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	250.00 [5]
52	Puget Sound Power & Light Co.	5,460.00	0
700	Southern California Edison Co.	16,925.00	962.52
		$ 71,215.00	$3,512.52
	Industrial		
75	American Smelting & Refining Co.	$ 7,800.00	$ 318.75
50	American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
150	Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards	15,450.00	900.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
60	United States Steel Corporation	8,490.00	120.00
	Total Preferred Stocks	$ 61,077.25	$3,198.75
	Total Income from Preferred Stocks	$159,817.25 [6]	$7,469.67

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[3] The market value on March 31, 1934, was $370,801.25.

[4] Dividend increased during year.

[5] Dividend ceased July 1, 1933.

[6] The market value on March 31, 1934, was $106,890.75.

COMMON STOCKS

		Book Value	Income 1933–34
Railroad			
35	Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$ 7,315.00	$ 306.25
40	Boston & Providence R. R. Corporation	5,140.00	340.00
25	Old Colony Railroad Co.	4,200.00	175.00
375	Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	0
		$ 63,149.38	$ 821.25
Public Utility			
255	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$ 31,265.62	$2,295.00
100	Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	6,192.50	320.00
18	Detroit Edison Co.	1,525.50	72.00
60	New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	360.00
197	Western Massachusetts Companies	12,483.75	394.00
40	Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	0
		$ 61,974.87	$3,441.00
Industrial			
940	General Electric Co.	$ 16,156.88	$ 376.00
10	General Electric Co., special	0	6.00
200	Pacific Mills [7]	7,402.50	0
50	Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	150.00
263	United Fruit Co.	10,858.25	526.00
200	United States Steel Corporation	30,950.00	0
		$ 69,683.88	$1,058.00
157	Radio Corp'n of America [8]	0	0
Real Estate			
100	Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$ 11,775.00	$ 200.00
60	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125	Boston Wharf Company	13,800.00	375.00
5	State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	0
100	Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
		$ 51,075.00	$1,095.00
Banks and Insurance			
20	Boston Insurance Company	$ 6,600.00	$ 324.20
85	Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,360.00
200	Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
		$ 44,432.50	$2,484.20
	Total Common Stocks	$290,315.63 [9]	
	Total Stocks (common and preferred)	$450,132.88 [10]	
	Total Income from Common Stocks		$8,899.45

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1933			Bonds	$392,518.43	
			Stocks	462,590.38	$855,108.81
Bonds:					
Called, matured, or sold:					
$ 6,000 Crucible Steel Co. of America 5's, '40, @ 65	$ 3,881.88				
Loss	2,088.12	$ 5,970.00			
Carry forward		$ 5,970.00			$855,108.81

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[7] 200 shares sold January 20, 1934.

[8] Sold December 19, 1933.

[9] The market value on March 31, 1934, was $190,557.74.

[10] The market value on March 31, 1934, was $297,448.49.

Brought forward		$ 5,970.00		$855,108.81
10,000 Int. Tel. & Tel. Co. 4½'s, '52, @ 41½ @ 41¾ . .	$ 4,127.54			
Loss	5,554.96	9,682.50		
10,000 Int. Paper Co. 5's, '47, @ 55	$ 5,469.53			
Loss	4,300.47	9,770.00		
8,000 Boston Elevated Railway Co. 5's, '42 @ 77½	$ 6,196.80			
Loss	1,803.20	8,000.00		
28,000 American Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's, '37, @ 105¼ @ 106	$29,288.35			
Gain	187.89	29,100.46	$ 62,522.96	
Bought:				
15,000 American Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's '37		$15,643.96		
11,000 Standard Oil Co. of N. J. deb. 5's, '46		11,614.63		
22,000 Edison Elec. Ill'g Co. of Boston 5's, May 2, '35		22,586.25		
10,000 U. S. Treasury 3¼'s, '41		10,175.00	60,019.84	
Diminished book value through changes			$ 2,503.12	
Diminished book value through amortization			639.34[11]	
Total changes in book value of bonds			$ 3,142.46	
Stocks:				
Sold:				
157 shs. Radio Corp'n of America @ 8 .		$ 1,232.98		
Gain		1,232.98		
		0		
200 shs. Pacific Mills at 28½ @ 30 . . .		5,801.60		
Loss		1,600.90		
		7,402.50		
Revaluation of 400 shares		5,055.00[12]		
Total changes in book value of stocks			12,457.50	
				15,599.96
Balance, March 31, 1934		Bonds	$389,375.97	
		Stocks	450,132.88	$839,508.85

AMORTIZATION

$10,000	Boston & Albany Railroad 5's, '38	$ 25.00
10,000	Chicago & Northwestern R. R. Co. 4¾'s, 49	10.00
10,000	Consolidated Gas Co. of New York 4½'s, '51	4.00
5,000	Dedham Water Co. 5's, '35	12.50
5,000	Illinois Power & Light Corp'n 6's, '53	10.00
15,000	City of Winnipeg 6's, '46	56.00
	Carry forward	$117.50

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[11] See table under " Amortization."

[12] See footnote under " Gains and Losses."

Brought forward	$117.50
10,000 U. S. Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼'s, '33–'38	117.43
25,000 Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5's, '46	133.98
10,000 U. S. Treasury 3¼'s, '41	75.00
22,000 Edison Electric Illum. Co. of Boston 5's, '35	195.43
	$639.34

RECAPITULATION

		Book Value	Per Cent. Book Value	Market Value
Bonds		$389,375.97	46.4	$370,801.25
Preferred stocks	$159,817.25			
Common stocks	290,315.63	450,132.88	53.6	297,448.49
		$839,508.85		$668,249.74

Bonds, Market Value equals 95.19% of Book Value
Stocks, Market Value equals 66% of Book Value
Together, Bonds and Stocks, Market Value equals 79.6% of Book Value

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1934

	Book Value	Sales	Losses
Losses:			
Bonds:			
$ 6,000 Crucible Steel Co. of America 5's, 1940	$ 5,970.00	3,881.88	2,088.12
10,000 International Tel. & Tel. Co. 4½s, 1952	9,682.50	4,127.54	5,554.96
10,000 International Paper Co. 5's, 1947	9,770.00	5,469.53	4,300.47
8,000 Boston Elevated Railway Co. 5's, 1942	8,000.00	6,196.80	1,803.20
	$33,422.50	$19,675.75	$13,746.75
Stocks:			
200 sh. Pacific Mills	7,402.50[13]	5,801.60	1,600.90
	$40,825.00	$25,477.35	
Total Losses			$15,347.65

	Book Value	Sales	Gains
Gains:			
Bonds:			
$28,000 American Sugar Ref'g Co. 6's, 1937	$29,100.46	$29,288.35	$ 187.89
Stocks:			
157 shs. Radio Corporation of America	0	1,232.98	1,232.98
	$29,100.46	$30,521.33	
Total Gains			$ 1,420.87
Excess Losses over Gains (charged to " Gain and Loss ")			$13,926.78

FUNDS PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1934

Added:	Royalties	Income	
Adams	$157.73		$ 157.73
Anonymous		$ 758.36	758.36
Building Annex		2,477.86	2,477.86
Lodge		50.02	50.02
J. L. Sibley		2,770.66	2,770.66
	$157.73	$6,056.90	

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[13] After reducing book value to cost, the book value of 120 shares having been raised March 31, 1913, from $7,305.00 to $12,360.00, to correspond more nearly with the then market value.

Increase in Funds Principal	$ 6,214.63
Funds Principal, March 31, 1933	805,412.20
Funds Principal, March 31, 1934	$811,626.83

Receipts and Disbursements for the Year ended March 31, 1934

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$21,046.04	
Stocks, preferred	$ 7,469.67		
common	8,899.45	16,369.12	$37,415.16
Interest on bank balances, ceased July 31, 1933			4.15
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			975.00
Assessments, April 1, 1933			930.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			157.73
Securities sold, called, or matured, Bonds		$48,964.10	5,998.68
Stocks		7,034.58	55,998.68
Accounts collected, 1932–33 items			209.88
			$95,690.60
Cash on hand March 31, 1933			1,151.28
			$96,841.88

Disbursements:		
Net operating expenses: other than Photostat and Publications	$26,247.40	
Photostat	1,703.54	
Publications	$28,903.25	952.31
Deferred charges, prepaid items		5,740.15
Securities bought: Bonds	$60,019.84	
Stocks	0	60,019.84
Interest accrued on bonds bought		790.01
Accounts paid, 1932–1933 items		455.20
		$95,908.45
Cash on hand, March 31, 1934		933.43
		$96,841.88

Income Summary for the Year ended March 31, 1934

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$21,046.04	
Stocks, preferred	$7,469.67		
common	8,899.45	16,369.12	$37,415.16
Less:			
Interest accrued on bonds bought	$ 790.01		
Amortization of bond premiums	639.34		1,429.35
			$35,985.81
Interest on bank balances, ceased July 1, 1933			4.15
Interest credited by Savings Banks			43.86
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			975.00
Assessments, April 1, 1933			930.00
			$37,938.82

Deductions:		
Added to cumulative funds:		
Anonymous Centenary	$ 758.36	
Building Annex	2,477.86	
Lodge	50.02	
J. L. Sibley	2,770.66	6,056.90
Current Income available for operating expenses, including 1933–1934 subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund		$31,881.92
Five Year Income Fund, 1932–33 balance		1,368.03
		$33,249.95
Operating Expenses (net) charged to Funds Income:		
Other than Photostat and Publications	$26,247.40	
Photostat	1,703.54	
Publications	952.31	28,903.25
Current Income available for prepaid items — "Deferred Charges"		$ 4,346.70
"Deferred Charges" — prepaid items 1933–34		5,740.15
Excess of total charges over available current income		$ 1,393.45

NET OPERATING EXPENSES OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS" FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1934

Bindery:			
Salary	$1,337.16		
Supplies	48.87	$ 1,386.03	
Less credits, sales and refunds		23.85	$ 1,362.18
Building:			
Cleaning:			
Janitor, H. C. Fuller, substitutes, etc.	$1,577.04		
Labor, H. C. Fuller	300.00		
Supplies, sundries	17.76		
Towels, windows, floors	123.26	$ 2,018.06	
Electricity for elevator and light		245.71	
Elevator	$ 211.79		
Less debits to "Accounts Payable"	60.10	151.69	
Furnishings, care, replacement		265.22	
Grounds, care, etc.		79.77	
Heating:			
Cone for gas heater	$ 0.40		
Contract	1,100.00		
Firewood	11.00		
Gas for heating water	22.39		
Special units for stack room	665.00		
	$1,798.79		
Less debits to "Deferred Charges"	443.33	1,355.46	
Insurance:			
Fire, building and contents	$ 494.00		
General liability, compensation	72.92	566.92	
Structural repairs:	$ 215.46		
Less debits to "Deferred Charges"	143.64	71.82	
Telephone		202.85	
Water		23.46	
		$ 4,980.96	
Less prepaid insurance		1,172.93	3,808.03
Carry forward			$5,170.21

Brought forward		$5,170.21
Cabinet		112.58
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant		7,860.00
Engrossing: diplomas		6.00
Fares		13.05
Legal expense, J. M. Wilbur case		60.00
Library:		
Binding	$ 66.25	
Librarian and staff	10,230.00	
Purchases:		
Books, serials, etc.	1,005.66	
Shipping, net amount	32.17	
Supplies, net amount	298.40	11,632.48
Meetings		121.88
Postage, net amount		113.09
Stationery		73.79
Subscriptions:		
Bay State Historical League	$ 2.00	
Writings on American History	50.00	52.00
Treasurer:		
Accounting	$600.00	
Audit, April, 1933	55.45	
Printing assessment notices	11.50	
State Street Trust Co., agency fees	200.80	
Sundry supplies, postage, etc.	112.07	
Surety bond premium	25.00	
Typing, annual report, etc.	27.50	1,032.32
Total Net Operating Expenses, other than "Photostat" and "Publications"		$26,247.40

PHOTOSTAT
NET CASH OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1934

Binding		$ 398.50
Cleaning		91.80
Collection charges		.50
Electricity		245.70
Gas for heater		89.68
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,400.00
Purchases:		
Chemicals	$ 122.94	
Negatives	10.85	
Sensitized paper, etc.	2,150.41	
Sundry supplies	34.93	
	$2,319.13	
Less debits to "Deferred Charges"	$ 143.20	2,175.93
Repairs and replacement		20.29
Shipping		34.32
Water		70.38
		$5,527.10
Less credits, so far as collected		3,823.56
Net cash debits		$1,703.54

PUBLICATIONS
NET CASH OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1934

House Journals, xiv (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income)			
Photostat negatives		$ 175.95	
Less credits to Photostat		175.95	$ 0
Deduct sales, House Journals			— 27.00
Issues bought for stock: 5 Collections, 1			5.00
Proceedings, 65:			
Handbook of Publications, issued as separate			153.40
			$ 131.40
Composition, etc., of Handbook, so far as considered a part of Proceedings, 65	$1,134.69		
Less credits to " Accounts Payable "	1,134.69	0	
Contra:			
Composition, etc., of Handbook, etc.,		1,134.69	
Deduct sales applicable:			
Collected, sundries,	$ 54.43		
Handbook	36.00		
Adjustment, H. Stevens, Son, & Stiles	53.50		
	$ 144.03		
Uncollected to " Accounts Receivable "	1.00	145.03	
Deduct net cost debited to " Deferred Charges," as prepaid item			989.66
Deduct cash sales, as above:			$—858.26
sundries		54.43	
Handbook		36.00	90.43
			$—948.69
Proceedings index, Vols. 41–60:			
Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue for use of indexer			5.00
			$—943.69
Sibley's " Harvard Graduates," iv (completed):			
Portion of manufactured cost		$1,900.00	
Cartons and mailing		54.00	1,954.00
			$1,010.31
Sibley's " Harvard Graduates," v et seq.:			
Editor (half-time)			
C. K. Shipton		$1,680.00	
Travel		11.51	
Negatives and prints		65.01	
Searching:			
D. McKillop	$ 122.00		
D. B. Shipton	413.17		
D. Meany	484.50	1,019.67	
Supplies:			
Filing cases	$ 2.26		
Index cards	1.13		
Copy of Sibley, iv	5.08	8.47	
Carry forward		$2,784.66	$1,010.31

Brought forward	$2,784.66	$1,010.31
Typing	5.43	
	$2,790.09	
Deduct as prepaid item, "Deferred Charges"	2,790,09	0
Winthrop Papers, III:		
Photostat negatives	$ 36.15	
Less credits to Photostat	36.15	0
		$1,010.31
Deduct cash sales, Winthrop Papers		58.00
Net cash outlay		$ 952.31

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

JOHN WOODBURY
ALLAN FORBES
Committee

April 12, 1934

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 11, 1934

MESSRS. JOHN WOODBURY AND ALLAN FORBES
Examining Committee

Gentlemen:

At your request, I have made an audit of the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1934.

I find that all payments have been posted and are supported by proper vouchers, and receipts entered and deposited in the bank account. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING
Auditor

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME
March 31, 1934

	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1933	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1934	Funds Principal
Adams		$ 2,008.64	$ 2,008.64		$ 43,651.93
Amory		138.54	138.54		3,000.00
Appleton		563.56	563.56		12,203.00
Assessments		930.00	930.00		
Bigelow		92.36	92.36		2,000.00
Billings		461.82	461.82		10,000.00
Boit	$ 3,417.01	230.91		$ 3,647.92	5,000.00
Brattle Street	108.31	6.29		114.60	100.00
Chamberlain		56.91	56.91		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,309.08	2,183.33	125.75	50,000.00
Dowse		461.82	461.82		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	3,611.93	1,154.53	175.95	4,617.51	25,000.00
Ellis		1,462.42	1,462.42		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		230.91	230.91		5,000.00
Five Year Income	1,368.03	975.00	2,343.03		
Frothingham		138.54	138.54		3,000.00
General		2,679.16	4,295.42	−1,616.26	58,013.66
Hunnewell	6,613.79	230.91		6,844.70	5,000.00
Lawrence		138.54	138.54		3,000.00
Lodge		200.54	200.54		5,475.50
Lowell		138.54	138.54		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs	11.03	92.36	103.39		2,000.00
Mass. Historical Trust		461.82	461.82		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		461.82	461.82		10,000.00
Parker	243.98	37.57		281.55	1,000.00
Peabody	−1,456.78	1,021.68		−435.10	22,123.00
Salisbury		230.91	230.91		5,000.00
Savage	510.46	277.09	988.90	−201.35	6,000.00
Schouler		131.62	131.62		2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		230.91	230.91		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,039.53	1,039.53		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	1,532.81	8,311.96	8,864.56	−1,019.51	242,749.27
Slafter		46.18	46.18		1,000.00
Smith		692.73	692.73		15,000.00
Warren		46.18	46.18		1,000.00
Washburn		115.45	115.45		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,444.11	230.91	175.87	3,499.15	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	1,351.97	461.82		1,813.79	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	1,981.10	461.82	163.40	2,279.52	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−2,339.66	178.96		−2,160.70	3,875.14
Frederic Winthrop		1,154.54		1,154.54	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	−301.19	692.74	36.15	413.40	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		554.19	554.19		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		109.20	109.20		2,364.66
William Winthrop		230.91	230.91		5,000.00
	$20,096.90	$31,881.92	$30,704.59	$19,359.51	$738,314.63
Anonymous Centenary		758.36[14]			17,179.79
Building Annex		2,477.86[14]			56,132.41
Lodge		50.02[14]			
J. L. Sibley		2,770.66[14]			
		$37,938.82			$811,626.83

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[14] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

Report of the Librarian

During the past year 2,155 printed pieces have been given to the Library, and 272 items have been bought. The manuscript collection has steadily received rich accessions; and the number of photostats added gives the Society valuable material. It is probable that there are now on our shelves a quarter of a million titles. Fifty years ago at the annual meeting the estimate, including bound manuscripts, was under one hundred thousand. Much remains to be done to improve the housing conditions of our priceless collection of manuscripts and printed material. Untiring efforts are constantly in mind, with our limited space and means at hand, to make the most practical arrangement of our treasures which will protect them and enable the staff to give prompt service to members and others who may desire to use them. Forbearance has been shown and welcomed when difficulties sometimes are encountered.

With the instalment of two new heating units in the large room on the third floor and the closing of the old indirect ducts, an improvement has been made in the warmth and cleanliness of the room. The remainder of the indirect heating system in the building could also be improved in the same way and give a prospect of cleaner conditions in the care of the manuscripts and books.

The Society's monumental collection of Winthrop family papers, 1498–1905, including Governor John Winthrop's Journal, the finest source material on American history, was bequeathed to the Society in 1905 by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and received further additions from his widow. Now their daughter, Miss Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, Massachusetts, has given substantially the remainder of the family papers, which, with about twenty portraits, the large bowl and the Adam Winthrop Bible which Governor Winthrop brought with him in the *Arbella,* and other important relics, make up the outstanding gift of the year. Another notable accession, which came out of its long resting place in an old farm house in Walpole, New Hampshire, is the large and valuable collection of the papers of the late Reverend Henry Whitney Bellows, and of members of his family, 1831–1907, covering the anti-slavery period, the Civil War period, during which Dr. Bellows rendered distinguished service to the country as head of the United States Sanitary Commission, and the later period of his ministry. These were received from his children, Robert P. Bellows and Mrs. Ellen Bellows Endicott of Boston.

The library has been able to supply valuable material for research work to a large number of students from widely scattered parts of the country. Some of their subjects were: influence of the clergy on the American Revolution; Horace Mann's influence in school planning; politics in colonial New York; Herman Melville and family of Chief Justice Shaw; economic history of Massachusetts; anti-slavery sentiment in American literature before 1800; colonial poetry; Massachusetts academies before 1830; early shipping in New England; glass making; lead poisoning from lead worms in liquor; Brook Farm and its place in American history; seventeenth-century printers; the basis of support for John Adams in the Federalist party; social classes in the seventeenth century in New England; and early epidemics. Every facility possible has been given to investigators, with a good degree of successful results. During the year fully twelve hundred persons have used the library in this way, and requests for material, both manuscript and printed, are constant and persistent. The Society is under obligation to respond to all reasonable inquiries, for its existence is based upon its service to the public as a charitable corporation. The problem of moving large numbers of heavy volumes for such use and then returning them to their places on the shelves is no small task and consumes much time. It is safe to say that each of three members of the staff, who closely follow this work, is often called upon to do the work of two persons, while other necessary demands have to await attention. To all this must be added the many calls on the telephone, most of them inquiries of a similar nature, and an extensive correspondence. Meantime, gifts of large size, and even the smaller ones, have to await a breathing space for examination, entry, arrangement, cataloguing, treatment, and placing on shelves — if perchance there happens to be a suitable vacant space. Overcrowding in our small work-room makes recourse to Ellis Hall necessary, especially if a typewriter is used. There, as elsewhere, it is necessary, under our by-laws, to have one assistant present constantly to oversee the use of the material. Is it any wonder that our catalogue awaits other active hands to help complete our task? Our drudgery work falls all too heavily on the head of the staff, who should be in a position to take time for a broader outlook for the highest service of the Society.

The bindery and the photostat departments are doing excellent work in aiding the Library. Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, who became a member of the staff on October 1, 1933, has been making a thorough catalogue of the Francis Parkman Papers, which is now nearing completion. The catalogue of the Jefferson Papers is proceeding as rapidly as possible. Work in the duplicate room is still in process. The instalment of the second tall stack of shelves gives more space for the placing of books and pamphlets now on the floor.

This occasion gives me an opportunity to bring to the members a realizing sense of the service which your staff is heartily trying to render, often in very difficult conditions. An expression of appreciation is due to my assistants for their untiring and devoted efforts. It is hoped that the library of the future will be able to maintain a high standard of service.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

During the past year there have been added to the coin collection fifty-nine coins and medals, including ten of Massachusetts, and thirty pieces of scrip issued during the financial flurry of 1933.

The Cabinet has received twenty engravings, seventy-eight photographs, nineteen half-tones, photostats, and lithographs. Chief among the accessions is the coffee-urn given by Mrs. Gamaliel Bradford, made by Paul Revere for Samuel Parkman to commemorate the gallant defence by Captain Gamaliel Bradford, 3rd, of the ship *Industry* on July 8, 1800, when attacked by four French privateers in the Straits of Gibraltar, and given by Mr. Parkman to Captain Bradford. Next in interest is the painting by Miss Mary Neal Richardson of a view in the library of the late Robert C. Waterston in West Chester Square, and bequeathed by Mr. Waterston to Miss Richardson, who has given it to the Society. It now hangs in our Waterston Room.

The beginning of an exhibit of Lafayette memorabilia to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of his death in May, 1834, is already under way.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

PRESIDENT

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

VICE-PRESIDENTS

HENRY LEFAVOUR
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

RECORDING SECRETARY

FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

TREASURER

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

LIBRARIAN

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

CABINET-KEEPER

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL

CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM
GEORGE READ NUTTER
HENRY WILDER FOOTE
JOHN WOODBURY
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read a paper entitled " The Practical Aspect of the Eighteenth Article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights."

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 10, 1934, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Helen C. McCleary of Brookline, additional papers of her father, Samuel Foster McCleary, relating to the Harvard Class of 1841 and to its fiftieth anniversary.

From William P. Brennan of Boston, an account-book kept at Windham, Connecticut, 1813–1816.

From Mrs. Edwin A. Daniels of Boston, a collection of letters written by Colonel Lewis Benedict to Mrs. E. I. LeFavor of Medway, 1861–1864.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, by deposit, papers of the Harvard Class of 1875, filed by the late LeBaron Russell Briggs.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From JULIUS H. TUTTLE, a lithograph of the "First Martyrs," Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, Addison D. Whitney, Luther C. Ladd, and Sumner Henry Needham.

From the Oregon Mutual Life Insurance Company, Portland, Oregon, the medal struck to commemorate its Silver Jubilee in 1931.

The chair announced the death of LEBARON RUSSELL BRIGGS, a Resident Member, on April 24, 1934.

Dr. Harvey Cushing of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman;* GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, ALLAN FORBES, and FRANCIS R. HART.

House: JOHN WOODBURY, *Chairman;* ALLEN FRENCH and JOHN W. FARLOW.

Library: CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Chairman;* DANIEL B. UPDIKE and HENRY W. FOOTE.

Meetings: STEWART MITCHELL, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART and M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM and STEWART MITCHELL.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman;* LAWRENCE S. MAYO, FRANCIS R. HART, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, and STEWART MITCHELL.

The chair read the following resolutions adopted by the Council on the occasion of the resignation of JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE as Librarian:

On May 1, 1934, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Librarian of this Society for the past fifteen years, presented his resignation to President Endicott. In accepting that resignation, the Council desire not only to express their regret, but to state their appreciation of the high character as well as the great length of his service to the Society.

No member who has ever made use of the facilities of the Library will need to be reminded of Mr. Tuttle's unfailing courtesy and helpfulness. Only our senior associate, Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., can remember Mr. Tuttle's coming into the service of this Society on January 21, 1878, when he was not yet twenty-one years old. To all other members our Librarian has seemed an inseparable part of this institution. During those fifty-six years Mr. Tuttle has seen the issue of thirty-four volumes of the Society's *Collections,* an equal number of its special publications, and no less than fifty volumes of its *Proceedings.* He was already a veteran in the office of Assistant Librarian when the Society moved into this building in 1899. In December, 1915, he was elected a Resident Member, three years before his predecessor, Dr. Samuel A. Green, completed his half-century of service as Librarian. Working with whatever means the Society could afford at the time, Mr. Tuttle has been compelled to shoulder responsibilities from which a larger staff would have spared him. Thus his brain is still the best catalog of the manuscripts the Society possesses.

Mr. Tuttle's influence has extended far beyond the bounds of the Massachusetts Historical Society: thousands of students and historians all over the country are indebted to him for his kindly assistance in their researches and his generosity in placing at their disposal his wide knowledge of colonial history, genealogy, and bibliography. From first to last during fifty-six years, Julius Herbert Tuttle has always been prompt, willing, considerate, and, above all things, faithful.

The Cabinet-Keeper called attention to the Society's exhibit in memory of Lafayette on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of his death on May 20, 1834. This exhibit included, in addition to many things owned by the Society, loans from Mr. Norcross, the Bostonian Society, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, Mr. Allan Forbes, and Mr. Lawrence W. Jenkins.

Captain THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM presented a paper entitled " Lafayette, the Friend of Americans."

The meeting then adjourned to the Waterston Room, where members of the Society and their guests, both ladies and gentlemen, were received at tea by Mrs. Merriman and Mrs. Morison.

HENRY PICKERING WALCOTT · A MEMOIR

BY

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL

IT is commonly said that poets are born, but that wisdom comes from unconscious integration of a long series of experiences. But Dr. Walcott must have been born wise; and, since none of his schoolfellows or college classmates survive to gainsay, we may safely assert it from what we know of him in later life. In fact, the rapidity with which his sagacity impressed itself upon his colleagues on the State Boards to which he belonged is evidence that it was innate. Unfortunately, even for a brief memoir, he left no written reminiscences, memoranda, or letters from which anything not obvious in his earlier life can be gleaned.

Henry Pickering Walcott was born in Hopkinton on December 23, 1838, the son of Samuel Baker and Martha Pickman Walcott. His parents had moved there on account of his father's health, but returned to Salem when the boy Henry was six years old, on the death of his mother's father, Benjamin Pickman. In fact, they were of the oldest stock in the town, for Jonathan Walcott was a resident of Salem as early as 1662, and Nathaniel Pickman had settled there about 1635. Here Dr. Walcott spent his boyhood and formed his early associations. Among other boys at school he remembered Frederick Townsend Ward, afterwards captain of the *Flying Cloud,* the organizer and first commander of the Ever-Victorious Army in the Tai Ping rebellion.

From Harvard College he graduated in 1858; then studied medicine, chiefly with Doctors Morrill and Jeffries Wyman, and at Bowdoin, where he took his doctor's degree in 1861. He continued his medical studies in Europe, where he was shocked by the brutality of the doctors in the hospital in Vienna. Returning in November, 1862, he began at Cambridge — at first as assistant to Dr. Morrill Wyman, his lifelong friend — a practice which he continued until 1881, save for another year in Europe in 1865–1866. That was just after his marriage, on May 21, 1865, to Charlotte E. Richards. She died in 1878, and the pain remained throughout his life.

Henry P. Walcott

[illegible]

At this time his interest was evidently turning toward public hygiene, for in 1878 he became city physician and a member of the Board of Health of Cambridge, positions that he held long. Two years later he was appointed health officer of the State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity, and this marks his entrance into the field in which he was to do his great public service. That particular office he held, indeed, only two years, but there followed an appointment as a member of the board's committee on health. The organization, however, covered too many distinct fields, and no doubt he felt encumbered by its unwieldy nature, for after a year he resigned. But when a separate board of health was re-established in 1886, he was appointed a member, and at once elected chairman.

The board was called upon at the outset to consider a number of large and complex subjects; and, in fact, before it was created, a commission had already been at work on the drainage, or rather sewage, of the valleys of the Mystic, Blackstone, and Charles Rivers, the essential part of whose report — written, it is said, by Dr. Walcott — laid the foundation of much that was to come. There followed many other great engineering and sanitary reports on the disposal of sewage, the purification of streams, the improvement of the Neponset meadows and of the Charles River Basin; and, finally, on the great question of an enlarged and permanent water supply for the Boston area. This last was afterwards carried out by the Metropolitan Water Board, of which he was the chairman. As a combination of large foresight, administrative efficiency, and economy, the reservoir with its dam at Clinton was amazing, and perhaps the achievement in which he took the greatest satisfaction.

The reports of the Board of Health of a general nature were mainly written by him, and they are models of clearness, precision, and compact, comprehensive grasp. The more highly technical reports were naturally made by others; but the members of the board and the experts they employed were like a band of brothers working harmoniously under the lead of their chief.

While he will be best known hereafter as a pioneer in public health, his interest and usefulness covered many other things. Flowers and trees, for example, were a never-failing source of pleasure and of labor; and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society will not forget that he was its president and the winner of its prizes for seedling chrysanthemums. To the Massachusetts General Hospital, also, he devoted much time as a trustee and as president, violating as few men could do the principle that an expert should not be set to supervise other experts not his own subordinates. But, in fact, he had too broad and clear an understanding of the functions of oversight and expert responsibility to confuse the two.

Of his services as a member of the Harvard Corporation I can speak with more personal knowledge because half of Dr. Walcott's long tenure of the position was after 1909. How well I remember his coming to my house to tell me of my selection by the Corporation; and when I said I wanted to make changes, he replied that was what they had hoped. He knew more about the university, its history, management, and personnel than any other member of the governing boards. In fact, he had been acting president some years before during the absence of President Eliot, when he delighted some, at least, of the faculty by the speed with which he dispatched business. But it was when asked to the office on delicate, confidential questions that the correctness of his judgment was the clearest. Always sympathetic, helpful, and singularly wise, his counsel gave a sense of security on which one could act with confidence and never with regret.

With a striking personality, he was strangely impersonal. Immersed in the large matters that filled his time, he never seemed to think about himself, for he was by nature modest, and he knew by intuition that one can not seek both to achieve a great result and to get the credit for it. When, after his retirement from the Corporation, it was my privilege to confer upon him an honorary degree, saying, without exaggeration, that he was the greatest public servant the Commonwealth had ever known, I heard him murmur "Too much!" — an unusual remark by the recipient on such occasions.

Quite capable of being infuriated by wrong, of expressing himself very strongly when he felt the need of it, and abundantly able to hold his own in any company, he was extremely fair-minded and temperate in his statements, and so impressed people. They were continually coming to him in Cambridge to arbitrate different points of view or to attempt to compose personal matters in and out of the Harvard faculty, and he was usually able to bring the parties to a common understanding. In the eighties and nineties there was probably no better-known figure in Cambridge than "the Doctor." At the State House, while courteous to the most blatant demagogues in the legislature, he never let any of them impair the administration of his department; and there, as in Cambridge, he ever inspired a feeling of the greatest confidence in the most dissimilar groups of people. They were continually appealing to him from other officials in the Board of Health or the Water Department, saying: " We must see the Doctor himself — he will understand what we want, and give us a square deal." Any note of self-advertisement or superciliousness or snobbishness or insolence excited his contempt, because his own manner was precisely the same when speaking to his cook as when talking with the governor. He was truly an extraordinary character — very strong, with the self-control of the best of the Romans, and at the same time with a tenderness and affection one hardly expected with it.

Sometimes a memoir of another man contains a touch of autobiography, for it shows the qualities which the writer considers precious; and that seems to be true of Doctor Walcott's beautiful address at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1912, on his constant friend, Alexander Agassiz. Although both men of science, their realms were quite diverse. Yet they were both called upon to deal with large practical affairs; and while in some ways unlike in temperament, one can see much in Doctor Walcott's eulogy that could well be applied to himself.

Though he was delicate in youth and not at college most of his junior year, the vitality that made possible his large work in life preserved the keenness of his mind more than ninety years, the oldest living graduate of the college. Heir of the sturdy traditions of his Puritan forebears, he sat in his chair, blind, hoping for the end but never betraying it, with a memory fresh and an interest active in what was happening. In those days it was a delight to hear him tell of things and men forgotten and buried long ago, but as vivid in his words as though it were but yesterday; until on November 11, 1932, when almost ninety-four years of age, he was released.

He rests from his labors, and his works will long remain. Yet he would himself have said that the truest recompense is not that people should remember what a man has done, but that they should benefit thereby.

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 14, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions: —

From Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall and family, the fragments of the rare Harvard College *Catalogus* of 1700, consisting of many small triangular pieces which had been used to line a brocaded patchwork quilt thought to have been made by Sarah, wife of Governor John Leverett.

From MATT B. JONES, a writ of attachment issued by the Bristol County Inferior Court of Common Pleas, March 26, 1697, in the case of Ezra Dean, treasurer of Taunton, *vs.* John Smith, bearing a nearly complete wax seal of the court.

From DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, the manuscript of "The Wedding Journey of Charles and Martha Babcock Amory, 1833–1834."

From Miss Rose P. Sears of Chicago, some Civil War papers of her father, Captain Peter C. Sears of New Bedford, 1863–1864.

From VICTOR H. PALTSITS, a letter written from Paris by Robert C. Winthrop to Alexander Vattemare, May 31, 1860.

The chair announced the death of FREDERICK SCOTT OLIVER, a Corresponding Member, on June 4, 1934.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from HARVEY CUSHING accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Society elected as Resident Members George Edward Cabot of Boston and Allyn Bailey Forbes of Cambridge.

The chair reported the vote of the Council that on the retirement of Mr. TUTTLE from the Librarianship on September 1, 1934, he be given the title of "Librarian, *Emeritus*."

Mr. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd, read a paper on

THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONERS AT WASHINGTON IN 1871

At the first conference of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission of 1871 it was agreed that no detailed account of the proceedings should be given in the protocols which were to be submitted to the Senate and to Parliament at the close of the negotiations. The British commissioners pledged that the lengthy reports of each meeting which they transmitted to the Foreign Office should be kept secret; and the daily protocols were reduced to a bare record of the fact that the commissioners had met, approved the protocol of the previous conference, considered the matters referred to them, and adjourned. Lord De Grey, the head of the British delegation, warned Lord Granville, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, that the commissioners'

> . . . despatches marked "secret" ought never to see the light; even in the event of a failure and an attack on our proceedings they ought not to be produced; as the understanding with the United States Commissioners is that nothing but the Protocols, which as you will see are of the barest kind, and the final arrangement, if one is come to, is to be published. We derive great advantage from this arrangement, as there is no bunkum talking, and many unpleasant things are left unsaid or not pressed, which if our proceedings were likely ever to come out would be inevitable.[1]

When Granville complained that this understanding would render the task of making up a satisfactory statement to be laid before Parliament extremely difficult, especially if the negotiations broke down, De Grey defended himself vigorously. The British commissioners were all convinced that there would have been no hope of a successful conclusion if a different procedure had been adopted. The Americans, he declared, would have talked all day long, would have quarreled over every protocol, and the High Commission would have collapsed within a fortnight. Lord Tenterden, the secretary to the British delegation, added that Secretary of State Fish and Bancroft Davis, assistant secretary, had

> . . . told us plainly that if the proceedings were to be formally recorded day by day in protocol they would be obliged to put in statements and make "bunkum" speeches to please the American public as the protocols must be laid before the Senate. . . . If we disagree, each side is to put in its statement and counter statement of reasons as was done at the Treaty of Ghent. No one who has not heard them can believe the way in which they "gas" as it is. . . . At first they were always trying to make little hits about the Trent affair and sympathy with the rebels and the like but finding that we went on never minding have come to discuss matters in a more business like way. I am confident that we never could have got on at all with a system of arguments for the public edification. On our side we must have rejoined to their statements of international law which Bernard could

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[1] De Grey to Granville, March 7, 1871, Public Record Office, Gifts and Deposits (hereafter cited as G.D.), 29/63; British High Commissioners to Granville, March 4, F.O. 5/1300.

never have allowed to pass unquestioned and Macdonald would have been obliged also to talk his Canadian " bunkum " to please the Dominion. I have very little doubt that we should have got the best of it but what I understood you to wish was that we should try and settle matters rather than aim at clever speeches and an irritating verbal and written tournament.[2]

On May 4, when the treaty was being prepared for signature, Tenterden and Bancroft Davis, as joint protocolists, produced a statement summarizing the negotiations which fills seven pages in a British Blue Book.[3] This meager official narrative, never satisfactory to historians, has since been supplemented by material drawn from the papers of Hamilton Fish and John Chandler Bancroft Davis, which appeared in the accounts of the negotiations published by Davis, John Bassett Moore, and Charles Francis Adams. Of the British manuscript material concerning the negotiations, fragments were published by the biographers of Gladstone, Granville, Forster, De Grey, and Northcote, and a considerable selection of Macdonald's correspondence was printed in Pope's life of the Canadian statesman.

A large amount of unpublished British material on the work of the Joint High Commission is preserved in the Public Record Office in the Foreign Office papers; and in the private papers of Lord Granville, which were opened to investigators last year. They include the secret dispatches recording each conference, the official private telegrams exchanged by the commissioners and the foreign secretary; the private letters from the commissioners and Lord Tenterden to Lord Granville; memoranda and drafts prepared at the Foreign Office; opinions of the law officers of the Crown; and important letters and memoranda from the prime minister and members of his administration. These documents throw a flood of light on the negotiations, clear up some disputed points, and reveal much that has been hitherto unsuspected.

In no decade of Anglo-American relations had the storm signals been so continuously set as in the ten years following the outbreak of the American Civil War. Convinced that the British government had failed to perform its neutral duties during the war, the American people nursed a rankling sentiment of national injury. The activities of the Fenian Brotherhood, culminating in several abortive invasions of Canada from American soil, embittered our relations with our northern neighbor, and led to arrests of naturalized Americans suspected of outrages in England and Ireland which made the question of expatriation and naturalization perhaps the sorest spot in Anglo-American relations from 1866 to 1868. To the unsolved problem of the San Juan water boundary was added a renewal of the sharp antagonisms growing out of the fishery controversy when the abrogation by the United States of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 at the close of the Civil War reduced the privileges of American fishermen in Canadian coastal waters to the limits so ill-defined in the Convention of 1818.

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[2] De Grey to Granville, March 24, 1871, G.D. 29/63; Tenterden to Granville, private, March 24, 1871, G.D. 29/106.

[3] *Parliamentary Papers, 1871, North America,* No. 3, 8–15.

Although Charles Francis Adams, in a note of October 23, 1863, protesting against the failure of the British government to perform its neutral duties, had stated that there was "no fair and equitable form of conventional arbitrament or reference" to which the United States would not be willing to submit, Earl Russell had declined arbitration of these questions on the ground that it would not comport with national honor. His successor, Lord Stanley, though unwilling to admit liability for the *Alabama* claims, was ready to adopt the principle of arbitration, provided that the alleged premature recognition of the Confederate States as belligerents should be ruled out of consideration. He candidly admitted in the House of Lords on March 6, 1868, that "the American claimants, or some of them at least, under the reference proposed by us, were very likely to make out their case and get their money." Prospects of an amicable settlement, however, seemed indefinitely adjourned in April, 1869, when the United States Senate rejected by a vote of fifty-four to one the Johnson-Clarendon Convention referring the claims to arbitration, and removed the seal of secrecy from an intemperate speech against the treaty by Charles Sumner, in which he alleged that England was liable not merely for the direct losses inflicted by Confederate cruisers fitted out in her ports, but for the arrest of the natural increase of our mercantile marine and the alleged prolongation of the war "by not weeks or months, but years."

Despite his eagerness to clear the slate of Anglo-American differences, Hamilton Fish wisely decided to wait for the cooling of passions roused on both sides of the Atlantic by Sumner's extraordinary outburst. His first attempt to renew the negotiations in the autumn of 1869 was thwarted by the failure of Motley, Sumner's candidate for the post of minister at the court of St. James, properly to carry out his instructions. Fish's subsequent efforts to find a solution, on which the unpublished British materials throw new light, are marked by persistent attempts to induce the British minister at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, to admit liability for the losses inflicted by the *Alabama* and to agree to pay a lump sum to cover them; and by repeated hints that the easiest way out of the difficulty would be for Great Britain to cede some territory.

On January 24, 1870, Clarendon wrote to Granville, who was then colonial secretary, that the latest letters from Thornton reported that Fish was "now going in for the British Possessions in North America as part payment for claims and a preliminary step to negotiations!"[4] Fish told Thornton in June that he did not want Canada but did want it to be independent so that it would no longer be a constant cause of dispute between the two countries and would "cease to be a thorn in our side by smuggling and other practices."

> "You may depend upon it that 24 hours after Canada is independent, you and I will be able to settle the Alabama Claims question as easily as possible." I replied that it was all very well for him to say so, but that there were others who would have a voice in the matter, who even after the independence of Canada would not be of the same opinion. "I tell you," said Fish, "that there are those behind me who would back me and support me in ratifying almost the same terms that were agreed to by Reverdy Johnson (here he checked himself, thinking he had made rather an undignified avowal) that is with some slight modifications." Fish evidently thinks that Canadian independence is approaching and that after its consummation the United States will be able to "kick or kiss" Canada into imposing the same import duties as may then exist in this country, which I am inclined to think will be much lower than they are now.[5]

In September, 1870, Fish argued that Great Britain, by adopting her new foreign enlistment act, had confessed to guilt with regard to the *Alabama;* and that it would be worth her while, as a precedent, "to acknowledge at once and to pay the losses arising out of the proceedings of the 'Alabama' and other cruizers." The Senate, he contended, would no longer accept the principle of arbitration of these claims. Thornton retorted that it was clear that Fish was "pointing to some concession with regard to Canada," but that the British government would not "even discuss such a pretension which had nothing in common with the question at issue." Fish proposed unofficially that two conventions be concluded simultaneously, "one to contain an arrangement of the 'Alabama' claims with a condition of arbitration as to liability; the other to stipulate a settlement of British claims and that Her Majesty's Government should allow a vote to be taken of the inhabitants of the British possessions on this continent or of a part of them, as to whether they wished to be independent." Thornton declared that this was impossible, and denied that there was any considerable party in the British possessions in favor of independence, asserting that he had been surprised during a recent journey through Canada "at the extreme aversion of the inhabitants to independence, more intense than" he "had even imagined it, and at the angry feelings exhibited against the United States, which were natural enough." Fish replied that "he had lately received hundreds of letters from Canadians assuring him of their desire to be independent, and from some of them, to be annexed to the United States." An American who had recently visited British Columbia had assured him that four fifths of its population were anxious for American annexation.

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[4] G.D. 29/55.

[5] Thornton to Clarendon, private, June 14, 1870, F.O. 361/1.

When Thornton pointed to the desire of British Columbia to join the Dominion, and argued that the recent Canadian protests against the withdrawal of the imperial troops showed how little they desired separation, Fish hinted at concessions with regard to the fisheries. These, Thornton declared, concerned only the government of the Dominion, which probably would yield nothing without an equivalent. Fish warned the British minister that the American claimants, of whom the New York insurance companies were the most insistent, had made such earnest appeals that Congress, during its next session, would probably pay them and assume the debt after a debate which would intensify the bitter feeling existing against England.[6]

Returning to the charge a week later, Fish observed that "in the present uncertain state of political affairs in Europe, it was of greater consequence to England than to the United States that all our difficulties should be amicably settled." If Russia made another attempt to possess herself of Turkey, and England "were forced into a war on that or any other account, it might be impossible for the United States Government, with all the good will in the world, to prevent their citizens from sending out vessels of the class of the Alabama to prey upon English commerce." If the United States should drop its demand for payment of a lump sum, and agree to arbitration of the *Alabama* claims, would not the British concede the island of San Juan to the United States without any arbitration? Baffled on this point, he reverted to his suggestion of Canadian independence, asserting that the only classes in the Dominion who were opposed to it were those connected with the government, the bankers, and the smugglers.[7]

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[6] Thornton to Granville, private, September 20, 1870, G.D. 29/80. It is not surprising that Thornton, in his correspondence with Clarendon and Granville, appears less sympathetic to Fish's overtures than he does in the account by Charles Francis Adams based on Fish's papers. See Charles F. Adams, *Lee at Appomattox* (Boston, 1902), 155–161.

With France and Germany at war and Russia restive, Great Britain had every reason to wish to set right her relations with the United States. More than a year before, Lord Clarendon had explained to the queen that "it is the unfriendly state of our relations with America that to a great extent paralyses our action in Europe. There is not the smallest doubt that if we were engaged in a Continental quarrel we should immediately find ourselves at war with the United States." While Prussia was protesting against British exports of arms to her enemy, and Bismarck was coquetting with the United States, Granville might well doubt the wisdom of keeping a deaf ear turned to Fish's advances. He confessed to Thornton that, in view of the existing state of things in Europe, he "should like to make all things snug on your side of the water, and . . . should be disposed to grease the rails for the United States Government to slide back upon" if he "knew where such an ointment were to be found."[8]

Prince Gortchakoff's circular of October 13, 1870, denouncing the articles of the Treaty of Paris which established the neutralization of the Black Sea, provoked a crisis which forced the British government to abandon its policy of watchful waiting. On November 19 Childers, the first lord of the admiralty, stressed the danger of war with the United States, however unprepared they might be at the moment, if there were likelihood of a war with Russia. He pressed Granville to make overtures at Washington for a prompt settlement of the differences with the United States.[9] Granville wrote to Bright two days later that he could conceive no greater object than to put Anglo-American relations on a satisfactory footing. " Our present position," he declared, " cripples us in every way. Not only would it do so if we wished for war, but it impedes our pacific efforts, making people attribute to fear that which is prompted by a sense of duty." [10]

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[7] Thornton to Granville, private, September 27, October 4, 1870, G.D. 29/80.

[8] *Letters of Queen Victoria,* Second Series, George E. Buckle, Editor (London and New York, 1927), I. 594; Granville to Thornton, private, October 13, 1870, F.O. 362/1. On the British reaction to Bismarck's flirtation with the United States, see also Granville to Hammond, August 27, 1870, G.D. 29/104; Hammond to Gladstone, October 15, 1870, G.D. 29/58.

Before the Cabinet met that day, two important memoranda had been submitted by Foreign Office officials. Hammond, the permanent undersecretary, reported a conversation which Graves, a member of Parliament from Liverpool, who had just returned from the United States, had had with the head of a large American insurance company most interested in the *Alabama* claims. The latter had suggested that Great Britain admit liability for the depredations of this cruiser, which he estimated at £1,500,000, on the ground that not the British government, but its subordinate officials at Liverpool, had been at fault. He admitted that it was idle to talk of compromising the claims by the cession of Canada, which the American politicians wanted, not for its land, but for its seafaring population, which would be invaluable for naval expansion. On the other hand, "the mercantile population in the United States would prize much the acquisition of the Bahamas the situation of which, and the incidents of wrecking, piracy, etc. connected with it, made it a thorn in the side of the American Mercantile Marine." If that were out of the question, a mixed commission might be set up in the United States, on which Great Britain should be represented by some one highly respected there, such as the Duke of Argyll, to examine the claims on either side. " If then they had any reason to suppose that the English Government would agree to such a Commission, they felt confident of being able to bring such a pressure to bear on the politicians in Congress, as would compel them to make the proposal." Gladstone observed that " if we are really to entertain the affair of the Bahamas it will be needful to consider very carefully the *how* in all its particulars."

[9] Spencer Childers, *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers* (London, 1901), I. 173–174.

[10] Edmond George Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville* (London and New York, 1905), II. 29.

Granville concluded that "the Bahamas should be kept out of sight, at least for the present."[11]

It was Lord Tenterden, then a senior clerk in the Foreign Office specializing in American affairs, who provided a satisfactory solution for the dilemma. In a long memorandum dated November 19 he pointed out that it was hopeless to attempt the negotiation of a convention in the ordinary diplomatic course.

> The alternative of a special Mission is open to the objection that it might be looked upon as a surrender of the English case, and a bid for securing American neutrality in the event of a Russian war. The expectations of the United States would be aggravated in proportion, and the Envoy might expect to be met with demands for redress, such as those set forth in Mr. Fish's despatch, with which he could not comply, and from which, if once formally asserted at a time when the people of the United States were led to believe they could be enforced, the American Government might find themselves unable to recede. The result of the failure of the Mission might then be most disastrous.
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> Any direct approach for the purpose of dealing with the Alabama claims might have a similar conclusion.

He favored another plan which had been contemplated:

> . . . to take advantage of the questions which have arisen between the United States and Canada . . . and to include all the matters in dispute in a comprehensive reference to a Joint International Commission, such as that which preceded the Treaty of Ghent; the powers of the Commissioners being, however, limited to inquiring into the several matters, and recommending the manner in which they could best be dealt with, whether by arbitration, by Treaty, or otherwise.

The real difficulty, he thought, would be in getting the United States to abandon its demand for a forthright payment of the *Alabama* claims, and consent to refer them to the commission. That, however, might be accomplished

> . . . by a little skilful management, by confining the proposal in the first instance to a Commission on Canadian affairs, and leading the United States' Government to make it a condition that the Commission should also take the Alabama claims into consideration. This might then be allowed, and the American Government thus afforded a concession which would set them right in the eyes of their countrymen.

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[11] Memorandum by Hammond, November 19, 1870, G.D. 29/104; Gladstone to Granville, November 21, and Granville to Gladstone, November 22, 1870, G.D. 29/58. For an earlier mention of the cession of the Bahamas, see Thornton to Clarendon, April 19, 1869, *Parliamentary Papers, North America,* No. 1 (1869), 53.

As the commission would sit at Washington, the American government might appoint to it some members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. On the British side, Sir Edward Thornton would need assistance both from home and from Canada. If the commission were created, and proved successful, the result

> . . . would probably be that some form of arbitration would be proposed in the Alabama claims by which the rules of international law involved would be subjected to revision; the Fishery Limits question would be brought to a practical issue; the San Juan water boundary would again be remitted to arbitration, and Sub-Commissioners might be recommended to deal with the land boundary survey and lighthouses; the Fenian raids would form part of the claims of British subjects which have hitherto been treated in conjunction with the Alabama claims; and the other Canadian questions would be protocolized for a future Treaty.

If relations between any two European countries were as strained as those between England and America, war would, he thought, be inevitable.

> Happily this is not the case with the United States . . . although it is too probable that any opportunity of paying-off old scores in kind would be taken advantage of, I have too great faith in the sterling good which is proved by American history to be found in time of real stress in the American character to believe that the United States desire war with England. They could have no moral justification in going to war on a question which had been under discussion for some years, and on which their own Government had consented to arbitration, nor could derive any material benefit, if successful, beyond the addition, by conquest, of one or more disaffected territories to their already sufficiently overwhelming internal struggles. With a great contest impending for political dominion between the Republicans and the reviving Democrats, a heavy load of debt and consequent taxation, a people fresh from the memories of a long and bloody conflict, a reduced army and inefficient navy, the Americans can have little temptation to cast themselves into the whirlpool of war.[12]

On November 22 Granville sent Gladstone a list of possible British members of a joint high commission,[13] and had a long confidential talk with Sir John Rose, a former Canadian minister of Scottish origin, who had served as a commissioner to settle the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company against the United States, and had discussed with Fish in the summer of 1869 a possible basis of settlement for the *Alabama* claims. Rose liked " the idea of appointing Commissioners to discuss and recommend how each question in dispute could be best put in train for settlement "; and told Granville that Grant realized there was no chance of carrying out his pet project of conversion operations to reduce the rate of interest on the American debt unless a fair settlement was made of old scores with England.[14]

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[12] F.O. 5/1331.

[13] Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (New York, 1927), 124 *n.*

In a confidential memorandum submitted four days later, Rose summarized the economic factors favoring settlement.

> The United States' Government are most anxious to effect a conversion of their debt in Europe into one bearing a lower rate of interest; and they are sensible of the reluctance of capitalists to consider it until the American demands are put in a shape for amicable adjustment. The reduction of the national burdens by means of such a conversion, has been a leading idea with the President and his party; on the accomplishment of which they in a great measure base their hopes of reelection in 1872. Then the pressure and influence of the Companies and individual claimants whose property was destroyed are becoming inconvenient. They number among them many persons of considerable political influence, whose co-operation, it is now believed, would be heartily given to promote some means of settlement.

Rose pointed out that the United States government " ought in some measure to have reason to know beforehand the extent to which the British Government would go, in order that they may sound the Senate whether a Treaty, on a specific basis acceptable to the Executive, would be confirmed." He therefore suggested that, " without involving either party in the responsibility of formal propositions, or risking the serious consequence of another failure, a common basis of agreement might be understood beforehand, through some intermediate agency in no way responsible or accredited, but yet possessing in sufficient measure the good-will of each, to attract their confidence and insure their co-operation." He added that it was not likely that any future secretary of state would have " so loyal a personal desire to bring about an agreement honourable to both countries, or such marked qualities of frank and upright dealing." [15]

If anything further was needed to emphasize the urgency of prompt settlement, it was provided by Grant's annual message of December 5. The President recommended to Congress " to authorize the appointment of a commission to take proof of the amount and the ownership of these several claims, on notice to the representative of Her Majesty at Washington, and that authority be given for the settlement of these claims by the United States, so that the Government shall have the ownership of the private claims, as well as the responsible control of all the demands against Great Britain." Harshly criticizing the "unfriendly and vexatious" treatment of American fishermen in Canadian waters, he recommended that Congress authorize him to suspend by proclamation the operation of the laws authorizing the transit of goods in bond across the territory of the United States to Canada, as well as the laws permitting Canadian vessels to enter the waters of the United States "should such an extreme measure become necessary."[16]

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[14] Granville to Gladstone, confidential, November 22, 1870, G.D. 29/58.

[15] F.O. 5/1331.

For a confidential mission to sound out Fish, Rose was an excellent choice, as the banking firm of which he was now a partner, Morton, Rose & Company of New York and London, was engaged in negotiations with the United States treasury, to which his appearance at Washington would naturally be attributed. Before drafting Rose's instructions, Granville had received from Thornton a dispatch dated November 22 reporting new proposals from Fish. Repeating his demand for a forthright payment of the *Alabama* claims without arbitration, he had insisted that the United States could not admit of the *Alabama* claims being mixed up with private claims, the one being national and the other ordinary claims. There must thus be two commissions and two treaties, although the latter might be signed simultaneously. He had added that Great Britain should express regret for the losses inflicted by that cruiser; and had recommended that both nations "lay down precise principles of maritime neutrality. The points which he considered of importance were the immunity from capture of all private property of belligerents on the high seas, the principles contained in the Declaration of Paris, and a stipulation that no vessel should be allowed to change her flag or assume the character of a vessel of war on the high seas."[17] In a private dispatch to

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[16] James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington, 1896–1899), VII. 102–104. Tenterden commented (December 6) on this message that it was "not reasonable to suppose that after the claimants" had been paid "say a million and a half of Pounds out of the American Exchequer," the United States government would consent to arbitrate the question whether England should make it good or not. F.O. 5/1331.

[17] F.O. 5/1331. Tenterden considered (December 8) this dispatch "not unpromising," since Fish seemed to have abandoned "the constructive claims arising

Granville of the same day, Thornton added that when Fish presented these proposals, " there was not the slightest tone of menace, or intention to resort to any other measures but the working of time, if it should be found impossible to enter upon a negotiation."[18]

Granville warned Rose that he would have "no authority to speak in the name of Her Majesty's Government, still less to pledge them to any opinion or any course of action." In the circumstances there was hope of giving a new character to the negotiations by grouping all the questions together. As a private person Rose was to explore the possibility of an agreement acceptable to both parties " by free discussion with public and private persons, which would elicit opinions and perhaps enlist feelings which may conduce to a reasonable settlement."

> If it should result from your private inquiries that a more official course of proceeding would be desirable, and be even generally acceptable to parties in the United States, there would seem to be no objection to have the matters of difference discussed freely by Commissioners appointed by the two Governments, who would prepare the ground for a more formal agreement. . . . It would seem that as far as the question of the Alabama is concerned, the first official step could only be taken, as matters now stand, by the United States. . . . Her Majesty's Government would gladly find means of removing any cause of difference, present or prospective, between the two Countries: and you will not go beyond their intentions if, though professing to speak only your own private sentiments, you freely express your conviction that any fair or reasonable opening which the United States should afford, would be readily met in a corresponding spirit by the Government of Her Majesty.[19]

When Rose arrived in Washington on January 9 and sounded Fish as to the reference of all pending questions to a joint commission, the latter argued that, as the Americans

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from the recognition of belligerent rights and the want of sympathy in the Civil War." He regarded the proposal that England should acknowledge liability without arbitration as " so untenable that it could scarcely be maintained as a ground of quarrel. The difficulty might be turned by the inquiry into the International Law being taken first and if the United States Government would repudiate their previous doctrines and lay down the rule that it is contrary to International Comity to supply vessels adapted for war to a belligerent or to recognize Ships of War commissioned on the high seas a way might be opened for a compromise of the claims arising from the 'Alabama' and the Vessels which sailed from England, and even for so much of the national claims as relate to the injury to American commerce from their escape." F.O. 5/1331.

[18] G.D. 29/80.

[19] Granville to Rose, December 19, 1870, F.O. 5/1298.

> . . . were disposed to qualify their previous attitude in reference to the premature acknowledgment of belligerent rights and the general prolongation of the war, England should admit her liability for the Alabama losses, on the ground that, although the Government had acted in good faith, yet there had been departmental negligence in reference to her escape.

When Rose contended that the American people ought to be satisfied with arbitration by a friendly power or by a disinterested tribunal, Fish replied that

> . . . the affair was like a domestic misunderstanding between husband and wife, as England and the United States were, with which they did not want the outside world to meddle: that, if liability for the Alabama proper was admitted, the question of liability for losses occasioned by the other ships might either form the subject of reference or be otherwise disposed of.

Rose replied that he supposed this meant " withdrawn." [20]

On the same day Rose and his partner, Morton, had called on the secretary of the treasury and impressed on him how difficult it would be for him to carry out his scheme for converting the debt unless some arrangement with Great Britain should clear the slate of diplomatic controversies. Boutwell expressed the hope that some means might be found to settle all points of difference, as he was nearly ready to announce his project of conversion.[21]

On January 13, when the gap between the negotiators had begun to narrow, Thornton transmitted a "secret and confidential" telegram to Granville reporting Rose's view that liability for depredations by other vessels might be referred to arbitration or possibly ruled out if it were confidentially understood that the commissioners, after full discussion, would admit liability for the *Alabama* claims proper.[22] Although Thornton expressed the fear that this was the best offer the British could hope for,[23] the British government could not agree that their commissioners should be asked to enter into a "sham discussion with a foregone conclusion." Tenterden remarked that it would be "exceedingly hazardous to enter into such an underhand agreement with people so little able to keep their tongues still as the Americans." [24]

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[20] Rose to Granville, strictly confidential, January 10, 1871, F.O. 5/1298. Cf. the account of this conversation based on Davis's diary in his *Mr. Fish and the Alabama Claims*, 59–64.

[21] Rose to Granville, strictly confidential, January 10, 1871, F.O. 5/1298; Thornton to Granville, private, January 10, 1871, G.D. 29/80.

[22] F.O. 5/1297.

[23] Thornton to Granville, private, January 17, 1871, G.D. 29/80; Thornton to Granville, telegram, secret and confidential, January 24, 1871, F.O. 5/1297.

Intent on snatching at least one more concession to weaken the opposition in the Senate, where Sumner was blocking the path with his demand that the British flag be withdrawn from this hemisphere, Fish sought a waiver of the British claim respecting San Juan in lieu of the arbitration stipulated in the unratified Johnson-Clarendon agreement. If Rose or Thornton had communicated to Fish the blunt statement cabled by Granville on January 24, "we cannot cede San Juan," they might have spared the British commissioners some of the pressure on this point which they were soon to experience.[25] As an agreement seemed almost within their grasp, they preferred to leave Fish's feeler unanswered. Careful polling of senators by Fish and by General Robert C. Schenck, who had been selected to replace Motley in the American legation at London, had at last afforded a substantial hope that, despite Sumner's bitter hostility, the Senate eventually might consent to a treaty on the lines suggested by Rose.[26] The negotiations were concluded by Fish and Thornton early in February in the manner sketched by Tenterden on November 19: Thornton proposing a joint commission to deal with Canadian questions, and Fish agreeing on condition that the *Alabama* claims should likewise be considered.[27]

When Lord Derby declined to serve on the joint high commission, Earl De Grey and Ripon, the president of the council in Gladstone's administration, was chosen to head the British delegation. With him served Sir Stafford Northcote, a leading member of the opposition, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian prime minister, and Mountague Bernard, Chichele Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in the University of

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[24] Memorandum, January 14, 1871, F.O. 5/1297; memorandum of January 22, 1871, F.O. 5/1298.

[25] Number 19, F.O. 5/1296; Thornton to Granville, telegram, January 21, 1871, F.O. 5/1297.

[26] Thornton to Granville, private, January 17, 24, and 31, 1871, G.D. 29/80; Thornton to Granville, telegram, January 21, 1871, F.O. 5/1297; Rose to Granville, strictly confidential, January 16, 19, and 21, 1871, F.O. 5/1298; Davis, *Mr. Fish and the Alabama Claims,* 64–70.

[27] Granville to Thornton, drafts nos. 37 and 47, telegram no. 31, February 1, 1871, F.O. 5/1296; Thornton to Granville, telegrams, secret and confidential, January 26 and 31, 1871, Thornton to Granville, February 6, 1871, F.O. 5/1297; Rose to Granville, strictly private and confidential, January 27, 31, February 2, 1871, F.O. 5/1298; Thornton to Granville, private, January 31, 1871, G.D. 29/80; *Parliamentary Papers, North America,* No. 1 (1871).

Oxford, who had recently published *A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain during the American Civil War.* Granville had hoped that Rose would serve, either as a representative of Canada in the place of Macdonald, or as one of the representatives of the United Kingdom. Rose, however, declined, partly on account of the strength of the Canadian sentiment against his selection, and partly because his partners wished his presence in London to manage the participation of their firm in the projected conversion of the United States debt. It was his financial connection with American interests rather than the fact that, born a Scot, he had married an American wife and transferred his residence from Canada to England, which explains the objections of the Canadian government to his appointment.

President Grant, who had wished an American delegation of five in order that sectional interests might be better represented, chose Hamilton Fish of New York as his principal representative, with Robert C. Schenck of Ohio, Samuel Nelson, a New York Democrat over eighty years old, who was the senior justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts, his former attorney-general, and George H. Williams, a "lame-duck" senator from Oregon. Lord Tenterden and Bancroft Davis, whose relations were most pleasant throughout, served as secretaries to the commission.

Mindful of the tradition that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 had been "floated through on champagne," De Grey took a house in Washington and brought with him a cook who was expected to prove a most efficient negotiator. De Grey reported that he was "steadily dining Senators of all parties and with apparent advantage; indeed some stern patriots in the Press have begun to warn public men against our aristocratic blandishments."[28] Tenterden, who spent "every spare quarter of an hour calling upon the ladies," admitted that the task was "alleviated by many of them being very pretty and all talkative and agreeable." He feared that the commissioners' expenses would amount to five hundred pounds a week.[29] That sum included Macdonald's, for De Grey felt that "it would not do to give the Dominion Government the claim to interference which would result from any charge being made on their funds."[30] Sir Edward and Lady Thornton, whom Tenterden cruelly described in a private letter as a "dreadfully dreary pair," looking "as if the life had faded out of them in South America and the spirit was being evaporated in Washington," took their share of the entertaining, inviting many Democratic as well as Republican senators and reporting that everyone accepted. Pessimist though he was, Thornton did not "even despair that our enemy Sumner may possibly make up his mind, if not to vote in our favor, at least not to offer any serious opposition to whatever may be sent to the Senate by the Commission."[31]

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[28] Tenterden to Granville, February 10, 1871, G.D. 29/106; De Grey to Granville, March 7, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[29] Tenterden to Meade, private, March 3, 1871, G.D. 29/106.

The British commissioners paid assiduous court to Sumner, who responded with great personal cordiality, once insisting on their dining with him two nights in succession. Their privately expressed views of him, it must be said, accord with those expressed by Bancroft Davis and Charles Francis Adams rather than with those of Sumner's biographers. It is clear that they regarded him as the greatest single obstacle to the success of the negotiations. As early as February 28 they learned of the intention to depose him from the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, a step which they deplored on the ground that a certain reaction would spring up in his favor. De Grey thought the step a political mistake on the part of the government. Thornton doubted whether it would increase the chances of an Anglo-American treaty being sanctioned by the Senate, "or whether it would not have been better" for British interests that Sumner's "probable opposition should have been defeated in spite of his position on the Committee." As it was, a section of the American press, influenced by the Russian minister, Catacazy, was proclaiming, despite Fish's denials, that Sumner's removal had been instigated by the British.[32]

The British commissioners found their intercourse with their American colleagues very pleasant. Tenterden described them as "a very gentlemanly good set of fellows socially." Hamilton Fish was "good humoured" and "quite English in manner and appearance." Schenck seemed to his opponents the ablest American on the commission, "rough enough to look at" but "a very ready fellow, quick in reply from long parliamentary practice, and a determined bargainer." De Grey observed that Schenck was "happily not at all of the thin skinned Motley species" and counted it an advantage that his daughters, one of whom was "generally called S.S.S., i.e. Squint-eyed Sally Schenck" were very keen to get to England and enjoy their diplomatic position before the season was over.[33]

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[30] De Grey to Granville, confidential, March 3, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[31] Tenterden to Meade, private, March 3, 1871, G.D. 29/106; Thornton to Granville, private, March 7, 1871, G.D. 29/80.

[32] De Grey to Granville, March 17, 1871, G.D. 29/63; Thornton to Granville, private, March 13, 14, 1871, G.D. 29/80.

Hoar impressed the British "less favourably than the other Commissioners." De Grey found him litigious and thought his manner not pleasant. "In conference," De Grey reported, the Americans "throw the principal burden on me, so as to enable Fish to be the main spokesman on his side and thus avoid the danger of Hoar or Williams getting hot and 'ugly.' But of course all the commissioners have their say, and especially Schenck," who seemed to have much weight with Fish. In moments of depression the British wrote home caustic descriptions of their American opponents.[34] Tenterden wrote privately to Granville (March 10, 1871) that Hoar was "a second rate lawyer prone to feeble jokes, Williams a rough country squatter bred as an attorney, Nelson a prosy rather pig headed old man who maunders on with long irrelevant disquisitions on petty legal details." [35]

To both the British commissioners and the Foreign Office the fishery controversy seemed more dangerous to Anglo-American peace than the *Alabama* claims themselves. Although Thornton stoutly denied Fish's charge that the Canadians were harassing American fishermen primarily to bludgeon the United States into renewing the reciprocity agreement, the unpublished correspondence shows that he believed this charge to be true and that Lord Lisgar, the governor-general of Canada, and Lord Kimberley, the colonial secretary, did likewise. Thanks in large part to the Canadian restriction, the American fishermen had had little success during the previous season while the Canadians had been more than usually fortunate.

In December Lisgar had suggested privately to Thornton that Canada might agree to throw open the inshore fisheries for ten or twenty years if the United States would agree to pay $200,000 a year for the privilege. Thornton thought this sum high, though it seems now a small one compared with the Halifax award. Early in the negotiations the American commissioners refused to renew the reciprocity treaty but offered to purchase the right of inshore fishery in perpetuity. Macdonald refused to consider a sale for more than a term of years, though the British Cabinet strongly preferred a sale in perpetuity. During the long wrangle over the value of the fishery rights De Grey reported that "on both sides (American and Canadian) . . . there is almost an equal readiness to twist facts and figures into the shape most convenient for the purposes of the moment." De Grey told Macdonald frankly that "if Canada caused the failure of these negotiations on grounds which people in England did not consider reasonable, and if difficulties with the United States resulted therefrom, the Canadians would find very little inclination in England to help to get them out of the trouble they had created for themselves." [36]

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[33] Tenterden to Granville, private, March 10, 1871, G.D. 29/106; De Grey to Granville, March 7, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[34] De Grey to Granville, confidential, March 3, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[35] G.D. 29/106.

To strengthen De Grey's hand in dealing with his intractable colleague, Gladstone had consented that he might offer, at the right moment, that Great Britain would assume the payment of the Canadian claims arising out of the Fenian invasions if, as was expected, the United States proved unwilling to pay them, or refer the question to arbitration. In addition De Grey was authorized to hint to Macdonald that he would be made a privy councillor if the negotiations succeeded. In his Homeric duel with De Grey, however, Macdonald was heartened by a telegram from Kimberley pledging that Great Britain would accept no solution of the fishery question without Canada's consent. The eventual compromise, referring the value of the American and Canadian concessions to a mixed commission which was to sit at Halifax, was reached only after prolonged wrangling, in which Macdonald generally bested both his American and his British opponents.

Although De Grey's chief troubles within his own delegation were caused by the redoubtable Canadian statesman, his Conservative colleague caused him some trouble. In a private conference of the British delegation on March 3, Northcote proposed that if they found serious objection on the part of the American commission to agree to arbitration on the *Alabama* claims, they "should pass on to the discussion of future arrangements as to neutrality with a view of practically, though not avowedly, applying them to the Alabama case and admitting any liability for her escape, etc., which we should have had to admit, if such arrangements had been in force during the war." He further proposed a scheme for a tribunal of international arbitration, which seemed to De Grey of somewhat wild appearance; and shocked his colleagues by his readiness to concede the demand, pressed unsuccessfully by the Americans, that enemy merchant ships be declared immune from capture; and even to pay a lump sum without arbitration for depredations of the *Alabama*.[37]

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[36] De Grey to Granville, March 21, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

To the dismay of the British Cabinet, their representatives in Washington soon abandoned their insistence on unrestricted arbitration of the *Alabama* claims and urged Granville to accept the American proposal to lay down rules for the guidance of the arbitrators.

At the outset of the negotiations an interesting reversal of earlier positions became apparent. The Americans, who in 1863 had asked for any fair form of arbitrament of the *Alabama* claims, now sought from the British instead an outright admission of liability and an agreement to pay a lump sum figure coupled with an expression of regret. The British, who had refused to refer the dispute to arbitrators in 1863, now pressed with great eagerness for unrestricted arbitration. It was an open secret that the American negotiators wished the new treaty to be as dissimilar as possible to the unlucky Johnson-Clarendon Convention. Fish told De Grey that " ten votes could not be got in the Senate for arbitration." [38] The latter lamented that the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Senate for consent to a treaty was " one of the most ingenious provisions imaginable for rendering a difficult negotiation next to impossible." [39] The British Cabinet at the same time had interposed a similar barrier by assuring the Canadian government that no article of the treaty affecting the Dominion should go into effect without the sanction of the Canadian parliament. When Fish resorted to the argument that concessions were required to ensure the success of the treaty in the Senate, Macdonald, engaged in a struggle on two fronts with the American high commissioners and his British colleagues, was able to threaten both groups that important sections of the treaty would be rejected by the Dominion parliament unless Canada's demands were met.

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[37] De Grey to Granville, confidential, March 3, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[38] De Grey to Granville, March 10, 1871, G.D. 29/63. [39] *Ibid.*

Although the British high commissioners were " bound by their instructions to fight for arbitration of the Alabama claims to the last point short of absolutely breaking off," [40] they found the Americans adamant on this point. In the conference of March 8 Fish proposed that if the British were unwilling to admit liability and agree to the payment of a gross sum, the British and United States governments should agree to refer the claims to some competent tribunal, and to prescribe a definite statement of principles as to neutral duties by which the arbitrators should be guided. The four rules which Fish suggested would, if followed by the arbitrators, make a substantial award in favor of the American claimants well-nigh inescapable.[41]

Within the next few days it became apparent to the British high commissioners that their quest for unrestricted arbitration would be unavailing.[42] Granville, though much aided by Forster, found great difficulty in persuading Gladstone and the Cabinet to accept the American proposal for definite instructions to the arbitrators.[43] Once this was admitted in principle, the struggle over the wording of the terms of reference became intense. Both sides had to look to the future as well as to the past, for it was understood that the measure of neutral obligation agreed to must apply not to the *Alabama* claims alone but to the future conduct of the signatories when they were neutral in a maritime war. Assuming that the United States would more often be a neutral than a belligerent, the American high commissioners sought a formula that would ensure victory in the *Alabama* arbitration without setting the standard of neutral duties so high as to prove embarrassing in future for a power with a long coast-line. It was clearly to Great Britain's interest, possessing as she did the largest mercantile marine exposed in time of war to future *Alabamas,* to have the United States bound to observe a high standard of neutral duties. As to the degree to which Britain should look to the future rather than the past, by accepting definitions of neutral obligations which would be prejudicial in the *Alabama* arbitration and useful in future wars, the Cabinet and the high commissioners held somewhat divergent views. De Grey admitted as much in a private letter to Granville, April 4:

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[40] De Grey to Granville, March 7, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[41] British high commissioners to Granville, secret, March 8, 1871, F.O. 5/1300.

[42] De Grey to Granville, telegram, March 14, 1871, *ibid.*

[43] Lucien Wolf, *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon* (1921), I. 246.

> It has been one of the difficulties of the subject that we have had to consider both the past and the future. I am inclined to think that you at home looked too exclusively to the former and have somewhat sacrificed the latter; perhaps on our side we may have been apt to go too much in the opposite direction – but there can be no doubt that we in England have the strongest interest, far stronger than the Americans have, in preventing future Alabamas, and therefore I am obstinate enough to believe that our tendency has been in the right direction.[44]

Tenterden argued in the same vein.

> Our object, it seems to me, should be to get the best advantage we can for the future out of our present concessions. If we can establish a rule of international law which will render " Alabamas " impossible, we shall have made an immense addition to our maritime superiority. Privateering and Alabamas forbidden, we can soon chase away any ships of war of a hostile power and sweep the seas of the belligerent's marine. But it is essential for this that the rules laid down should be precise and free from vagueness. We can gain nothing before an arbitrator by raising quibbles upon rules of our own laying down as regards the past and have everything to lose by not making them sufficiently stringent for the future. After all, the rules that are to be laid down will not be a bit beyond the principles of the new Neutrality Act [of 1870] by which, whatever we may say theoretically, we shall certainly have practically to abide.[45]

In the British government, on the other hand, there was greater preoccupation with the criticisms which the opposition might level against the treaty if Great Britain conceded too much with regard to the *Alabama* claims. Within the Cabinet, as Granville explained,

> the shades of opinion are infinite beginning with one who objected to the Commission then to those who were unwilling like Bernard to consent to any instructions on arbitration, then those who differ how far we should go. . . . Some of us think that we can be liberal on the principle that we buy more for the future than we sell for the past – others cling to the idea that it is sufficient to admit that our municipal law imposed some obligations on us for the past. Gladstone is halfway between these principles. . . .[46]

The upshot of the long struggle over wording the instructions to the arbitrators was that the first three rules defining neutral duties were adopted in a modified form, and the fourth rule was dropped altogether. The three rules agreed to provide that

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[44] G.D. 29/63.

[45] Tenterden to Granville, private, March 31, 1871, G.D. 29/106.

[46] Granville to De Grey, April 1, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

> A neutral Government is bound —
>
> First; To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable grounds to believe is intended to cruize or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruize or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.
>
> Secondly; Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.
>
> Thirdly; To exercise due diligence in its own ports or waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties.
>
> Her Britannic Majesty has commanded her High Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries to declare that Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims mentioned in Article I arose, but that Her Majesty's Government, in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that, in deciding the questions between the two countries arising out of those claims, the Arbitrators should assume that Her Majesty's Government had undertaken to act upon the principles set forth in these rules. And the High Contracting Parties agree to observe these rules as between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime Powers, and to invite them to accede to them.[47]

With this agreement the complicated task of the Joint High Commission was by no means ended. The wording of the preamble was the subject of repeated projects and counterprojects. The constitution of a mixed commission on the model of that of 1853 to dispose of other claims not arising out of the acts of the *Alabama* and her sister cruisers caused little difficulty. The Canadian questions, on the other hand, proved extremely thorny. De Grey found Macdonald even more difficult to deal with than his American opponents. The long-disputed title to San Juan Island produced a struggle no less obstinate than that over the fisheries. Fish's repeated attempts to obtain an outright cession of this territory reflected his desire to make his treaty attractive to the Senate and as much unlike the rejected Johnson-Clarendon settlement as possible. His hopes had been heightened by Sir John Rose's failure to carry out Granville's instructions to tell Fish frankly that

[47] *Parliamentary Papers, North America,* No. 1 (1872), 1–2.

Great Britain could not cede San Juan. Only after a prolonged controversy, which seemed at times even more difficult of solution than the *Alabama* claims, was it agreed to refer the disputed title to arbitration by the German Emperor.

At the close of the negotiations De Grey wrote to Granville expressing his hope that the foreign secretary would be " tolerably satisfied."

> I fear you have often thought us troublesome and perhaps obstinate; we have had our times of grumbling at you; but I readily acknowledge that we have derived great advantage from having the Cabinet at home behind us to give an extra turn to the screw, when necessary, and to be used as a terrific bugbear to frighten the United States Commissioners. If the Treaty is a satisfactory one a large share of the credit belongs exclusively to you at home; though our task here has been by no means an easy one; indeed the difficulties in the way of a settlement have until lately looked so great that it is only within a very short period that I have really allowed myself to think that we should reach a Treaty at all.

He spoke warmly of the assistance he had received from Northcote, Bernard, and Thornton and showered praise on Lord Tenterden, whom he described as

> the heart and soul of the whole business . . . a capital negotiator, and one of the cheeriest companions I have ever come across.
>
> Macdonald has puzzled us all. I do not know whether he is really an able man or not; that he is one of the darkest horses that ever ran on any course I am sure; and that he has been playing his own game all along with unswerving steadiness is plain enough. . . .[48]

The treaty signed at Washington on May 8, 1871, was a great landmark in the history of peaceful settlement of international disputes. The four arbitrations for which it provided cleared the slate of Anglo-American controversies for some years and gave opportunity for time to heal the sores developed in the galling decade of the sixties. The wiser heads on both sides of the Atlantic had long realized the vital importance to both countries of such a comprehensive solution. The British statesmen responsible for the settlement knew full well that the terms of reference of the *Alabama* claims greatly increased the likelihood of an award in favor of the United States. With all that was at stake, however, they were indeed wise " to purchase, even for a considerable sum, present goodwill and future security, without loss of dignity or honor." [49]

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[48] May 5, 1871, G.D. 29/63.

[49] Sir Roundell Palmer to Granville, April 8, 1871, G.D. 29/67.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1934

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 11, 1934, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. William Davis of South Orleans, several Davis family papers, 1794–1877.

From MATT B. JONES, the orderly book of Captain Josiah Thacher at Halifax, May 13–August 7, 1759, kept by James Hamilton, adjutant.

From Mrs. A. B. Silvey of Merion, Pennsylvania, a broadside, dated Boston, January 14, 1800, containing Resolutions of the Massachusetts General Court adopted in accordance with President Adams's proclamation calling for exercises in honor of Washington on February 22.

From Theodore P. Smith of New York, a collection of the Isaac Smith family papers, previously placed here on deposit by his parents, the late Mr. and Mrs. William S. Carter.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From John K. Allen of Brookline, a note of the State of Massachusetts Bay, December 1, 1777, to Enoch Greenleaf, for seventy-one pounds seven shillings.

From Miss Marjorie M. Bruce, a Nova Scotia penny of 1864.

From the Government of the French Republic, a medal struck at the mint of Paris in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Lafayette.

From Miss Clara S. Hawes of Freeport, Illinois, a string of sixty-three pierced rubies brought home from Tunis by William Eaton (1764–1811).

From MATT B. JONES, a painting of the Old Punch Bowl Tavern, Brookline, and a pitcher said to have been used in the tavern.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from GEORGE EDWARD CABOT and ALLYN BAILEY FORBES accepting election as Resident Members of the Society.

The chair announced the election by the Council of ALLYN BAILEY FORBES as Librarian in succession to JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, whose resignation became effective on September 1, 1934.

The following amendments to the By-laws were unanimously adopted:

Chapter III. Strike out the words "a librarian" in the fourth line thereof.

Chapter VIII. Add at the end thereof the following article:

Article 18. The Librarian shall be appointed from time to time by the Council for such periods and on such terms as the Council may deem advisable, and shall be subject to removal by the Council. If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex officio* a member of the Council.

Mr. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER read a paper entitled "An Innocent Abroad," being some impressions gained from his recent trip around the world.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 8, 1934, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. GARDNER W. ALLEN, a group of letters written to him by our former president, Charles Francis Adams, and by Admiral C. M. Chester, relating to the Penobscot Expedition of 1779.

From Edward Brooks of Brookline, on deposit, the private account books of Peter C. Brooks.

From ALLYN B. FORBES, letters from Thomas B. Waite to Judge George Thacher, 1809–1821, and the letter-book of Major Thomas J. Rodman, kept at the Watertown Arsenal, 1864–1865.

From Frederick B. Hill of Boston, a collection of Draper family papers.

From Mrs. Henry O. Houghton of Boston, a letter written by Robert C. Winthrop to her father, Arthur Gilman, July 3, 1873.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, a group of seventeen Edward Everett letters, 1828–1864, and other miscellaneous Everett material.

From Robert D. Reynolds of Cambridge, the records of Council Number 13 of the Union League of America, in Ward 11, Boston, 1863–1865.

By purchase: Edward Holyoke, *The Doctrine of Life* (London, 1658); Ebenezer Pemberton, *A Christian Fixed in his Post* (Boston, 1704); and Cotton Mather, *The Valley of Baca* (Boston, 1717).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Edward S. Dodge, of Cambridge, a picture of the Massachusetts Senate, 1862.

The Society elected Thomas Barbour of Boston a Resident Member.

The chair announced the death of WILLIAM LAWRENCE CLEMENTS, a Corresponding Member, on November 6, 1934.

The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE read a paper entitled "Mr. Smibert Shows His Pictures, 1730."[1]

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[1] Published in *New England Quarterly*, VIII (March, 1935), 14–28.

FREDERIC WINTHROP · A MEMOIR

BY

HENRY ADAMS

After an illness of several months, Frederic Winthrop died at his home on Berkeley Street, Boston, on May 6, 1932, at the age of sixty-three. He was born in New York on November 15, 1868, the son of Robert Winthrop, a leading banker in that city, and Kate Wilson Taylor, a daughter of Moses Taylor, one of the distinguished leaders of the business world of his day. Winthrop's parents named him in memory of his uncle, Brigadier-General Frederic Winthrop, who was killed in the Battle of Five Forks on April 1, 1865, while in command of a brigade in the Fifth Corps. The brevet rank of Major-General of Volunteers was conferred upon General Winthrop in 1867. The brevet was antedated April 1, 1865, the day of the battle in which he fell, and was one of the few brevets conferred after death.

Frederic Winthrop was a direct descendant of John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in the ninth generation of the line of eminent men in this country who sprang from that ancestor. He was proud of his ancestry, and had a deep sense of his own obligation to the family of which he was a member and to the traditions to which he was heir. This family sentiment had a great influence on his life.

Winthrop prepared for college at Duane S. Everson's school in New York, entered Harvard in the fall of 1887, and graduated in 1891. His work in his studies was satisfactory but not noteworthy. Of a naturally modest temperament, a position of prominence among his classmates was made more difficult by a tendency to stammer when excited or when discussing a subject in which he was intensely interested. Hence, while he was much loved by his friends and respected by all who knew him, his circle of acquaintances was not large, and he never became one of the popular leaders of his Class. Among those who knew him, however, he took a prominent and rather leading part. He was among the first of his Class to be elected to the Porcellian Club.

In the life of the College he was known for his athletic ability. Tall, rather slight in build, he had unusual physical power, which, with his highly strung nervous energy and fighting pluck, made him a good competitor and a man who could always be relied upon to be at his best in a crisis. As a boxer his skill was noteworthy. His hard-hitting ability was so unusual that his name became a byword at Harvard for some years after he had left college. To say that he was the best amateur of his time might be a controversial statement; but certain it is that everyone, amateur or professional, who entered into debate with Winthrop in this particular field, knew that he had been in a controversy — some of them only after a return to consciousness.

His modest, unassuming manner was deceptive, and there are many tales of occasions when those who attempted to impose on him found that they had picked on the wrong man. For, although Winthrop never sought a battle and was slow to anger, once thoroughly aroused, he was dangerous. On one occasion, a few years after graduation, as he was returning to Boston on the train from the North Shore, he got into an altercation with several men who boarded the train at one of the beaches. Winthrop, on coming back from another car where he had gone to speak to a friend for a moment, came upon these men in the act of removing his bag and appropriating his seat. He politely objected, and, having resumed his seat, ignored their slighting remarks till one of the men, encouraged by his silence, sat down on the arm of the seat and tried to crowd him from his place. This was more than Winthrop could endure, and a fight ensued, in which his opponents were all badly bruised. But Winthrop had shown such self-restraint throughout, that many in the car gave him their cards and offered to appear in his behalf should he happen to need their testimony.

Another branch of athletics in which Winthrop obtained university rank was rowing. He rowed at 5 on his Class crew in his sophomore year, 2 on the Harvard crew in his junior year, and 6 on the Harvard crew in his first year in the Law School. Unfortunately, the two Harvard crews on which Winthrop rowed were unsuccessful in the race with Yale. By the irony of fate, the sole victory over Yale in those years came in his senior year, 1891. That year, as the strain and tension of the training in his junior year had been too much for his growing strength, he had been advised by his physician not to try for the crew.

After spending one year at the Law School, Winthrop went to New York and entered the banking firm of Robert Winthrop and Company, the firm founded by his father. He did not like New York. The impediment in his speech made it difficult for him to converse freely with other people, and he felt he could never be successful as a banker. Hence, after a few years, he gave up business, travelled for a while, and in 1900 moved to Boston to live. Whether or not he would have stayed in business if it had not been for the impediment in his speech it is impossible to tell. It is also impossible to tell what success would have attended his career as a business man if he had stayed in business. It is at least probable that with his qualities of leadership, his strong good sense, his high sense of honor, and his absolute unwillingness to compromise on any question of right and wrong, he would have been a real factor in the business life of New York.

Be that as it may, he did not stay in business. He came to Boston where life was far more congenial to him. On January 20, 1903, he married Dorothy Amory of Boston, who died July 23, 1907. Of this marriage three children were born: Robert, Dorothy, and Frederic. Robert rowed on the Harvard crew as his father had before him; and, as in his father's case, a victory over Yale came the year after he had finished. On July 12, 1911, Winthrop married Sarah Barroll Thayer of Lancaster, Massachusetts. Three children were born of this marriage: Nathaniel Thayer, Katherine, and John, who died in 1915.

Although Winthrop moved from New York to Boston because he preferred the life and had many friends here, yet in coming here he returned to the original home of the Winthrop family, where many of its descendants had remained and where the family records, known as the Winthrop Papers, were kept. As his branch of the family had been established in New York for many generations, it is doubtful whether these family associations had anything to do with his decision to live in Boston, although they became his chief interest and had a great effect on his later life. It is not within the field of this memoir to trace the different branches of this famous family — except those that had some bearing on the life of Frederic Winthrop. Governor John Winthrop, the first of the line in this country, lived and died in Boston, but his descendants spread widely throughout the United States; and in many paths their lives have reflected credit on the Winthrop name. Soldiers, lawyers, authors, historians, statesmen — the list is long; but only a few in those branches that remained in Massachusetts, and in the branch that removed to Connecticut and New York, can be mentioned here. Of Governor Winthrop's five sons, three remained or had careers in Massachusetts: Adam, who settled in Cambridge, and among whose descendants were Chief Justice Adam Winthrop and Professor John Winthrop of Harvard College; Deane, who founded the town of Winthrop and the town of Groton, named after the ancestral home in England; and John, Jr., who founded the town of Ipswich, then Agawam, in 1633, and moved to Connecticut in 1635. It is to this last line that Frederic Winthrop belonged.

In the sixth generation in this country, Thomas Lindall Winthrop (1760–1841), of this Connecticut line, returned to Boston in 1785. He was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts from 1826 to 1832, and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1835 to 1841. A brother, Francis Bayard Winthrop (1754–1817), removed to New York and engaged in business there. Frederic Winthrop was one of his descendants. The line of descent is: Francis Bayard (1754–1817); Thomas Charles (1797–1873); Robert (1833–1892); and Frederic (1868–1932).

Thomas Lindall Winthrop's son, Robert Charles (1809–1894), was president of the Massachusetts Historical Society for thirty years. It was due to his efforts and those of his son, Robert Charles, Jr., that the Winthrop Papers were assembled, which, on the death of the latter in 1905, were bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Winthrop Papers is one of the priceless collections of the United States. The manuscripts date back to the middle of the sixteenth century and include the original diary and correspondence of Governor John Winthrop, twenty-seven letters of Roger Williams, letters of John Winthrop, Jr., governor of Connecticut, of his son, Major-General Fitz-John Winthrop, also Governor of Connecticut, and of Major-General Wait Still Winthrop of Connecticut.

Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., had inherited part of these papers and other manuscripts from his father, but the major part, including the diary and correspondence of the first Governor Winthrop, had passed to Robert C. Winthrop's cousin, William Henry Winthrop of New London, Connecticut. William Henry Winthrop, a recluse, had been so annoyed by requests to examine these papers that he kept them under lock and key and allowed no one, not even members of the family, access to them. On his death in 1860, Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., having purchased this collection from his cousin's heirs, combined it with his own. He and his son, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., subsequently purchased more correspondence of the family, and more was contributed by others of its members. Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., and his son made it a point to publish at intervals parts of this correspondence through the Massachusetts Historical Society. After the death of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., funds were made available, through the generosity of his daughter, Miss Clara B. Winthrop, in order that the collected correspondence of this illustrious family might be added to and published.

With his wealth, position, and many friends, it might seem that Frederic Winthrop would have found his greatest interest in a life of pleasure and sports. But although he had a farm in Ipswich, Massachusetts, and another large farm in Allendale County, South Carolina, which had been left to him by his brother, Robert Dudley, he was so constituted that he could not be happy in a life that contained for him no more serious interest than such a life offered. Always a reader and of thoughtful mind, he preferred literary pursuits and the society of literary men. His interest in his family and the family associations with the country to which he had come made him an ardent student of colonial history. Later, his election to membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society presented to him another interest, which became a major influence in his life.

By a strange coincidence, the farm he purchased for his summer home, where he spent most of his time, lay partly in Ipswich, the Agawam founded by John Winthrop, Jr., in 1633, and the birthplace of the latter's son Fitz-John. His own house Winthrop called " Groton House " after Groton Manor in England, the home of the parents of Governor John Winthrop and the birthplace of John Winthrop, Jr. In 1930, the tercentenary of the arrival of Governor Winthrop on these shores, these family associations were brought more closely home to Winthrop. Because of the interest he took in it and his knowledge of colonial times, Frederic Winthrop was appointed to the governor's commission that planned the tercentenary observances. A vessel was built to resemble as nearly as possible the *Arbella;* and, very reluctantly, Frederic Winthrop consented to impersonate Governor Winthrop in a pageant reënacting the arrival of that *Arbella* which, on June 22 three centuries before, had sailed into Salem Harbor with his ancestor on board.

In the World War Winthrop went overseas as a captain in the Red Cross. But, not getting an assignment close enough to the zone of military activities to be interesting to him, he returned home when the period for which he had enlisted expired.

On January 9, 1908, Winthrop was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, continuing, after a gap of less than two years, the name of Winthrop on its rolls from its organization till his death. Charles Francis Adams, then president of the Society, was heard to remark that, although Winthrop himself did not write, he took so much interest in the activities of the Society and in historical subjects that he considered him a really desirable member. In the *Proceedings* Winthrop's name appears as a member of several committees and as a member-at-large of the Council for the years 1910–1913, 1926–1928, and from 1931 till his death.

Naturally his greatest interest was in the Winthrop Papers. Although Winthrop had had nothing to do with either the actual assembling of this collection, which had been done by the family of Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., or the publications previous to his election, which had been issued by the Society in collaboration with Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., and his son, the contents of the collection and the continuation of their publication as a memorial to the Winthrop family were of absorbing interest to him. After Winthrop's election he served on the committee that supervised the publications.

In June, 1920, in memory of their father, Robert Winthrop, Frederic, for himself and his deceased brother, Robert Dudley, together with his brothers Grenville Lindall and Beekman, established a fund of $10,000, which they named the "Robert Winthrop Fund." The income of this fund they stipulated should be used by the Massachusetts Historical Society for "the publication of papers written by members of the Winthrop Family, or of papers relating to the Winthrop Family in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, or for research relating to the Winthrop Family in England before and during the great Puritan Emigration to New England in the seventeenth century." In March, 1926, Winthrop's sisters, Mrs. Hamilton Fish Kean and Mrs. Herman van Roujan, added

$5,000 more to the fund. In his will Frederic Winthrop left it an additional sum of $25,000.

What these gifts and the Winthrop Papers mean, was forcibly stated by Worthington C. Ford when this Robert Winthrop Fund was established:

> . . . the Winthrop collection of manuscripts, given to the Society by Robert C. Winthrop, Sr., and Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., constitutes the largest and most valuable collection of early colonial papers in existence. No other colony can show so numerous, so important in themselves, or so widely related a series of letters, extending through five generations of men prominent in public affairs. Apart from the family interest, they possess great historical value, and hardly a name of moment in the first fifty years of New England history cannot be found in some form and often in a long series of communications. Though six volumes of selected letters have been printed, they do not begin to touch the material available. This generous gift now places it in the power of the Society to make a complete and systematic publication of the known Winthrop material, and thus fitly rounds out the gift of the manuscripts.

Although there is nothing from his own pen in the archives of the Society, in other ways Frederic Winthrop has contributed much to it. At the monthly meetings he was a faithful attendant. Assisting in the arrangements for the address and the entertainment afterward, speaking to every one and introducing new members, he did much to hold the Society together and make all who came look forward to the next meeting with pleasure. His own personality has made for him a place in our memory.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 13, 1934, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From GEORGE E. CABOT, Blotter "E" from the account books of Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins, January 18, 1797–August 2, 1798.

From the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, a collection of letters written to the Reverend Joseph Allen (H. C. 1811).

From WORTHINGTON C. FORD, a set of Stevens's *Facsimiles,* and several volumes of transcripts from foreign archives.

From the Harvard College Library, sixteen Massachusetts newspapers, 1845–1893.

From MATT B. JONES, Eliphalet Adams, *A Discourse Putting Christians in Mind to be Ready to every Good Work* (Boston, 1706); John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (Boston, 1732); John Cotton, *The Fountaine of Life* (second issue, London, 1651).

From Mrs. Harold Murdock, books from the library of her husband, our late associate, given in his memory.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Dr. George G. Sears, a medal of the one-hundredth anniversary of Enfield, Massachusetts, and a medal of the visit of Prince Takamatsu to Boston.

By purchase: a medal in honor of our associate, Harvey Cushing.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from THOMAS BARBOUR accepting his election to Resident Membership.

The chair reported the death of PHILIP HALE, a Resident Member, on November 30, 1934.

Lawrence Waters Jenkins of Salem was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and William Hovgaard of Brooklyn, New York, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo read a paper on "Governor John Endecott and the Quakers."[1]

Mr. MORISON spoke briefly about the facts relating to the birth of Jared Sparks and about Sparks's editing of the George Washington manuscripts.

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[1] Printed in his *John Endecott, A Biography* (Cambridge, 1936), Chapter XIX.

Mr. Dow exhibited a deed signed in London in March, 1642/3, by John Winthrop, Jr., for the sale of three hundred acres of land at Topsfield, Massachusetts, to Edward Parks, merchant tailor of London.

JANUARY MEETING, 1935

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 10, 1935, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the heirs of Dr. Clement Cleveland of New York City, the manuscript of a speech delivered by Anthony B. Cleveland during the presidential campaign of 1848.

From MATT B. JONES, a copy by Jabez Huntington of a letter from Israel Putnam to Captain Hopkins, September 3, 1774, containing reports of hostilities between British troops and the inhabitants of Boston.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Bausch & Lomb Optical Company, a medal of the Franklin Bifocal Sesquicentennial.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS accepting election to Resident Membership, and from WILLIAM HOVGAARD accepting election to Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death, on January 21, 1935, of Dr. MALCOLM STORER, a Resident Member, and Curator of the Society's collection of coins and medals.

The Society elected the Reverend Carroll Perry of Ipswich a Resident Member.

Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON read a paper entitled "David Ingram Walks through Norumbega." [1]

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[1] Printed in his *Terra Nova: The Northeast Coast of America before 1602* (Boston, 1935), 141–156.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 14, 1935, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From CHARLES K. BOLTON, an annotated copy of the diary kept by his father, Charles Edward Bolton, while serving with the Christian Commission, July–August, 1864.

From Mrs. Charles K. Bolton, the typewritten manuscript of the autobiography of her father, Edward Stanwood.

From CHARLES WARREN of Dedham, a collection of autograph letters of the collectors of the port of Boston, made by his father, our late associate, Winslow Warren; also a scrap-book kept by his father during his administration as collector of the port of Boston.

From the children of the late Governor Wolcott, seven scrap-books of newspaper clippings and printed speeches of their father; and an autographed volume presented to him by his military staff, containing their photographs.

From the children of the late Governor Wolcott, on deposit, additional papers of William Hickling Prescott.

By purchase, with the assistance of a member of the Society, the manuscript receipt book for the years 1747–1750, kept by Thomas Hancock, Boston merchant.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From JULIUS H. TUTTLE, a photograph of Bass Otis's portrait of Washington.

From THOMAS BARBOUR, an engraving of William Dandridge Peck, elected a member of this Society in 1792.

From the Bostonian Society, a Boston City School Medal, and a medal once owned by Thomas Nelson.

The Chair announced the death of LYON GARDINER TYLER, a Corresponding Member, on February 12, 1935.

The Society elected Henry Lee Shattuck of Boston a Resident Member.

Mr. MATT B. JONES read a paper on

AN EARLY SILVER MINING PROMOTION IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY

The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company granted to the patentees "all mynes and myneralls, as well royal mynes of gould and silver as other mynes and myneralls whatsoever."[1] The king, to whom was reserved a fifth part of all gold and silver ore found within the limits of the colony, appears to have had fond hopes of the riches that would result to the Crown.

John Winthrop, Jr., was interested in developing the mineral resources of the territory, and the early saltworks at Salem and ironworks at Lynn, Braintree, and elsewhere were tributes to his efforts. As early as June, 1641, the General Court voted that "for incouragement of such as will adventure for the discovery of mines," whoever should be at the expense of discovering a mine might enjoy the same for twenty-one years, after which time the General Court was to have power to allot so much of the benefit to the public use as they should "think equall."[2]

About three years later a grant was made to the younger Winthrop of "the hill at Tantousq, about 60 miles westward in which the black lead is, and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians."[3] This property, later called Tantiusques, lay within the limits of the present town of Sturbridge and had long been known to the Indians, who made use of the lead to paint themselves. It is evident that Winthrop had purchased the property from its Indian owners a short time before the date of the grant, acting through Stephen Day, better known in connection with the first colony press, who negotiated a trade with them as agent for Winthrop, but a second purchase was made immediately after the grant from the General Court.

In spite of efforts at development, the matter lay idle. Possibly the string attached to the beneficial use of mines in the vote of 1641 was a deterrent, although the difficulties of wilderness operations were doubtless sufficient to account for the situation. It is evident that the owner hoped, and perhaps believed, that his lead mine would also produce silver, as it was the subject of correspondence between him and Dr. Robert Child, who had been interested in some of Winthrop's enterprises. About 1645 Dr. Child wrote to his friend: " I am unwilling to beate you out of your great hopes; nay I hope I shall not discourage you from digging lustily about it, for the commodity, as I have tould you, wisely managed, will maintaine itselfe, but pray let not out too much cost, till you have more certainty than as yet you have." [4]

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[1] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I. 3–19.

[2] *Ibid.*, I. 327.

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 82.

In 1648 the General Court withdrew its restrictions on the development of mines and voted that " the whole benefit of such mines whatsoever are due and belong to such proprietors of land wherein such mines shall be found, to them and their heires forever . . . paying onely the $\frac{1}{5}$ part of gold and silver, according to our patent, and no more." [5]

During the following decade several efforts to develop this Winthrop mine ended in failure. Costs were high, the amount of ore meager, and the results disappointing. The last reference to the property by its first proprietor is in a letter of November 12, 1668, to the secretary of the Royal Society of London, in which, after referring to his heavy losses occasioned by the capture of certain vessels by the Dutch, Winthrop says: " But who knows the Issues of Divine Providence! Possibly I might have buried more in an uncertain mine (which I fancied more than salt) had not such accidents prevented." [6]

In 1737 Winthrop's grandson, John, who had become the owner of this mineral property by way of his father, Wait Winthrop, attempted to revive the project, and must have had high faith in it, for as late as 1741 he declared to the Royal Society, of which he was a member, that his lead ore had a silver content of twelve pennyweights per pound. Nevertheless, a London assayer advised him a few months later that, although the lead ore did contain a small amount of silver, it was so hard to separate that the value of the lead lost in the operation was greater than that of the silver found. Modern assays show no silver content whatever in this lead ore.

Nearly a century later, in 1828–1829, Frederic Tudor, the ice king, secured possession of the property and operated it for some years in connection with his manufacture of crucibles. The whole story of this early mining adventure has been entertainingly told by George H. Haynes in his " Tale of the Tantiusques." [7]

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[4] 5 *Collections,* I. 153–155.

[5] *Mass. Records,* II. 242.

[6] 5 *Collections,* VIII. 135.

[7] *Proceedings,* American Antiquarian Society, XIV. 471–497.

In February, 1682/3, the General Court ordered that, in view of the rumors that gold and silver mines had been found in the jurisdiction, "meet persons" should be appointed from time to time to "make enquiry after such mines, and doe their utmost endeavor that a fifth part of sayd oare be reserved for his majesty and that they take care that his majesty may have his just due for the same both in quantity and quality." Forfeit and fine were to be imposed on anyone who should operate such a mine before giving information concerning it. Jeremiah Dummer was appointed to the office thus created.[8]

It is possible that this action was due to the reported discovery of a silver-bearing vein of lead ore by one Robert Lyman in Nonotuck, now Northampton, in 1679. In July of that year the people of that plantation held a town meeting and voted that "the town have a general interest in a lead mine newly discovered within its limits."[9] Here again socialism raised its head to blight private initiative. In the following October another town meeting was held, and, after further conference about the "lead mine which Robert Lyman found out," the town receded from its former position and voted that "such persons as would Joine in the carrying out of that Designe should meett on the 23: of this instant at Sun an hour high at night . . . And to them or to those person that shall then Apeare the Towne doe hereby giue vp all their right in that minne Lying About six miles off on the west side of the Towne."[10]

This vein was opened as early as 1767 and during the Revolutionary War was worked for lead for military purposes.[11] At various times in the nineteenth century efforts were made to operate the property, but none was of long duration, and it is evident that any silver content was too small to have made the ore desirable for anything but its lead.

In June, 1684, Major John Pynchon, Mr. William Avery, and Mr. Hezekiah Usher petitioned the General Court for a grant of one thousand acres of land near Millers River "above Dearefield and nere the great river." They stated that they had been at

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[8] *Mass. Records*, v. 383.

[9] Benjamin K. Emerson, *Geology of Old Hampshire County, Massachusetts* (1898), 502.

[10] James R. Trumbull, *History of Northampton* (Northampton, 1898), I. 360.

[11] Louis H. Everts, *History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1879) I. 17, 63.

" much paines and costs in searching for to finde out metalls and having found a hill . . . in which are stones, encouraging small tryals, and being willing at further cost to improve it," they would need the land for the inhabitants who would develop the mine. A grant was made upon condition that the land be taken up within two miles of the hill on the east side of the " great river," but the nature of this speculation is not free from doubt.

It is perhaps well to refer to these early lead-mining efforts, slightly silver-tinged, in order to lay a foundation from which to consider an earnest, although unsuccessful, effort to promote what was probably the earliest attempt to undertake silver mining in Massachusetts Bay.

In the summer of 1721 there appeared in London a promoters' circular, *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Caleb Spurrier, to his Correspondent in Cornwall,* offering for sale, at ten guineas each, a majority of the shares in a company which was to develop and operate a silver mine in the township of York, in the District of Maine. It was as well calculated to attract the adventurous investor of that day and his unwary guinea as are similar productions of present-day promoters. But Mr. Spurrier had brought his project to London at an unpropitious time and was faced with a situation quite as difficult as that which must be met by promoters of the present decade.

During the previous year John Law's Mississippi Bubble had burst in France with disastrous effects. In August, 1720, the speculation in securities of the British South Sea Company reached its climax, and by February, 1721, its stock was selling at about a tenth of the high price, a committee of parliament had reported fraud in its management, and action was under way for the confiscation of the estates of its directors. Hundreds of satellite bubbles rose and fell with these two, including " A Company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." These speculations of 1719–1720 in the securities of companies holding government concessions for trading in both the Americas had been as wild, their putative values as fictitious, their collapse as sudden and abysmal, and the wreckage of their victims as melancholy as the similar aspects of the American debacle of 1928–1929. It was probably more difficult to promote an American silver mine in London in the summer of 1721 than it would have been to do it in Wall Street in the summer of 1932. The general state of mind is well described in a bit of contemporary doggerel:

He that is rich and wants to fool away
A good round sum in North America,
Let him subscribe himself a headlong sharer,
And asses' ears shall honor him or bearer.

Doubtless it was with this situation in mind that Mr. Spurrier began the letter to his correspondent in Cornwall with a reminder that some time had elapsed since the writer had advised him of the discovery of " several large Royal mines in New England " and that he had obtained legal grants of mining rights from the " Proprietors in whose Lands they are "; also that 350 tons of silver ore had been mined, transported to London, and lay at the Great Wet Dock near Deptford. " Now," says the promoter, I " further inform you, That many Assays of this Ore have been made by several noted Refiners," namely, Messrs. Grammer and Hambleton of London and Messrs. Roberts and Palmer of Flintshire, Wales, " who are allowed to be Persons of great Judgement in these Affairs." No record has been found concerning these refiners with the exception of Mr. Grammer, who was with little doubt that James Gramer whose name appears on the records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of the City of London as " admitted to Livery " on May 22, 1694, and " Elected to Court of Assistants " on November 28, 1707.

Mr. Grammer and Mr. Hambleton had reported a silver content per pound of ore valued at 3½*d*, which, as the hopeful promoter truthfully states, amounts to £32 13*s* 4*d* a ton, provided we take a long ton. Mr. Roberts had found a pennyweight of silver per pound of ore, but Mr. Palmer (whose samples may have been selected with less care) could secure at best only half that amount, and in some assays " no more than 30 ounces per ton." Even with the smaller content of precious metal there was, as the promoter thought, great encouragement to proceed with the development of the properties upon which Spurrier had secured mining rights.

These were four in number and had been granted to the promoter by John and George Stover, Nicholas Cane, and Benjamin Webber, all of York, upon whose land, the circular states, " there are Seven large Veins of Silver Ore, from One to Four Foot wide; and good Reason (as all allow who are concerned in Mining) to expect that the lower we dig the richer the Ore will be." The cost of raising, transporting, and smelting the ore was estimated at not more than £5 a ton, and it was thought that two thousand tons a year could be produced and worked with " great Profit to the Persons concerned in Interest," and with " very considerable " advantage if the value of the ore should be less than that indicated.

Next Mr. Spurrier set out his plan of organization. He had expended a large sum in discovering the mines, and in raising and transporting the ore which he had at Deptford. A further considerable sum was necessary to erect works and prosecute development. In consequence, he had been " induced to divide his whole Interest into 600 Shares or equal Parts, 400 of which are to be disposed of at Ten Guineas per share."

It appears that under a deed of trust dated June 22, 1721, Spurrier's " Estate and Interest in the Mines " had been vested in a third person (unnamed) with power to convey the shares to purchasers, and funds so raised were to be applied to pay the freight on ore already brought over and other charges incurred in the matter, and to prosecute the work. There were, however, safeguards. Until 200 shares should have been disposed of, no money was to be " laid out." When 200 shares should have been disposed of, only the freight was to be paid, and the rest was to be applied to carrying out the work. Then when 300 shares should have been disposed of, " part of the other charges already incurred " were to be paid. When 400 shares should have been sold, the remaining charges were to be paid. Furthermore, says Mr. Spurrier, the shares in the new company were to include not only ". . . my present Interest, but also to One Half of all Interest that I shall hereafter obtain in any Mine or Mines upon the Continent of America, of which I have a very good Prospect, and this at the Rate only of 10£ per Cent. out of the Neat Produce of any such Ore, according as is already agreed with respect to my present Interest."

After this casual reference to the obligation for the payment of royalties to the owners of the land, Mr. Spurrier says to his Cornwall correspondent: " All of which being duly weighed, I doubt not will induce you to propose to those Friends you mentioned the joining with you in so promising an Interest, and whom for your Sake I shall be willing to oblige in anything that lies in my power."

Here ends the body of the letter, but there remained the absolute necessity of differentiating this project from the disastrous "bubbles," and this phase of the matter was dealt with in a "postscript," which begins as follows: "As there have been a great many Projects set on Foot of late, by which the Projectors have deceived unwary Persons, it may be proper to observe to you the Difference between this Undertaking, and such pretended ones, as have been justly called Bubbles."

Four points of difference are noted:

> Here is a good Title to the Mines. . . . Here are 350 Tuns of the Ore on the Spot, brought from New England from those Mines. . . . Here are the Certificates of several Persons of great Skill, What Proportion of Silver that Ore produces. . . . There has been such Care taken in framing the Deed of Copartnership in the said Mines and Ore, that either the Undertaking will be carryed on, or every Man will be entitled to have his Money repaid him. . . .
>
> N.B. The several Certificates of the Refiners are to be seen at North's Coffeehouse, in King Street, near Guildhall, and the Produce of Silver, where the Office for delivering out the Shares is Kept, and Attendance given every Tuesday and Thursday, from Ten to One.

Considerable search has failed to yield further information concerning the London activities of Caleb Spurrier and his silver-mining company, but material may be gleaned from various early records in the Massachusetts Bay. He was settled in Boston and engaged in business as a plumber prior to the autumn of 1717, when he engaged the sloop of Thomas Walter, mariner, of Boston, manned for coasting service. A suit brought by Walter shows that the boat was used by Spurrier from October 28, 1717, to March 5, 1718.[12] It is probable that this voyage involved prospecting along the York coast, for it was during that period that Spurrier first appeared in York, as a witness to an agreement between two residents of that town.[13] Some years later when he was residing in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he described himself as "of London, Merchant," [14] and in the numerous grants and agreements to which he was a party in York and which are recorded with York County deeds, he described himself as of York, "Chymister" or "Kymister." It is evident, however, that aside from his adventure with the silver mine he pursued the calling of a plumber.

[12] Suffolk County Court Records, Number 12406.

[13] York County Deeds, IX. 59.

[14] Records of the Massachusetts General Court (MS., Massachusetts Archives), XI. 567.

In November, 1718, he acquired mining rights from John and George Stover and Nicholas Cane.[15] The Stovers held their lands under the will of their father, Sylvester Stover, probated in 1687,[16] and the property extended along the shore from Cape Neddick, easterly to the mouth of Cape Neddick River, including York Beach, then called the "short sands."[17]

All these mining rights cover the grantor's lands in general terms, but the John Stover farm, by the description in a later deed from Sir William Pepperrell, whose father had purchased it from Stover, is definitely located as being on the westerly side of the mouth of the Cape Neddick River.[18] An examination of records indicates that a portion of Nicholas Cane's land lay on the shore very near Bald Head and close to land of Benjamin Webber. In that case it was near the scene of Spurrier's actual operations, now to be spoken of.

In July, 1719, Spurrier acquired mining rights upon a thirty-acre tract of land belonging to Benjamin Webber.[19] The land lay a short distance northeasterly from Bald Head Cliff, had a shore frontage of 40 rods, and ran back 120 rods across the old York-Wells road, or King's Highway. The "Sedar Bush Marked on four Sides" which was the monument at the southerly corner on the sea shore, and the "Pitch Pine Tree Marked on four Sides" which stood at the northerly end of the shore line are no longer in evidence, as may be surmised, but it is not difficult to locate the property with reasonable exactness. In fact, its side lines are still marked by parallel stone walls. One of them is of recent construction, but close by are evidences of an ancient wall.

Webber's grant recited that the consideration was the "return of a Deed of land to me by Mr. Spurrier" and covers only one third of "the Mines and Mineralls" in and upon the tract. It also included "all the rights and priviledges of said Spurriers workhouse on said Land to improve or remove the Same at his pleasure." This grant was in perpetuity as distinguished from the Stover and Cane grants, which were limited to the term of Spurrier's life. On the same date, and for similar consideration, Webber conveyed to Isaac Provender, a resident of York, another one-third interest to " the Mines and Mineralls " in the same tract,[20] but no mention is made of the workhouse in this grant.

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[15] York County Deeds, IX. 183.

[16] York County Probate Records, D. 26.

[17] Town of York Records; York County Deeds; York County Probate Records.

[18] York County Deeds, XXXII. 152.

[19] *Ibid.*, IX. 188.

It is probable that the unrecorded deed from Webber was the earliest of the mining grants in question, and the existence of Spurrier's workhouse on the property in 1719 indicates that he had begun work prior to that date. In fact, it is known that he was preparing to ship ore to England by February, 1719, for early in that month Captain Foxwell Curtis brought his sloop around from York into the " Cape netuck River " to load a cargo of what his crew supposed to be copper ore to be transported to Bristol. For some reason the cargo was not loaded, and in May, 1719, Captain Curtis sued Spurrier, who is called " plumer " in the writ, for fifty pounds " current money of New England," [21] conditioned on the furnishing of this cargo. There was conflicting evidence as to whether the failure to sail was due to the defendant's failure to furnish adequate sureties on his bond or to the unseaworthy condition of the sloop, but the jury gave the shipmaster a verdict for the full amount of the bond. The court, however, " chancered it down " to five pounds and costs, and on an appeal to the Superior Court of Judicature for York County Captain Curtis succeeded in recovering only two pounds additional.[22]

It is perhaps reasonable to conclude that Spurrier had found the Webber property to be most favorable for the prosecution of his plans; that he, and possibly Provender, had procured a deed or grant from the owner under conditions that gave rise to dissatisfaction; and that the final grant represented a compromise both as to scope and duration.

As one follows the shore northerly or northeasterly from Bald Head Cliff, one finds at a distance of about half a mile, and just before one reaches the upward slope of the somewhat elevated promontory known as the High Pasture, a small cove with a gravel beach that thrusts itself back between the cliffs and affords the only landing place for a small boat that can be found for some distance along this rocky shore in either direction. It is not named upon the maps, but residents of the neighborhood, whose ancestors have been occupants of these sterile acres since the mid-seventeenth century, will tell one that it has long been known as Pirates Cove, that here pirates are supposed to have buried their treasure in the long ago, and that men have dug for this hidden wealth "when the moon was right."

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[20] York County Deeds, x. 229.

[21] Suffolk County Court Records, Number 15124.

[22] For an explanation of " chancering down " a verdict, see *Publications*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, xxix. li–lii.

An examination of the land lying back a little way from the shore reveals at once unmistakable evidence of the digging of several pits. One need not attribute them to the promoter of 1721; doubtless they are more recent. Nor are pirates responsible for them either directly or indirectly. The real story is not difficult to picture.

A prospector searching for what he might develop, found at various places along this shore evidences of silver-bearing ore, selected this lonely spot as the most promising for his purpose, erected his small workhouse, and began his operations to uncover the little vein or pocket of ore. Carried on with some degree of secrecy, but with some displacement of the soil, the operations naturally resulted in curiosity and discussion among the scattered inhabitants of the neighborhood. With the lapse of years Spurrier became in these stories a searcher for pirates' treasure, or, perchance, a very pirate hiding his ill-gotten gains — and there were many such on the New England coast in the year of our Lord 1720. Such stories, modified only a little, account for the modern tradition and the comparatively modern excavation.

The peculiar geological formation at this point has been pointed out by Charles T. Jackson, geologist of the State of Maine.[23] The rocky shore presents to view a great variety of hone slate cut through by an infinity of dykes of volcanic rock, and one sees a great number of veins of white quartz which traverse the strata. Mr. Jackson makes no reference to the existence of silver at this point, but describes conditions favorable to the existence of such ore — at least in pockets such as have been located from time to time and occasionally worked along the New England coast — and he calls attention to the fact that around the shores of Lubec Bay he had found veins of lead, zinc, and copper ore directly beside such dykes. In fact, silver-bearing galena has been found at various places along the Maine coast, and for some years in the 1870's there was a considerable craze for mining lead and silver, both in Maine and Massachusetts.[24] Nearly a century ago, however, the question of mining silver in Massachusetts (and Maine might well have been included) was dealt with by Dr. Edward Hitchcock under the title " Misguided Efforts after Gold and Silver," [25] and nothing that has since happened in either of those states indicates any essential error in his conclusion that when silver is found in New England it costs more to get it than it is worth.

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[23] *Second Report on the Geology of Maine* (Augusta, 1838), 70.

[24] The subject has been discussed in Frank L. Bartlett, *Mines of Maine* (Portland, 1879–1880); in Charles J. Brockway, *Mineral Deposits in Essex County, Massachusetts, Especially in Newbury and Newburyport* (Newburyport, 1875); and also in John H. Sears, *Physical Geography, Geology, Mineralogy and Paleontology of Essex County, Massachusetts,* 233.

But to return to the York silver-mining promotion; it appears certain that there were operations at Pirates Cove as early as the fall of 1718 or early winter of 1719; and it was here, or near here, that the ore was obtained which Spurrier transported to London in 1720 or 1721. There is no reason to doubt that he had there a substantial quantity of ore — perhaps all he claimed in his circular — although there is every reason to presume that it was not of uniform quality, that it may have contained some country rock, and that the samples submitted to the assayers were not the poorest.

The circular intimates that Spurrier was in England for some time prior to the date of the promotion, and this is borne out by a petition which he presented to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay in 1723, in which he said he was " of London, Merchant, now Resident at Portsmouth in New Hampshire "; that in June, 1719, he brought suit against one Butler in the Inferior Court of York County; that the defendant appealed to the Superior Court to be held in May, 1720; and that before the Court sat, Spurrier " was obliged to return home to Great Britain "; that because of a misunderstanding his attorney failed to appear in the appeal, so that he " was called out and the Former Judgement Reversed." In consequence he requested authority to reënter the appeal in the next Superior Court to be held at York. The request was granted, but, due to failure to get service on the defendant, he was compelled to renew the petition in June, 1725.[26]

It is known, then, that Spurrier was in Great Britain in the summer of 1720 and that he had returned to New England as early as June, 1723; but other evidence of his activities indicates his presence in York in the late fall of 1721. While he had mining rights on the lands of the men named in the circular, all except those on the Webber property were for the term of the grantee's natural life. Doubtless his London associates or their attorneys pointed out to him the precarious nature of such a tenure as a basis for a serious effort at development. At any rate, on December 22, 1721, he procured from John Stover similar mining rights for a term of twenty-one years from June 22, 1721, and from Nicholas Cane for a term of ninety-nine years from the same date, which it will be recalled was the date of the London trust indenture already referred to. Both these grants fixed the royalty to be paid at ten shillings " Passable Money of New England " per ton on all ore " dug and carried away," except that " if any Ryall mine is, shall or may be found therein that part by law or Charter belong to our Soveraign Lord the King I expect no pay for." [27]

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[25] *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts* (Amherst, 1841), 206.

[26] Records, Massachusetts General Court, xi. 567; xii. 412; see also Suffolk County Court Records, Number 14096.

At this time, also, Spurrier sought to enlarge his mining rights, of which, under the terms of the trust, one half would inure to the benefit of the shareholders. In February, 1721/2, he purchased from Abraham Preble and Isaac Provender parcels of land, with water rights attached, situated on the line between York and Wells about half a mile back from the shore and probably near the Webber land; [28] and he procured mining rights from Elias Weare on Weare's Neck, which lies on the northeasterly side of the mouth of the Cape Neddick River.[29] A portion of the Provender land lies on Pine Hill, in the outskirts of Ogunquit, and upon it may be seen traces of work which indicate an attempt to expose some vein.

Finally, at a town meeting held in York on March 13, 1721/2, a grant was made to Spurrier, for a term of twenty-one years, of the right to " open mines and dig minerals " on all the undivided or common lands of the town, provided he should do no damage to the highways, and should pay a royalty of five shillings per ton for iron ore and ten shillings per ton for " ore of other metals." He was required to enter into a bond to secure the payment of the royalties, Captain Peter Nowell and Mr. Richard Milberry being appointed as agents of the town for this purpose,[30] and this transaction was completed ten days later, on March 23.[31]

This is the last definite information available with reference to the York silver-mining project. That there was some life in it at the date of the town grant may be charitably assumed, but there can be no doubt that it was dead by March, 1723, when Spurrier sold all the land in York to which he had acquired title, and in the deed recites that he had removed from York to Newbury, Massachusetts.[82] But if a little raking after may be pardoned, it will be possible to indicate some of his further activities in Massachusetts Bay.

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[27] York County Deeds, x. 232, 254.

[28] *Ibid.*, x. 254, 256.

[29] *Ibid.*, x. 255.

[30] Charles E. Banks, *History of York, Maine* (Boston, 1931), I. 365.

[31] York County Deeds, x. 269.

In Newbury was a field that may well have attracted him. Not only does silver-bearing galena ore exist in that neighborhood, but attempts have been made to mine it, the preliminary story of which can be read in Charles J. Brockway's pamphlet already cited — although it must be had in mind that this pamphlet does not differ in character from Spurrier's *Letter to a Correspondent in Cornwall.* These activities took place in 1874–1875 and were characterized by some of the features that habitually accompany the discovery of new deposits of precious metals. There is evidence that there was interest in silver and lead deposits in Newbury at a much earlier period, although Spurrier can not be definitely connected with them. It is known, however, that as early as 1719 he purchased mining rights in the near-by town of Ipswich.[83]

Spurrier has already been traced from Newbury to Portsmouth, and it only remains to note his return to Boston and the plumbing business as early as 1726. The *Boston Gazette* of September 12, 1726, contains the following advertisement:

> The None-such Pump spoke of last year by Caleb Spurrier Plummer, which he mist performing, has been since accomplish'd and its performance seen by several Hundred of both Sexes in a Warehouse on Scarlets Wharfe, and now there is one fixt as it is to be on board a Ship, in a Still-House or Brew-House, it has but one Chamber, one upper Box, one lower Box, one Spear, one short brake, and is to be work't with but one hand of one common Man, it delivers one Hogshead in one minute, that and four others fixt there may be seen every Daystide from two hours flood till four hours ebb, by any that pleases, paying no less than 1*s.* They will continue there till the 10th of Novemb. next.
>
> N.B. Any Distiller or Brewer that pleases may be furnish'd with such a Pump at any time before the last of February next; soon after which time the said Caleb Spurrier purposes for London with a Pump to perform before his Britannick Majesty King George, that shall deliver 4 Hogsheads in one minute, by the strength of a common man.

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[82] York County Deeds, XI. 75.

[83] Essex County Deeds, XXXVI. 169.

It is probable that this super-"none-such" pump may have "mist performing" also, and that His Majesty may have been deprived of the proposed "performance." In any event, Spurrier was in Boston in May, 1727, for in that month a town meeting voted to grant him authority to carry water through the streets, provided he should give security to the satisfaction of the selectmen to repair and make good the streets and pavements and keep them in repair.[34] This is probably the earliest attempt to lay aqueducts in the streets of Boston. Doubtless it did not succeed, as the pump log aqueducts from Jamaica Pond were not constructed until the end of the century.

In the *New England Weekly Journal* of Monday, September 4, 1727, Spurrier gives notice that on the following Wednesday he will exhibit an engine that will fill an eight-hundred gallon still in twelve minutes from the beginning, and that may be removed with ease from one cistern to another. He appends a note to the effect that by repeated experiments he has discovered that any distiller may "run off the same quantity of Spirits in the same time as they do now with the same still without any Alteration" and with the use of only one fourth as much fuel of the same sort as previously used. "But," says Spurrier, "the secret will remain with him unless the Distillers of Boston do raise One Thousand Pounds, and lodge it, which shall be given the said Spurrier on the discovery and proof of the Assertion." Obviously the promoter's spirit was still working, but things were going badly, and subsequent records of him all point to financial disaster. From June, 1726, to March, 1727, he occupied a portion of the premises belonging to Nathaniel Loring in Middle Street, now a part of Hanover Street,[35] but he was ousted from them and sued for rent.[36] It is probable that he then removed to Prison Lane (now Court Street), a portion of which was called Inner Temple, a name that Drake says was probably given to it by Spurrier.[37]

In April, 1728, he was sued by Thomas Moffatt, a hat merchant of parts, who lived near the Sign of the Orange Tree, at the head of Hanover Street, and was a relative of the Spurriers,[38] for a balance of account amounting to nearly £350. Probably Moffatt had advanced funds for the pump experiments. In this suit Spurrier's plumber's tools and supplies and household furniture were attached. A week later John and Thomas Hill, distillers, whose distillery was situated on the water-front at the foot of South Street, brought suit for a substantial sum on account of pewter furnished and work done on a pump at a still-house, probably their own. The sheriff's return shows that he attached a " Leaden pump and a Leaden Chamber which the Plaint[iff] told me was the Def[endan]ts Estate." Evidently the pump had sucked his financial cistern dry, and here his story ends.

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[34] *Report of the Record Commissioners, Boston Records, 1700–1728,* 221.

[35] Samuel G. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston, 1856), 813.

[36] Suffolk County Court Records, Numbers 20334, 21369, 22358.

[37] Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston,* 811.

[38] Suffolk County Court Records, Numbers 20881 and 23811.

The president read the following letter from Mr. Charles Warren:

Washington, D. C.
January 12, 1935

MY DEAR MR. ENDICOTT:

My father, Winslow Warren, who was for fifty-seven years a member of this Society, was appointed Collector of the Port of Boston by President Cleveland, his commission being dated March 12, 1894. He assumed office March 20, 1894; and he served through the remainder of Cleveland's administration and for one year under President McKinley, until April 1, 1898, when he was succeeded by George H. Lyman.

During the preparation of the three papers on the Boston Customs Service which he read before the Society in 1897, 1910, and 1913, he made a collection of autograph letters of all the Collectors of Customs of the Port of Boston, beginning with that of Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, the first Collector, who was my mother's great-grandfather. This autograph collection I am now presenting to the Society.

My father had the unique experience of administering three separate tariff laws – the McKinley Act, the Wilson Act, and the Dingley Act (two of them of Republican and one of them of Democratic origin). The scrapbook which he kept during his administration may be of historical interest to future students of economic history; and I am herewith presenting it to the Society.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES WARREN

ENTOMOLOGICAL
RESEARCH

Edward W. Emerson

EDWARD WALDO EMERSON · A MEMOIR

BY

ALLEN FRENCH

Edward Waldo Emerson, son of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was born on July 10, 1844, in Concord, Massachusetts, to perhaps the best conditions which the New England of that day had to offer: a town where the old ideals and simple living were prized, a circle which included people of great ability, and a household with a remarkable father and mother. The mother, "deeply religious and spiritually minded," brought the children up with care. The father, because of his lecture tours, was much away from home; but when with his family, he gave it of his best. Edward's older sister, Ellen, was his best companion in a delicate childhood and fostered his bent toward art. Of the many distinguished people who entered his father's doors the boy learned much, yet felt most interest in two neighbors, Louisa May Alcott and Henry D. Thoreau, each half a generation older than himself. When Ralph Waldo Emerson was away in Europe, Thoreau lived in the house; and at other times he was a frequent visitor. Thoreau had a marked respect for children and with his varied entertainment and instruction did much to develop Edward's mind and character. In the household all the interests of the day were discussed. Edward learned to think for himself and, when necessary, to say his say.

His life was conditioned by definite limitations — first of all his health. As he came of college age, the Civil War broke out, and he wished to enlist, for with his great love of horses he had the spirit of a cavalryman. But his health forbade his volunteering; and though twice drawn in the draft, he was each time rejected for service. He turned reluctantly to college, entered Harvard with the Class of 1865, and, after losing a year because of sickness, graduated in 1866. Next he tried railroading in the new West; but again his health broke down, and he had to build himself up by outdoor work. As he grew stronger, he wished to devote himself to art, but saw no living in it; and in view of the state of his father's finances his living had to be earned. Hence he made another of those compromises of which his life was made up, and sought usefulness and health in the life of a country doctor. He got his education at the Harvard Medical School and in Europe, and in 1874 took up his practice in his own town.

For the secret of Edward Emerson's character one need look no further than these repeated disappointments, these enforced submissions to fate. They did much toward developing in him a sweetness of character in accepting temporary defeat, together with a persistence in searching for the next thing which it was possible for him to do. His experience developed his sympathies; his face and voice showed his gentleness and kindliness. He was lovable; yet he was strong. Repeated bereavements in a charming family life which there is here no room to describe he bore like a soldier, and allowed them to cast no shadow on his brave and hopeful disposition.

For eight years Edward Emerson practised medicine in Concord. His work was that of the typical family doctor in a country town; it was strenuous, exacting, wholesome, and full of interests, anxieties, and satisfactions. He was conscientious and a hard worker; he was out at all hours at whatever season. His love of horses stood him in good stead, for he always had one horse in his stable, and sometimes three. According to the circumstances, he drove in a buggy or a sleigh, or even rode, with his medicines and instruments in his saddle-bags. He was a good horseman and preferred the saddle for snowy times, thinking that it was easier for the beast. But once it proved worse for the rider when his horse fell with him in the night and pinned him in a snowdrift, with nobody near, and (as he knew at once) with his leg broken. Somehow he managed to get the horse up and himself in the saddle, and to ride safely home again. The picturesque life ripened and matured him, though the strain of its hardships was severe. He would be greatly troubled by the death of a patient if he could find the shadow of a reason to blame himself; but he took great satisfaction in his successful cases, which more than offset the distresses of his failures.

It was practically a farewell to his profession when, in 1882, he delivered his lecture on "The Man as Doctor," and in it summarized and reviewed his career. In this first of his printed writings he proved that, like his father, he could set forth his ideas in pithy and arresting phrases. Of his profession he thought highly, as indispensable; but he did not wish to lose himself in it. "First, man; second, citizen; and then doctor, is the right order." And when he said "A man's calling, if it be the right one, should confirm his strength and stimulate his growth," he was unconsciously thinking of the action of his profession on himself. For in it he came to a firm and well-rounded manhood. Yet he turned away from the calling. His health still handicapped him, and in spite of his valiant words he found the physical burden too great. At that time, also, the death of his father gave him definite financial support on which in part to rely. He left medicine, therefore, in order to devote himself to developing the strongly aesthetic side of his nature by painting and writing.

After three years of systematic study he was appointed to the lectureship in art anatomy in the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. He held it for twenty years, naming his substitute during his summers abroad. He studied in Europe and, returning home, he gave exhibitions. But he felt that he had entered art too late, and he never gained sufficient self-confidence in it to trust himself fully to it. His painting, however, was a welcome means of self-expression and, for many years, a happy recourse.

Work in art was early interrupted by the beginning of the long labor of bringing out a definitive edition of his father's works. The lecture platform drew him also. It is in this literary field that he made his permanent mark, not merely as his father's editor, but as expressing in his own essays and lectures his views on life and art. He travelled to deliver his lectures, he put them in print as magazine articles, and he was called to deliver addresses and poems on special occasions. He was elected to honorary membership in the Phi Beta Kappa in 1882, and in 1917 he became a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was elected to our own Society in June, 1910. Such recognition was to him merely encouragement to persevere; and he was, in his various pursuits, always a busy man. His work on his father's writings being finished in 1903 in the carefully annotated Centenary Edition, the son turned at once to the publication of the journals. These, by the valued help of Waldo Emerson Forbes, were issued in six volumes between 1909 and 1914. Dr. Emerson then at once began *The Early Years of the Saturday Club,* a long labor not completed until late in 1918. Meanwhile, in 1917, he issued his *Thoreau, as Remembered by a Young Friend.* Earlier he had written *Emerson in Concord* and the lives of General Charles R. Lowell and (in collaboration with Moorfield Storey) Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar.

In 1930, after Edward Emerson's death, his son issued in a volume entitled *Essays, Addresses, and Poems* the more outstanding of his father's shorter pieces. This book, the various volumes of Ralph Waldo Emerson's annotated works, the thick volume on the Saturday Club, and the others just named are permanent works of value standing to the credit of Edward Emerson. As his father's son he will doubtless always be overshadowed by his father's fame; but his own work has insight and sympathy, with an apt phrasing which gives it a flavor of its own, and deserves to be remembered.

As age overtook him, he went for various winters to the South to avoid the northern climate. But he subsequently gave up the practice, and for the last few years of his life took the New England seasons as they came. A part of each summer he spent at Jaffrey, overlooked by the Monadnock which he loved. But he was a Concordian through and through; and as he was born in Concord, so he died there on January 27, 1930. The delicate youth had lived to the ripe age of eighty-six. Of those who mourned for him, few remembered him as a doctor: the tribute of the many at his funeral was paid to the citizen and to the man.

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 14, 1935, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Arthur Foote of Newton Center, letters of Leverett Saltonstall, Robert C. Winthrop, and Rufus Choate.

From Mrs. Caroline H. Nicholson of South Boston, a document pertaining to the Massachusetts court of admiralty (1704), and letters from Walter Atwood to John Cooke, 1674; John Ive to John Usher, 1683; and Oliver Noyes to David Jeffries, 1760.

From Mrs. William F. Wharton of Groton, letters written to her husband by Philippe, Comte de Paris, and Robert Todd Lincoln.

From L. B. Taylor of Chicago, Civil War letters written by his father, Isaac H. Taylor.

From SAMUEL E. MORISON, Samuel Newman, *A Large and Complete Concordance to the Bible* (London, 1650).

From Miss Sophia H. Ritchie of Paris, three volumes of letters written by Harrison Gray Otis to his wife and daughter.

From Dr. William B. Robbins, the diary of Increase Mather for the year 1691.

By purchase: George Fox, *Something in Answer to a Letter of John Leverat* (London, 1677); *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New England* (London, 1676), the third of the King Philip's War narratives; Thomas Shepard, *The Day-Breaking, If Not the Sun Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New England* (London), the second of the Eliot Indian tracts.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Edward S. Dodge of Cambridge, an album containing photographs of members of the Massachusetts Senate, 1861–1862.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from HENRY LEE SHATTUCK accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The chair announced the death of EPHRAIM EMERTON, a Resident Member, on March 3, 1935; that of the Honorable OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, a Resident Member, on March 6, 1935; and that of ROBERT MEANS LAWRENCE, a Resident Member, on March 7, 1935.

The Society elected Friedrich Meinecke of Berlin, an Honorary Member, and Henry Sturgis Morgan of New York, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ROGER B. MERRIMAN read a paper on

THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN TUDOR ENGLAND

The history of the Spanish embassy in Tudor England may seem a subject somewhat remote from the established interests of this Society, but there are several reasons why it is of more general significance than would at first sight appear. In the first place, it has, on the whole, the best claim to be regarded as the earliest regularly established resident embassy in existence outside of Italy. I make this statement with some caution because there have been eminent authors who disagree; but I still think that the bulk of the best opinion would support me.[1] The doubt, of course, comes from the difficulty of distinguishing between a regular resident ambassador and envoys sent on special missions, of whom there were many in the second half of the fifteenth century, but Dr. Roderigo Gondesalvo de Puebla, who was accredited by Ferdinand and Isabella to Henry VII in 1487–1488, and remained there with intermissions till 1509, can, I think, be fairly regarded as belonging to the regular resident category. He inaugurated a series of seventeen diplomatists, all of them Spaniards under Ferdinand and Isabella and again under Philip II, but mostly Flemings and Savoyards in the intervening period of Charles V, who was, of course, Holy Roman Emperor as well as King of Spain. These men represented Spain in England for nearly one hundred years — more precisely, till 1584, when the last, and in many respects the greatest, of them, Bernardino de Mendoza, was ordered out of the realm. For the next twenty years, of course, Spain and England were at war, and down to the peace of 1604 there was no Spanish ambassador in London.

I have said that the Spanish embassy in Tudor England is primarily interesting because of its early beginning; it is also very interesting because of the circumstances of its close. That the last of the list, Bernardino de Mendoza, who had been involved in the various treasonable designs against Elizabeth's throne, was merely ordered to leave and not punished for his misdeeds in England was due to the advice of the learned Italian, Alberico Gentile, then in Oxford and London, who shares with Grotius the right to be called the founder of international law. Hitherto ambassadors who had misconducted themselves in the countries to which they had been accredited had often been punished, and even been put to death, by the governments to which they had been sent; and for at least forty years to come the majority of canonists and civilians maintained that such governments could lawfully punish in such cases. Even Gentile does not specifically deny the right, though he strongly urged that in Mendoza's case the proper course was to send him home.[2] We have here, then, the first instance of the formal application of the principle which today is universally conceded to be the only humane and correct one.

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[1] Cf. Otto Krauske, *Die Entwickelung der ständigen Diplomatie* (Leipzig, 1885), 75–76.

A third reason for the interest of the history of the Spanish embassy in Tudor England is the extraordinarily full and interesting letters the ambassadors sent home. Next to the reports of the Venetians, they are often the very best guides we now possess to what was going on. Without the correspondence of the Savoyard Eustache Chapuys, who was in London almost continually from 1529 to 1545 — the critical period of the breach with Rome — our picture of Henry VIII would be woefully incomplete. The reports of Simon Renard are indispensable for the last days of Edward VI, for Lady Jane Grey, and the early part of Mary Tudor; and Bernardino de Mendoza is a principal source of our knowledge of six of the most crucial years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Even the lesser lights could write good letters.

The life of an ambassador differed greatly in those times from that of his successors at the present day. There were, of course, no precedents, no traditions, no rules, no international law. The Spanish embassy in Tudor England had no fixed abode — the envoy and his suite lived where they could. There was, moreover, no continuity between the different embassies. The staff of each ambassador consisted of his personal servants plus an occasional legal adviser; they all came with him when he came, and left with him when he left; no one stayed behind to apprise his successor of existing conditions; even his correspondence was not usually available. The ambassadors' salaries, moreover, were beggarly. Puebla was expected to find himself and his staff of six or seven on less than five pounds a month. Forty to fifty years later, it is true, at the much more gorgeous court of Henry VIII, Chapuys was given six or seven times as much, and had some incidentals paid for him in advance; but as his staff and suite had by this time risen to sixty-five or seventy, he was scarcely any better off. Even worse than the inadequacy of the pay was the fact that the payments were constantly in arrears. Almost every letter sent home concluded with a long wail for money and emphatic asseverations that the cost of living in Tudor England was double that on the continent. Certainly Ferdinand the Catholic felt that resident envoys in foreign countries were rather an expensive luxury than a necessity. The fact that he twice officially accredited his own daughter, Catherine of Aragon, as ambassador to England — once in 1507, and again in 1509 during the first year of her married life with Henry VIII — is at least partially to be explained by his niggardliness, for of course he was not obliged to pay her anything.[3]

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[2] See the life of Gentile in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and references there. See also Gentile, *De Legationibus Libri Tres*, G. F. Laing, Translator and Editor for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (New York, 1924); note especially the introduction by Ernest Nys, and chapters 17–21 of Book II of the text.

Ferdinand's meanness, in matters financial, to Puebla had important political and diplomatic consequences; and the bare bones of the story are worth recalling here, for it is a most curious case of cause and effect. When Henry VII, in 1488, sent an embassy to Ferdinand and Isabella to ask for the hand of their daughter Catherine for his son Arthur, he came to them distinctly as a humble suppliant. Nobody had ever heard of a Tudor till three years before, when Henry had won the throne of England from Richard III on Bosworth Field — whereas Ferdinand and Isabella had united the Spanish crowns by their marriage in 1469, had successfully beaten down all rivals to their power in the seventies and early eighties, and were fast rising to a position of preponderance in western Europe. They knew the strength of their position and the weakness of Henry's; and as a price of their consent to the marriage which the Tudor king desired, they demanded that he reverse his foreign policy and go to war, in *their* interests, with his old friend, the king of France. Naturally Henry balked, and prolonged diplomatic negotiations ensued. Most of those negotiations were carried on in London by Dr. Puebla, the representative of Ferdinand and Isabella. As a result of his inadequate salary and the irregularity, to put it mildly, of his payments, he was forced to live in what was virtually a brothel, and dine there, most of the time, in highly undesirable company at the price of 2*d* a day. When invited to court, he could get a good square meal. In fact, one day when he appeared there for no special purpose, and Henry VII asked one of his courtiers why he had come, the courtier sneeringly replied, " To eat." [4] The Tudor king was not slow to profit by the situation. He is traditionally represented in the standard English history books as something of a miser, but he was also very quick to see when money could be spent to good advantage. Puebla was invited to the court with increasing frequency, got regularly fed there, and before long became rather Henry's man than Ferdinand's. The Spanish king heard of the situation, but dealt with it in just the wrong way. He could have either raised Puebla's salary and paid him promptly, or else replaced him with someone else — both to his own advantage. But instead he kept him on and yet paid him even more irregularly than before. The net result was that the marriage treaty and subsequent Anglo-Spanish relations during the rest of Henry's reign were arranged very much in England's way. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tudor king's position was also vastly strengthened by the turn of events on the continent and above all by the opening of the Italian wars in 1494. In any case, the end of the reign saw Ferdinand in the position of suppliant for Henry's alliance rather than Henry in that of suppliant for his, and one of the principal initial causes of that great reversal was the underpayment of the Spanish king's representative in England.

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[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish,* Numbers I, 191, 192, 228, 232, 415; II. xvii, and Numbers 21, 23, 25, 29, 31; IV (I), Numbers 453, 518, 805, 806.

It will be more interesting, however, to leave the beaten path and turn to some passages from the letters these Spanish ambassadors sent home. There is untold wealth of material; but perhaps a few selections from the correspondence of the Savoyard Eustache Chapuys, and one from that of Bernardino de Mendoza will be the best for the purpose here. Certainly they reveal an attitude vastly different from that with which most of us have been brought up.

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[4] Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors,* I (London, 1895), 48 ff., 131 ff. For new information about Puebla, made available since this paper was presented, and modifying the views set forth above, see Garrett Mattingly, " The Reputation of Doctor De Puebla," *English Historical Review,* LV (January, 1940), 27–46.

The first of Chapuys' letters that I have selected was written on April 16, 1532,[5] and tells of Henry VIII's efforts to influence people in favor of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon through the pulpit.

> On Easter day the provincial of the Friars Minors preached at their convent at Greenwich before the King, who was not pleased with the sermon; for the preacher said that the unbounded affection of princes and their false counsellors deprived them of the knowledge of the truth. The King spoke to the provincial afterwards, and heard words which did not please him; for the provincial told him clearly that he was endangering his crown [*son estat*] for both great and little were murmuring at this marriage. The King dissembled his ill will, and, not being able to alter the provincial's opinion, gave him leave to go to Tholouse. When he heard of his departure, he caused one of his chaplains to preach there in his presence, contrary to the custom of the convent and the wish of the warden. The chaplain began to contradict what the provincial had preached, saying that he wished he were present to answer him. On this the warden rose, and said that he would answer for his minister in his absence. At the close of his sermon the chaplain dared to say that all the universities and doctors were in favor of the divorce. The warden could not stand this lie, and said, in presence of the King, that it was not so. The King was very angry, and has caused all the bishops to tell the provincial, who has returned, that he ought to deprive the warden, and make him amend his error. This he will not do, and yesterday the King had them both arrested. They have promised Chapuys they will rather die than change their opinion. The provincial went abroad more to have a book in the Queen's favor printed, than for the chapter. The King thinks he will benefit his cause by allowing preaching in favor of the divorce; but his cause grows worse, for the people murmur incredibly.

Here is an account (September 10, 1533) [6] of the birth of the future Queen Elizabeth. Note Chapuys's solicitude for the welfare of Princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon.

> Will not write at length, having only been informed of this courier at the moment of his departure; besides there is nothing important since his last. Has only to mention that on Sunday last, the eve of Our Lady [7 September], about 3:00 p.m., the King's mistress [Anne Boleyn] was delivered of a daughter, to the great regret both of him and the lady, and to the great reproach of the physicians, astrologers, sorcerers,

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[5] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* v, Number 941.

[6] *Ibid.,* vi, Number 1112.

and sorceresses, who affirmed that it would be a male child. But the people are doubly glad that it is a daughter rather than a son, and delight to mock those who put faith in such divinations, and to see them so full of shame. The mayor, aldermen, masters of trades, and others of the city, are called to be present this afternoon at the christening. The French ambassadors are also summoned. The christening is to be at Greenwich. The godmothers are to be the mother-in-law of the duke of Norfolk [Anne Boleyn's kinswoman] and the marchioness of Exeter. The archbishop of Canterbury [Thomas Cranmer] is to be godfather. The bishop of London [John Stokesley] is to officiate. . . . God has forgotten him [the king] entirely, hardening him in his obstinacy to punish and ruin him; of which there is the greatest probability in the world, seeing the indignation of the people, both small and great, which grows every day, and nothing could better augment it than defrauding the . . . Princess [Mary] of her title; for she is, as she ought to be, adored by everybody. But the said indignation, like other things, may grow cool in time, so that it should be used in season; yet I think it so rooted and so just that the people will not forget it, or change, at least the most part of them.

On January 21, 1536, Chapuys wrote of the death of Catherine of Aragon, which he believed to have been due to poison, and of the way in which the king received the news.[7]

The Queen died two hours after midday, and eight hours afterwards she was opened by command of those who had charge of it on the part of the King, and no one was allowed to be present, not even her confessor or physician, but only the candle-maker of the house and one servant and "compagnon," who opened her, and although it was not their business, and they were no surgeons, yet they have often done such a duty, at least the principal, who on coming out told the Bishop of Llandaff, her confessor, but in great secrecy as a thing which would cost his life, that he had found the body and all the internal organs as sound as possible except the heart, which was quite black and hideous, and even after he had washed it three times it did not change color. He divided it through the middle and found the interior of the same color, which also did not change on being washed, and also some black round thing which clung closely to the outside of the heart. On my man asking the physician if she had died of poison he replied that the thing was too evident by what had been said to the Bishop her confessor, and if that had not been disclosed the thing was sufficiently clear from the report and circumstances of the illness.

You could not conceive the joy that the King and those who favor this concubinage have shown at the death of the good Queen, especially the earl of Wiltshire [Anne Boleyn's kinsman] and his son, who said it was a pity the Princess [Mary] did not keep company with her. The

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[7] *Ibid.*, x, Number 141.

> King, on the Saturday he heard the news, exclaimed "God be praised that we are free from all suspicion of war" [with her nephew, the Emperor]; and that the time had come that he would manage the French better than he had done hitherto, because they would do now whatever he wanted from a fear lest he should ally himself again with your Majesty, seeing that the cause which disturbed your friendship was gone. On the following day, Sunday, the King was clad all over in yellow, from top to toe, except the white feather he had in his bonnet, and the Little Bastard [the future Queen Elizabeth] was conducted to mass with trumpets and other great triumphs. After dinner the King entered the room in which the ladies dance, and there did several things like one transported with joy. At last he sent for his Little Bastard, and carrying her in his arms he showed her first to one and then to another. He has done the like on other days since, and has run some courses [*couru quelques lances*] at Greenwich.

Chapuys's dispatches four months later, just after the execution of Anne Boleyn in May, 1536, reveal again his solicitude for the welfare of the Princess Mary.[8]

> The joy shown by this people every day not only at the ruin of the Concubine, but at the hope of the Princess' [Mary] restoration, is inconceivable, but as yet the King shows no great disposition towards the latter; indeed he has twice shown himself obstinate when spoken to on the subject by his Council. I hear that, even before the arrest of the Concubine, the King, speaking with Mistress Jane Semel [Jane Seymour] of their future marriage, the latter suggested that the Princess should be replaced in her former position; and the King told her she was a fool, and ought to solicit the advancement of the children they would have between them, and not any others. She replied that in asking for the restoration of the Princess she conceived she was seeking the rest and tranquillity of the King, herself, her future children, and the whole realm; for, without that, neither your Majesty nor this people would ever be content. Will endeavour by all means to make her continue in this vein. . . .
>
> Yesterday the archbishop of Canterbury declared by sentence that the Concubine's daughter [Elizabeth] was the bastard of Mr. Norris, and not the King's daughter. This already removes an obstacle in the way of the Princess, who, I hope, whatever difficulty the King has made hitherto, will be declared true heiress of the kingdom, not as born of lawful marriage, but as legitimate *propter bonam fidem parentum.*

I pass on fifty years, for one last selection, to the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the embassy of Don Bernardino de Mendoza. Queen Elizabeth, at her accession in 1558, established the Anglican Church in a position midway between the Roman Catholics on the one hand and the Puritans or more radical Protestants on the other; and, as the reign progressed, both extremes became subject to attack and persecution by the regular ecclesiastical establishment. With the Puritans, the government policy was to put them out of England, where they threatened to be a political as well as a religious menace; the more so as Queen Elizabeth felt sure they would get no sympathy on the continent. With the Roman Catholics, on the other hand, the government took the opposite tack. It would be dangerous to let them loose on the continent, where they would get sympathy and support in efforts to subvert Queen Elizabeth's throne. They were therefore segregated and kept in semi-confinement in England. This policy cost heavily. The recusant fines levied on the Catholics were insufficient to pay for their keep, and a scheme was therefore proposed by some of Elizabeth's Protestant councillors to take them over to America and virtually maroon them — to establish, in other words, in the New World a sort of Roman Catholic penal colony or Botany Bay.[9] The scheme was never actually carried out because Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was one of the chief moving spirits of it, was drowned off the Azores before it could be put into operation; but word of the plan reached Mendoza. His letter [10] is interesting as evidence of the fact that the Spaniards still regarded all the New World as their own by papal donation and all save Spaniards as trespassers thereon. It is also significant as an evidence of their ignorance of the geographical conditions obtaining in the north of Florida, which is the name the Spaniards then gave to the whole of the eastern coast of what is now the United States.

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[8] The two letters from which I quote were written on May 19. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* x, Numbers 908, 909.

> As I wrote some time ago, Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out ships to gain a footing in Florida, and in order to make this not only prejudicial to your Majesty's interests, but injurious to the Catholics here, whilst benefiting the heretics, Walsingham indirectly approached two Catholic gentlemen, whose estate had been ruined, and intimated to them that, if they would help Humphrey Gilbert in the voyage their lives and liberties might be saved, and the Queen, in consideration of the service, might be asked to allow them to settle there [Florida] in the

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[9] On this scheme see my article, "Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth," *American Historical Review,* XIII (April, 1908), 480–500.

[10] The letter is dated July 11, 1582. The original is to be found in *Documentos Ineditos,* XCII. 396–400; the English translation is in the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, for the Reign of Elizabeth,* III, Number 275.

enjoyment of freedom of conscience and of their property in England, for which purpose they might avail themselves of the intercession of Philip Sidney. As they were desirous of living as Catholics, without endangering their lives, they thought the proposal was a good one, and they gave an account of it to other Catholics, who also approved of it, and offered to aid the enterprise with money. Petitions were presented to the Queen upon the subject, and she has granted them a patent under the Great Seal of England to colonize Florida on the banks of the river Norumbeage where they are to be allowed to live as their conscience dictates, and to enjoy such revenues as they may possess in England. This privilege is not confined to those who leave here for the purpose of colonization, but is extended to all Englishmen away from England, even to those who may have been declared rebels, and whom the Queen now restores to her grace and favour, embracing them once more as loyal subjects. The only object of this is to weaken and destroy them by any means, since they have now discovered that persecution, imprisonment, and the shedding of martyrs' blood only increase the number of Catholics; and if the proposed measure be adopted the seminaries abroad cannot be maintained, nor would it be possible for the priests who come hither to continue their propaganda, if there were no persons here to shelter and support them. By this means what little sound blood be left in this diseased body would be drained. I gave notice to the Catholics, through the priests who go amongst them, what was the real object of the Queen and Council in extending this favour to them, and also that the country in question belonged to your Majesty and was defended by fortresses, so that directly they landed they would be slaughtered as Jean Ribaut was. In addition to this, I say, that their consciences will be touched, as they will be acting against the interests of His Holiness, who should be informed of the matter through Dr. Allen, so that they, the Catholics, might learn whether they could properly undertake the voyage.

ANNUAL MEETING

April, 1935

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 11, 1935, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Dartmouth College Library, in exchange for a copy of the broadside Dartmouth College catalog of 1779, a probably unique copy of a Phillis Wheatley broadside, *An Elegy to Miss Mary Moorhead on the Death of her Father* (Boston, 1773), and a rare Kennebec Purchase broadside (Boston, 1751). This exchange was authorized by vote of the Council as a courtesy to Dartmouth College, which had no copy of its own first catalog.

From Mrs. Caroline H. Nicholson of East Boston, a rare Massachusetts broadside of the War of 1812.

From Mrs. Alan B. Silvey of Merion, Pennsylvania, *A Letter to a Gentleman on the Sin and Danger of Playing at Cards and Other Games* (Boston, 1755).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Reverend CARROLL PERRY accepting Resident Membership, from HENRY STURGIS MORGAN accepting Corresponding Membership, and from FRIEDRICH MEINECKE accepting Honorary Membership in the Society.

The Society elected Charles Henry Taylor of Boston, Howard Corning of Salem, and Milton Edward Lord of Boston as Resident Members.

The Society then turned to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. BRIGHAM read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

A survey of the activities of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the fiscal year of 1934–1935 is doubly significant at a time when unavoidable expenses and actual achievements are not, at first sight, apparent. Matters of routine have been attended to with the customary regularity; significant changes have been made, and important improvements have been effected. An average attendance of thirty at the meetings of the past year is the highest record reached for a long time. Purchases of books have been continued with caution; much binding has been done, and the accessions to the Society's collection of manuscripts have been constant and encouraging. Contributors to the " Five Year Fund " have helped the Treasurer through a long period of stress and strain. Yet, unless the Society can hold the interest of the older members and enlist the loyalty of the new, effort and industry will go for little or nothing.

Although the publications of the Society are still subject to postponement, a slow but sure recovery of income during the past year has made it possible to plan definitely for the printing of the sixty-fifth volume of the *Proceedings* (1932–1934). A *Handbook* to all the publications of the Society (1792–1933) will be included in that volume. The Editor believes that members will find this *Handbook* a convenient guide to the contents of the *Collections,* the *Proceedings,* and special volumes. Synopses of the volumes are indexed, and papers and memoirs of members, as well as illustrations, are listed alphabetically, together with the various series of photostats issued by the Society. It is hardly necessary to add that the delay in publishing this sixty-fifth volume of *Proceedings* has been unavoidable. Some time ago the practice of issuing serials was abandoned, and separates of papers, it was decided, could no longer be supplied to authors except at their own expense. In this connection a description of the use of the money available for publishing may not be inopportune.

The first charge on the income of the Society for publishing is the provision for editing and printing the continuing series of the late John Langdon Sibley's *Biographical Sketches of the Lives of Harvard Graduates, 1642–1689* (1873, 1881, 1885) in accordance with the terms of the will by which the Society accepted the largest legacy it has ever received. The fifth volume of these biographies (1701–1712), and the second to be published by the Society, will go to press during the current fiscal year (1935–1936). Mr. Clifford Kenyon Shipton (Harvard, S.B., 1926; Ph.D., 1933) is proceeding with his work for the Society, but only, it ought to be noticed, on half time. The first volume prepared by Dr. Shipton, *Harvard Graduates, 1690–1700,* appeared in 1933.

The second charge for publishing is that for reprinting the comparatively rare and often incomplete files of the *Journals of the*

House of Representatives of Massachusetts (1715–1775), according to the terms of the donation to the Society of a fund for that purpose by the late William Bradford Homer Dowse and a statute which enables the Commonwealth to purchase three hundred copies of every volume issued. Through good times and bad times the work on the *Harvard Graduates* and the *House Journals* must go on — and must be paid for.

In the very near future, moreover, there will fall due a payment of $2,500.00 to Mr. David Maydole Matteson, who has been making the *General Index to the Third Series of the Proceedings* (XLI–LX, inclusive). Mr. Matteson has been engaged on this work, not without interruption, during the last five years. To print this *General Index* will cost the Society not less than another two thousand dollars. Such are three of the definite commitments of the Society. Publication of a definitive edition of the *Winthrop Papers* is a fourth. If financial recovery seems to be in sight, members can discover, nevertheless, that every calling of preferred stocks or bonds involves a reinvestment of capital at a diminished return. It is hardly necessary to remind them that it would be quite idle to urge undertakings which would involve the spending of income which does not happen to exist.

A third volume of the *Winthrop Papers* (1631–1634) will be published as soon as practicable. Only those who have worked with these manuscripts can appreciate the painstaking nature of the toil of transcribing their crabbed handwriting, and the care required for putting their inconsistent spelling into print. In such work the costs of corrections in proof will always be comparatively high. It ought to be noticed, moreover, that for several years this Society spent a wholly disproportionate amount of its income, and not a little of its time and energy, on the preparation and the printing of the first and second volumes of the new edition of the *Winthrop Papers* in 1929 and 1931. The twenty-five-thousand-dollar legacy from the late Frederic Winthrop has made the continuation of this work certain, even if it must still be slow. The capital of the Robert and the Frederic Winthrop Funds amounts to forty thousand dollars, but the third volume will cost not less than three thousand dollars.

Copies of the fifteenth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* have been delivered to the Society, and the sixteenth volume, prepared from the unique perfect copy in the possession of the Harvard College Library, has gone to press. As soon as the Editor has completed the index to this volume, it will be bound and sent out to the members. The publication of this volume during 1935 will bring the series of *House Journals* up to date, so far as the contract with the Commonwealth is concerned. Each volume costs approximately two thousand dollars to print. The Society receives $750.00 annually from the State in payment for three hundred copies, and the balance of the cost of every volume is met from the income of the fund established by the generosity of the late Mr. Dowse.

Before very long it will be necessary for the Society to issue a new edition of its *By-Laws* and chronological list of Members. The latest edition appeared seventeen years ago, and several important changes in the By-Laws have made the present text obsolete for those members who take an earnest interest in the management and welfare of the Society. New members ought not to be presented with a book of information which is so sadly out of date as to be practically useless.

The Society should look ahead to the time when it can plan for a complete index to the seventy-seven volumes of its *Collections*. To work with these books is to understand the need for such an index and the great benefit it would confer on students of American history. There remains also the question of the advisability of publishing a catalogue of the library of the late Henry Adams. The sooner a decision is arrived at, the better, for the books which Mr. Adams's brother and nephew gave the Society are still crowded into the stacks of the manuscript room, and the catalogue-cards remain in the volumes. These cards should be transferred to the trays of the regular catalogue, where they properly belong. But this can not be done until the printing of a separate catalogue is approved and completed — or definitely abandoned.

The Photostat Committee is going ahead with the Society's important work on colonial newspapers. During the past year (1934–1935) two volumes of the *Virginia Gazette* (1776 and 1777) have been delivered to twenty-five subscribers, and a second volume of the *Boston Gazette* (1726–1729) has been sent out to twenty subscribers. When the work on the *Virginia Gazette* is completed, the committee will reproduce some other colonial newspaper, in accordance with plans already under discussion.

A new series of Photostat Americana has been decided on, and a card-catalogue of various likely titles is now being assembled. The Photostat Committee would be happy to make use of rare imprints in the private possession of members of this Society. It invites their coöperation. The former series of Photostat Americana, which came to an end in the summer of 1930, was limited to eleven subscribers, but the committee has decided to enlarge the list of subscribers to the new series. Sixteen institutions have been approached on the subject, and a prospectus of the new series is now being prepared. It is planned to send out to subscribers two photostat volumes every month, at a total cost to each subscriber of not more than $120.00 a year.

Changes in the staff of the Society have required much thought and care, and some readjustment. On the first of May, 1934, Julius Herbert Tuttle submitted his resignation as Librarian to take effect on the first of the following September, thus bringing to a close a service of more than fifty-six years with the Society. In accepting that resignation, the Council put on record a statement not only of their personal appreciation of Mr. Tuttle, but the invaluable character of his work. The nature of his official connection with the Society was unique and not to be replaced. The change from one Librarian to another may require patience on the part of the members. It is, however, the sincere hope of the Council that the pleasure of having Mr. Tuttle at the meetings of the Society for many years to come will not only keep him familiar with its plans and its problems, but will serve to continue his association with the many friends who can never forget his constant and courteous assistance to themselves and his untiring devotion to the interests of the Society.

Mr. Allyn B. Forbes (Amherst, A.B., 1919; Harvard, A.M., 1927) became Librarian of the Society on September 1, 1934, and on April 11, 1935, he was reappointed to that position, in accordance with the recent change in the By-Laws. During the past year the Council has dispensed with the services of two of its employees and has added Mr. Stephen Thomas Riley to the staff of the Society. The ten-per-cent cut in salaries, initiated of necessity two years ago, has been continued, though members need not be reminded that depression rates of pay can not go on indefinitely. In this connection the Council desires to call to the attention of every member the significant fact that in spite of the Society's having extended its activities (as in the case of the resumption of work on Sibley's

Harvard Graduates) and having within the past six years aided in the retirement of both a faithful and trusted Editor and a Librarian, each after long and honorable service, the monthly payments for salaries and honorariums together are actually considerably less to-day than they were four years ago. The Council has carried the reduction of expense to the limit during a period of emergency, but it respectfully reminds the members of the Society that new, and especially young, employees are not discouraged by the hope of increased reward for their work.

The building of the Society has required attention, and certain necessary repairs have been made during the past year, with the advice and consent of the House Committee. New awnings and shades for the windows have had to be purchased; the ceilings of the Dowse Library and the Waterston Room have been repainted; and a new system of lighting has been installed in the office as well as in the Waterston Room. The lights in the stack where the manuscripts and rare imprints are kept have been greatly improved. Unavoidable repairs to the photostat machine have cost about one hundred dollars. It has been the policy of the Council to make improvements one at a time and only as the income of the Society seemed to warrant, always with the intention of making the best possible use of the present building. Replacement of the ruinous hot-air system with steam heat, adequate lights in the main stacks, and book-cases against the walls of Ellis Hall for the proper shelving of the Kingsmill Marrs and Henry Adams libraries would greatly enhance the safety, the convenience, and the usefulness of that building.

In April, 1919, the Society began to raise a building fund with a view to erecting stacks for books on land which the Society already owned. As this building fund grows and the books and manuscripts increase in quantity, the question of whether to carry forward the first plan to enlarge the present building at an estimated cost of $250,000 or look elsewhere for a home will force itself urgently on the immediate attention of the Society. Doubtless many members would oppose the great labor and the expense of a removal, and many more might consider any such plan as quite irrational, especially at the present time. Opinions will differ, but the possibility of finding new headquarters is certainly not beyond the reach of the imagination, even if it prove impracticable in the end. Being content with the building now occupied does not improve its usefulness.

The third, and present, home of the Society is well-built and handsome, but, according to some members, utterly inadequate to the needs of a learned society. Although this is no new discovery, it may now be too late to make any desirable change. President Charles Francis Adams himself acknowledged that he hardly ever entered the present building without seeing something more about it which displeased him. The meeting-room is a makeshift, and it was so frankly from the very beginning. Its ventilation has been thought deplorable. The whole building was curiously designed without any proper provision whatever for the shelving of books; its panels of oak and slabs of marble are elaborate, and its offices are corridors. Many members find its spacious halls and splendid stairways a babel of echoes and a cave of the winds. The defective acoustics of Ellis Hall make that part of the building useless for purposes of assembly. The photographer works in a cellar, and there, of necessity, repose some of the most handsome, if not the most rare, books in the possession of the Society. The stock-room is a labyrinth of dust, darkness, and congestion.

Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., donor, in 1905, of our greatest collection of manuscripts, always insisted that the vicinity of Beacon Hill was the natural neighborhood for the Society. The situation of the State Archives, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Boston Athenæum, and the Congregational Society, would seem to add force to the vigor with which Mr. Robert Winthrop protested forty years ago against the choice of the present site. The importance of having the manuscripts and books of these libraries close at hand can not be exaggerated. Whether here or elsewhere, however, the Society must face the necessity for providing a large increase of shelf-space for both manuscripts and books — not to speak of wall-space for the safe display of its best portraits. Although the Society is not primarily a museum, it must be remembered that owners of portraits worth having do not present them to any institution with the expectation of having them stowed in an attic.

In order to protect the Society from being used merely as a convenient place of storage and to insure, moreover, satisfactory mutual understandings as to gifts and deposits of manuscripts and other material, the Council has had regular forms prepared and printed to provide for every contingency. Naturally, in view of its very limited space, the Society will usually give preference to gifts, but it will always welcome deposits of papers, even though a right to temporary withdrawal be reserved, if such deposits are eventually to become the property of the Society at some definitely stated time.

With the three elections of April, 1935, the roll of Resident Members was filled up. Six Resident Members have died since the Annual Meeting of April 12, 1934, and nine have been elected. Two Corresponding Members have died, and two have been elected. A seventh name has been added to the list of Honorary Members. Among the losses by death in the resident membership was Dr. Malcolm Storer, for many years the eager and expert Curator of the Society's valuable collection of coins and medals. The Council has taken the appointment of his successor under careful consideration.

At the end of this report members will find a record of attendance at the meetings of the Society for three years (1932–1935). A glance at these figures will show that while there is no reason to be discouraged, only sixty per cent of the Resident Members are sufficiently interested to attend at least one meeting a year. A grand total of sixty-one different members, for instance, attended the nine meetings of the Society from October to June, 1934–1935. Some of our Resident Members, it is fair to recall, are residents of the Commonwealth only in the legal sense of the term — business or public duty compelling them to spend most of their time out of the State. Although the record of attendance has been worse, there is no good reason why it should not be better.

This question is not by any means a new one. As early as January, 1844, a committee was appointed "to consider whether any further measures can be adopted to render the meetings of the Society more interesting and useful." The Editor can do a little in this direction, but in the long run the pleasure of the members must be their own responsibility. Experiments have been made with different hours for meetings: from 1791 to 1861 the Society met at noon; for the next eighteen years it met at eleven; and since November 10, 1879, it has regularly met at three o'clock. Less than ten years ago a post-card ballot showed that a majority of the active members still favored this hour. More than once it has been suggested that the June meeting should be abandoned, but so far the Council has not seen fit to take action in this matter.

Casual conformity to a routine course of events will never assure to this Society a valuable future. The Council hopes that an increasing number of members will come to think of the work and the needs of the Society rather more often than once a month for nine months out of twelve. The Society is already committed to long and to difficult tasks: to complete the publication of the *Harvard Graduates* and the *House Journals* and the *Winthrop Papers,* for instance, will take many years of patient work and many volumes. At the present rate of one volume a year, the Society's edition of the *House Journals,* for example, will not be completed until 1972. It is impossible to do more than estimate how long the work on Sibley and Winthrop will take. In the meantime the *Proceedings* should appear at least every two years, and the *Collections* ought to be continued.

At the same time the Society must not only coöperate but, in a sense, compete with the libraries, the collections, and the publications of other institutions, some of which have grown up since the time of its own founding. Certain of these have become so far superior in resources and equipment that a desire to rival them might seem unreasonable. However that may be, it is the business of your Librarian to acquire and make available (and your Editor to prepare and publish) books and manuscripts, for only in this way can the honorable reputation of the Society be saved and even enlarged. The Council is confident that both the Librarian and the Editor will welcome all the help and advice and useful criticism the members care to give them. Only the inertia of self-esteem, they know, can make the distinguished past of this Society a menace to its future.

CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM
For the Council

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

1932–1935

	1932–1933	1933–1934	1934–1935
October	28	26	33
November	26	31	32
December	36	30	28
January	30	34	32
February	21	30	31
March	29	35	30

	1932–1933	1933–1934	1934–1935
April	27	27	34
May	26	29	30
June	24	20	22
	247	262	272
Average	27	29	30

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Before making provision for the amortization of bond premiums the Society succeeded in operating within the amount of its ostensible income during the year that ended on March 30, 1935. The word "ostensible" is used because of the number of restricted funds the income of which is not available for the general purposes for which the Society spends considerable sums every year. This is a condition that presents difficulties, especially during a year like 1934–1935 when only a relatively small sum is spent for publications and a large part of income goes to meet needs that are not within the terms of the restricted gifts. In consequence we have income from the Robert A. Boit legacy accumulating to a point where it approaches in amount the $5,000 principal received in 1921, but against which no charge can suitably be made, while the income of the General Fund continues to be overdrawn. Unless therefore the Society acquires new capital that is unrestricted, at least as to income, the proper allocation of general expenses will become increasingly a matter of adding further heavy charges to balances that are already negative.

Income from securities was $38,292.27, comparing with $37,415.16 the year previous, a considerably more favorable showing when it is recalled that the capital invested was slightly less. Income credits were at the rate of 4.58%, as compared with 4.6% in 1933–1934, but funds principal had increased by $6,214.63, chiefly through accretions to the Anonymous Centenary, the Lodge, and the J. L. Sibley funds, for which we are obliged to make annual provision in amounts that are steadily increasing. The Adams Fund was credited with royalties to the amount of $125.28, making the new principal of that fund $43,777.21, the largest part of which represents the royalties on *The Education of Henry Adams*. Eleven interested members gave a total of $1,000 to the Five Year Income

Fund, and a twelfth member mailed his check on March 30, a day late to be included in the accounts now under review, but by no means an unwelcome addition to the Society's resources for the thin year immediately ahead. Several generous members made substantial gifts of money that were used to reduce the outlay for books and for certain current expenses.

Our late associate, Dr. Malcolm Storer, left $2,000 to the Society, " the principal to be left intact, and the income to be used in whatever way its council shall see fit. It is my hope, however," Dr. Storer said further, " that the said income may be used in connection with the Society's collection of coins and medals, in which I have taken great interest." As our Corresponding Secretary remarked at the time, this is a very commendable form of bequest, and one that leaves the Society free to exercise its corporate judgment in respect to the use of income.

Of the Society's investments in securities 46.32% in book value are in bonds and 53.68% in stocks, preferred and common. As yet no bond or coupon has been in default, and on March 30, 1935, expressed in market value, the Society's bonds were 95.22% of book value, and the bid prices of its stocks were 66.71% of cost. Combined, bonds and stocks were saleable at 79.98% of book value. During the year there were no transactions in stocks, but the decision to call Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston 5% notes, issued to mature on May 2, 1935, and Standard Oil Company of New Jersey debenture 5s, issued to mature in 1946, forced new investments at a lower yield. The tender of $10,000 Quincy Market Cold Storage and Warehouse Company (T Wharf Loan) 5½s, to mature May 1, 1946, was accepted by the management of that company, the basis being 68¾, but the loss, $3,125.00, was in part offset by the sale of Western Union Telegraph Company collateral trust 5s, to mature January 1, 1938, the price being 101¼ and resulting in a gain of $1,379.26. Issues like Florida Power & Light Company 5s, 1954, Illinois Power & Light Company 6s, 1953, and Warren Brothers Company 5½s, 1937, have improved in market value, while N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. Co. convertible debenture 6s, 1948, Mr. W. B. H. Dowse's original gift, have slipped from 80 to 31, representing a slump in market value of $12,000 in the twelve months. United Fruit Company stock, on the other hand, shows an enhanced value of $3,813.50 for 263 shares. The Society's holdings of three stocks — Boston Insurance Company, Merchants National

Bank, and Second National Bank of Boston — have appreciated $10,815 in the same period.

It is a satisfaction to report that the operation of the photostat, if "receivables" are all collected, will come within $45.15 of paying its way.

Mr. C. F. Adams and other members of the Finance Committee have been most painstaking in their consideration of desirable investments for the Society. And on the part of the Editor and the Librarian the Treasurer has enjoyed a relationship that is thoroughly helpful and coöperative.

G. G. WOLKINS
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 30, 1935

Resources:		
Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Company	$ 240.86	
Petty cash on hand at 1154 Boylston Street	200.00	$ 440.86
Investments — Bonds	$388,364.63	
— Stocks	450,132.88	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,541.33	840,038.84
Real Estate		97,990.32
Deferred Charges: prepaid insurance	$ 570.70	
" publications	6,485.08 [1]	
" photostat material	212.00	
" structural items	292.48	
" items, 1932–1933, not yet transferred	1,093.42	8,653.68
Accounts Receivable: prior to April 1, 1933	$ 360.70	
items for 1933–1934	382.45	
" " 1934–1935	3,881.40 [2]	4,624.55
Gain and Loss		2,354.44
		$954,102.69
Liabilities:		
Funds — Principal [3]	$792,945.34	
— Income	20,679.61	
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00	$838,624.95
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve [4]		42,415.22
Publication Account, balance		72.20
		$954,102.69

[1] This charge includes $989.66 for the *Handbook* (*Proceedings*, 65) and $2,790.09 for Sibley's *Graduates*, v, in 1933–1934; and $2,705.33 for Sibley's *Graduates*, v, in 1934–1935.

[2] On September 1, 1935, this amount was practically all repaid.

[3] Ellis House Fund not included.

[4] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 30, 1935

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

Government, State, and Municipal	*Book Value*	*Income 1934–1935*
Boston Metropolitan District T. E. 4¾s, 1941[1]	$ 10,600.00	$ 237.50
Boston Metropolitan District T. E. 4¾s, 1962	10,565.55	522.50
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan 3½s, 1955[2]	3,111.00	52.50
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan 3½s, 1956[2]	7,259.00	122.50
New York City Corporation Stock 4½s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan Act 4s, 1954[3]	11,400.00	0
United States of America Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼s, 1933–1938, not called	10,058.20	425.00
United States of America Treasury 3¼s, 1941	10,080.00	325.00
	$ 72,173.75	$2,135.00
Railroad		
Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5s, 1938	$ 10,050.00	$ 500.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Co. registered 4½s, 1944	6,000.00	207.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust 4½s, 1944[4]	10,350.00	225.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. 4½s, 1946	10,000.00	450.00
Chesapeake Corporation 5s, 1947	4,000.00	200.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co. 4¾s, 1949	10,130.00	475.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5s, 1935	4,807.87	250.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5s, 1936	4,796.32	250.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co. 6s, 1948, Convertible Debentures	25,000.00	1,500.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad 1st 5s, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pennsylvania Railroad 4¾s, 1963	8,779.25	427.50
Pere Marquette Railway Co. 1st 5s, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$128,438.44	$6,247.50
Public Utility		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. S. F. 5s, 1960	$ 9,807.50	$ 500.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5s, 1939	9,975.00	500.00
Central Georgia Power Co. 5s, 1938	9,950.00	500.00
Connecticut Power Co. 5s, 1963[5]	7,680.00	450.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York 4½s, 1951	10,059.00	450.00
Dedham Water Company 5s, 1935	5,000.00	250.00
Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5s, 1935[6]		1,450.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5s, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Home Telephone & Telegraph Co. of Spokane 5s, 1936	19,025.00	1,000.00
Illinois Power & Light Co. 6s, 1933	5,170.00	300.00
Massachusetts Gas Companies Debentures 5s, 1955	7,840.00	400.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. 5s, 1950[7]		179.86
Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 5½s, 1952	9,800.00	550.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5s, 1937	9,565.00	500.00
Western Union Telegraph Co. 5s, 1937[8]		447.22
Western Massachusetts Companies 4s, 1939[9]	10,260.00	200.00
	$123,531.50	$8,177.08

[1] Bought November 5, 1934, @ 108.

[2] Bought November 26, 1934, @ 103⅞.

[3] Bought November 26, 1934, @ 114½.

[4] Bought November 5, 1934, 4% basis.

[5] $1,000 called October 1, 1934, @ 107½.

[6] $7,000 bought April 16, 1934, @ 102⅞; $29,000 called November 1, 1934, at par.

[7] $5,000 sold November 19, 1934, @ 97⅝.

[8] $10,000 sold November 23, 1934, @ 101¼.

[9] Bought November 5, 1934, @ 103¼.

Schedule of Bonds — continued

Industrial	*Book Value*	*Income 1934–1935*
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5s, 1940	$ 9,919.44	$ 500.00
Quincy Market C. S. & W. H. Co. (T Wharf Loan) 5½s, 1946 [1]		238.33
Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5s, 1946 [2]		1,081.39
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. Gen. Mtge. 5s, 1951 [3]	11,320.00	250.00
Union Oil Co. of California, Series A 6s, 1942 [4]	8,000.00	150.00
Warren Brothers Co. 5½s, 1937	9,975.00	550.00
	$ 39,214.44	$ 2,769.72
Foreign		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6s, 1942	9,502.50	600.00
City of Winnipeg 6s, 1946	15,504.00	900.00
	$ 25,006.50	$ 1,500.00
Total Bonds	$388,364.63 [5]	
Total Income from Bonds		$20,829.30

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[1] $10,000 sold April 11, 1934, @ 68¾.

[2] $17,000 sold November 19, 1934, @ 102¾–102⅞; $8,000 called February 1, 1935, @ 102.

[3] Bought November 28, 1934, @ 114.

[4] $5,000 bought November 28, 1934, @ 115¼; $2,000 bought November 9, @ 118¼.

[5] The market value on March 30, 1935, was $369,633.75. On August 9, 1935, the market value was $380,489.00.

Schedule of Stocks

PREFERRED STOCKS

	Railroad	*Book Value*	*Income 1934–1935*
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co.	$ 15,800.00	$ 790.00
90	Boston & Maine Railroad Co. prior preference	9,000.00	0
25	Boston & Maine Railroad Co. "A" 1st preferred	2,725.00	0
		$ 27,525.00	$ 790.00
	Public Utility		
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. Series A. cumulative	$ 880.00	$ 50.00
100	Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
300	Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100	Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	0
52	Puget Sound Power & Light Co.	5,460.00	0
700	Southern California Edison Co. Series "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.52
		$ 71,215.00	$ 3,262.52
	Industrial		
75	American Smelting & Refining Co.	$ 7,800.00	$ 1,125.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
150	Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards	15,450.00	900.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
60	United States Steel Corporation	8,490.00	120.00
		$ 61,077.25	$ 4,005.00
	Total Preferred Stocks	$159,817.25 [1]	
	Total Income from Preferred Stocks		$ 8,057.52

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[1] The market value on March 30, 1935, was $119,027.00. On August 9, 1935, the market value was $137,238.25.

Schedule of Stocks — continued

COMMON STOCKS

		Book Value	Income 1934–1935
Railroad			
35	Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$ 7,315.00	$ 306.25
40	Boston & Providence Railroad Corporation	5,140.00	340.00
25	Old Colony Railroad Co.	4,200.00	175.00
375	Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	0
		$ 63,149.38	$ 821.25
Public Utility			
255	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$ 31,265.62	$ 2,295.00
100	Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	6,192.50	175.00
18	Detroit Edison Co.	1,525.50	72.00
60	New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	360.00
197	Western Massachusetts Companies	12,483.75	394.00
40	Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	0
		$ 61,974.87	$ 3,296.00
Industrial			
940	General Electric Co.	$ 16,156.88	$ 564.00
10	General Electric Co., special	0	6.00
200	Pacific Mills	7,402.50	100.00
50	Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	150.00
263	United Fruit Co.	10,858.25	789.00
200	United States Steel Corporation	30,950.00	0
		$ 69,683.88	$ 1,609.00
Real Estate			
100	Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$ 11,775.00	$ 200.00
60	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125	Boston Wharf Company	13,800.00	375.00
5	State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	0
100	Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	500.00
		$ 51,075.00	$ 1,195.00
Banks and Insurance			
20	Boston Insurance Company	$ 6,600.00	$ 324.20
85	Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,360.00
200	Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
		$ 44,432.50	$ 2,484.20
	Total Common Stocks	$290,315.63 [1]	
	Total Stocks (common and preferred)	$450,132.88 [2]	
	Total Income from Common Stocks		$ 9,405.45

Investment Account

Balance, March 31, 1934 . . . Bonds			$389,375.97	
Stocks			450,132.88	$839,508.85
Bonds:				
Called, matured, or sold:				
$10,000 Quincy Market C. S. & W. H. Co. (T Wharf Loan) 5½s, 5.1.'46, @ 68¾	$ 6,875.00			
Loss	3,125.00	$10,000.00		
Carry forward		$10,000.00		$839,508.85

[1] The market value on March 30, 1935, was $181,258.01. On August 9, 1935, the market value was $208,929.63.

[2] The market value on March 30, 1935, was $300,285.01. On August 9, 1935, the market value was $346,167.88.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT — continued

Brought forward			$10,000.00		$839,508.85
$ 1,000 Connecticut Power Co. 1st convertible 5s, 4.1.'63, @ 107½		$ 1,075.00			
Gain		115.00	960.00		
29,000 Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5s, 5.2.'35, at par		$29,000.00			
Loss	$302.07				
Amortized	290.00[1]	592.07	29,592.07		
25,000 Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5s, 12.15.'46, @ 102⅞, 102¾, and 102		$25,605.43			
Loss	$300.00				
Amortized	166.33[1]	466.33	26,071.76		
5,000 Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. 1st 5s, 3.1.'50, @ 97⅝		$ 4,865.87			
Loss		121.63	4,987.50		
10,000 Western Union Telegraph Co. Collateral 5s, 1.1.'38, @ 101¼		$10,095.79			
Gain		1,379.26	8,716.53	$80,327.86	
Bought:					
$ 7,000 Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5s, 5.2.'35, @ 102⅞			$ 7,201.25		
10,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 4½s, 6.1.'44, @ 103			10,394.06		
10,000 Western Massachusetts Companies 4s, 8.1.'39, @ 103¼			10,325.00		
10,000 Boston Metropolitan District, Series B, 4¾s, 3.1.'41, @ 108			10,800.00		
10,000 City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan Act 1924, 4s, 5.1.'54, @ 114½			11,425.00		
7,000 City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan 3½s, 8.1.'56, @ 103⅞			7,271.25		
3,000 City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan 3½s, 8.1.'55, @ 103⅞			3,116.25		
10,000 Tennessee Coal, Iron & R. R. Co. Gen. Mtge. 5s, 7.1.'51, @ 114			11,400.00		
5,000 Union Oil Co. of California, Series A, 6s, 5.1.'42, @ 115¼			5,775.87		
2,000 Union Oil Co. of California, Series A, 6s, 5.1.'42, @ 118¼			2,370.51	80,079.19	
Diminished book value through buys and sells				248.67	
Diminished book value through sundry amortization charges				762.67[1]	
Total changes in book value of bonds				1,011.34	
Stocks:					
No change				0	1,011.34
Balance, March 30, 1935			Bonds	$388,364.63	
			Stocks	450,132.88	$838,497.51

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[1] See table under "Amortization."

AMORTIZATION

$10,000	Boston Metropolitan District T. E. 4¾s, 3.1.'41	$ 200.00
7,000	City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½s, 8.1.'55	12.25
3,000	City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½s, 8.1.'55	5.25
10,000	City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan Act 4s, 5.1.'54	25.00
10,000	United States of America, Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼s, 1933–1938	59.23
10,000	United States Treasury 3¼s, 1941	20.00
10,000	Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5s, 1938	25.00
10,000	Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 4½s, 6.1.'44	44.06
10,000	Chicago & Northwestern R. R. Co. 4¾s, 1949	10.00
10,000	Consolidated Gas Co. of New York 4½s, 1951	4.00
5,000	Illinois Power & Light Corporation 6s, 1953	10.00
10,000	Western Massachusetts Companies 4s, 1939	65.00
10,000	City of Winnipeg 6s, 1946	56.50
10,000	Tennessee Coal, Iron & R. R. Co. 5s, 1951	80.00
7,000	Union Oil Co. of California, Series A 6s, 1942	146.38
29,000	Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5s, May 2, 1935, called	290.00
25,000	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5s, 12.15.'46, called	166.33
		$1,219.00

RECAPITULATION

		Book Value	Per Cent. Book Value	Market Value
Bonds		$388,364.63	46.32	$369,633.75
Preferred Stocks	$159,817.25			
Common Stocks	290,315.63	450,132.88	53.68	300,285.01
		$838,497.51		$669,918.76

Bonds, Market Value equals 95.22% of Book Value
Stocks, Market Value equals 66.71% of Book Value
Together, Bonds and Stocks, Market Value equals 79.98% of Book Value

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1935

Losses:

Bonds:		Book Value	Sales	Losses
$10,000	Quincy Market C. S. & W. H. Co. (T. Wharf Loan) 5½s, 5.1.'46, sold to borrower	$10,000.00	$ 6,875.00	$3,125.00
29,000	Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 5s, 5.2.'35, called	29,302.07	29,000.00	302.07
25,000	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 5s, 12.15.'46, 17M sold and 8M called	25,905.43	25,605.43	300.00
5,000	Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co. 1st 5s, 3.1.'50, sold	4,987.50	4,865.87	121.63
		$70,195.00	$66,346.30	
No sales of stocks.				
	Total Losses			$3,848.70

Gains:

Bonds:		Book Value	Sales	Gains
$ 1,000	Connecticut Power Co. 1st Convertible 5s, 4.1.'63, called	$ 960.00	$ 1,075.00	$ 115.00
10,000	Western Union Telegraph Co. Collateral 5s, 1.1.'38, sold	8,716.53	10,095.79	1,379.26
		$ 9,676.53	$11,170.79	
	Total Gains			$1,494.26
	Excess Losses over Gains			$2,354.44

FUNDS PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1935

Added:	*Royalties*	*Income*	
Adams	$125.28		$ 125.28
Anonymous		$ 787.60	787.60
Building Annex		2,573.33	2,573.33
Lodge		50.21	50.21
J. L. Sibley		2,782.09	2,782.09
	$125.28	$6,193.23	
Increase in Funds Principal			$ 6,318.51
Funds Principal, March 31, 1934			811,626.83
Funds Principal, March 30, 1935			$817,945.34

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1935

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$20,829.30	
Stocks, preferred	$8,057.52		
common	9,405.45	17,462.97	$38,292.27
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			1,000.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			125.28
Publications sales, not credited to Publication Outlay			72.20
Securities sold, called, or matured, Bonds		$77,517.09	
Stocks		0	77,517.09
Proceeds of loans from State Street Trust Co.			11,000.00
Amounts collected 1933–1934 items			212.50
			$128,219.34
Cash on hand March 31, 1934			933.43
			$129,152.77

Disbursements:			
Net Operating Expenses:			
Other than Photostat and Publications		$28,230.93	
Photostat, in part offset by "Accounts Receivable"		3,063.55	
Publications, in part offset by "Accounts Receivable"		170.06	$ 31,464.54
Deferred charges, prepaid items			2,917.33
Securities bought:	Bonds	$80,079.19	
	Stocks	0	80,079.19
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Co.			11,000.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought			999.07
Interest on money borrowed			62.69
Accounts paid, 1933–1934 items			1,526.09
For account of *House Journals*, XIV, W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income, offset by "Accounts Receivable"			860.60
For account of *Proceedings*, 61, offset by "Accounts Receivable"			2.40
			$128,911.91
Cash on hand, March 30, 1935			240.86
			$129,152.77

Income Summary for the Year ended March 30, 1935

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$20,829.30	
Stocks, preferred	$8,057.52		
common	9,405.45	17,462.97	$38,292.27
Less:			
Interest accrued on bonds bought		$ 999.07	
Amortization of bond premiums		1,219.00	2,218.07
			$36,074.20
Interest credited to Savings Banks			45.18
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			1,000.00
			$37,119.38
Less:			
Interest paid on borrowed money			62.69
Total Net Income			$37,056.69
Deductions:			
Added to cumulative funds:			
Anonymous Centenary		$ 787.60	
Building Annex		2,573.33	
Lodge		50.21	
J. L. Sibley		2,782.09	6,193.23
Current Income available for operating expenses, restricted and unrestricted, including subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			$30,863.46
Net Operating Expenses charged to Funds Income:			
Other than Photostat and Publications		$28,230.93	
Photostat		64.75	
Publications		170.06	$28,465.74
Current Income available for prepaid items — "Deferred Charges"			2,397.72
"Deferred Charges" — prepaid items 1934–1935			2,917.33
Excess of total charges over available current income			$ 519.61

Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications" for the Year ended March 30, 1935

Bindery:			
Salary	$1,337.16		
Supplies	79.32	$1,416.48	
Less sales		17.90	$1,398.58
Building:			
Cleaning:			
Janitor and general cleaning	$1,888.79		
Supplies	36.15		
Towels	85.50		
Vacation supply	28.50		
Walls of Reference Room	30.50		
Windows, floors, and walls	83.95	$2,153.39	
Electricity for elevator and light		239.52	
Elevator		110.29	
Furnishings, care, replacement:			
Awnings	$ 43.60		
Ceilings restored	180.00		
Carry forward	$ 223.60	$2,503.20	$1,398.58

Brought forward	$ 223.60	$2,503.20	$1,398.58
Fixtures, wiring, etc.	96.75		
Lamp bulbs	25.02		
Lamps, indirect, Reference Room	94.55		
Lamps, indirect, Waterston Library	94.55		
Sundries	59.75		
Window chains, pulleys, etc.	131.99		
Wiring, shades, etc.	81.55		
	$ 807.76		
Less gifts	139.55	668.21	
Grounds, care, etc.		94.07	
Heating:			
Contract	$1,100.00		
Gas for water heater	19.97		
Repairs to water heater	9.60		
Unit heater in Photostat Room	330.00		
Unit heaters, 3rd floor	221.67		
	$1,681.24		
Less credits to " Deferred Charges "	221.67	1,459.57	
Insurance:			
Building and contents	480.55		
Compensation	81.48		
Prepaid in prior years	602.23		
	$1,164.26		
Less credits to " Deferred Charges "	602.23	562.03	
Structural Repairs:			
Labor on gutters	$ 6.92		
New gutters, vent, etc.	399.86		
Prepaid in 1933–1934, gutter and cornice	72.82		
Steel brace	3.00		
	$ 482.60		
Less credits to " Deferred Charges "	72.82	409.78	
Telephone		263.13	
Water		26.42	5,986.41
Cabinet			76.55
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant			7,860.00
Engrossing: diplomas			3.00
Fares			7.85
Library:			
Binding		$ 39.33	
Books, serials, etc.		2,427.95	
Librarian Emeritus, Librarian, and Staff		9,929.24	
Photostat negatives		139.42	
Shipping		26.81	
Supplies		304.98	
		$12,867.73	
Less: gifts, sales, refunds, and credits to " Photostat "		1,606.07	11,261.66
Meetings		$ 146.71	
Less gifts		20.00	126.71
Postage		$ 275.47	
Less credits to " Deferred Charges "		57.30	218.17
Stationery			180.88
Carry Forward			$27,119.81

Brought forward		$27,119.81
Subscriptions:		
Bay State Historical League	$ 2.00	
Writings on American History, two years	100.00	102.00
Treasurer:		
Accounting services	$ 600.00	
Audit April, 1934	50.00	
Federal tax on checks	9.88	
Postage	30.12	
State Street Trust Co., agency fee	198.50	
Sundry supplies	48.27	
Surety bond premium	25.00	
Typing	47.35	1,009.12
Net Operating Expenses other than "Publications" and "Photostat"		$28,230.93

Photostat
Net Cash Outlay for the Year ended March 30, 1935

Binding: *Boston Gazette, 1726–1729,* 17 sets, @ $6.50			$ 110.50
Chemicals			154.94
Cleaning			90.70
Electricity			239.51
Gas for heater			79.76
Miscellaneous supplies			33.37
Repairs, replacements			107.42
Operator, salary			2,325.00
Sensitized Paper:			
On hand April 1, 1934		$ 143.20	
Less credits to "Deferred Charges"		143.20	
		0	
Purchases		$1,778.68	
Less debits to "Deferred Charges"		212.00	1,566.68
Shipping			25.00
Water			80.04
			$4,812.92
Less sales:			
Collected items:			
Boston Gazette, 1726–1729		$ 959.00	
Sundry copying		790.37	
		$1,749.37	
Uncollected items:			
Boston Gazette, 1726–1729	$ 564.20		
Virginia Gazette, 1776–1777	2,367.60 [1]		
Sundry copying	86.60		
	$3,018.40		
Transferred to "Accounts Receivable"	3,018.40	0	
Negatives chargeable to accounts other than Photostat	$ 123.60		
Less debits to other accounts	123.60	0	1,749.37
Photostat net debits, cash			$3,063.55

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[1] Distributed during the latter part of March, 1935.

PUBLICATIONS

NET CASH OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 30, 1935

House Journals, XIV (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income):				
Book plates			$ 22.00	
Composition, etc.			1,693.19	
Postage, cartons, etc.			92.92	
			$1,808.11	
Less sales: Volume 14, collected		$871.20		
Volume 15, uncollected	$860.60			
Transferred to "Accounts Receivable"	860.60	0	871.20	$936.91
Expended for *House Journals,* XV, but offset by "Accounts Receivable"				860.60
				$ 76.31
Issues bought for stock			$ 168.95	
Less sales of sundry issues, cash			75.20	93.75
Proceedings, Volume 61, uncollected		2.40		
Transferred to "Accounts Receivable"		2.40		0
Sibley's *Sketches of Harvard Graduates,* continuation, (J. L. Sibley Fund Income):				
Editor			$1,885.02	
Negatives and prints			3.00	
Searching			747.20	
Stationery, etc.			50.43	
Typing			19.68	
			$2,705.33	
Deduct as prepaid item, "Deferred Charges"			2,705.33	0
Net cash outlay				$170.06[1]

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[1] The following credits representing sales are left in Publications Account as a balance for 1935–1936:

Proceedings, bound volumes	$34.90
Handbook (*Proceedings,* 65)	8.00
Serials	3.50
Winthrop Papers	25.80
	$72.20

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME
MARCH 30, 1935

	Income Balances March 31, 1934	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances March 30, 1935	Funds Principal
Adams		$ 2,001.17	$ 2,001.17		$ 43,777.21
Amory		137.54	137.54		3,000.00
Appleton		559.44	559.44		12,203.00
Bigelow		91.69	91.69		2,000.00
Billings		458.44	458.44		10,000.00
Boit	$ 3,647.92	229.22		$ 3,877.14	5,000.00
Brattle Street	114.60	6.47		121.07	100.00
Chamberlain		56.50	56.50		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham . .	125.75	2,292.19	2,417.94		50,000.00
Dowse		458.44	458.44		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	4,617.51	1,146.10	76.31	5,687.30	25,000.00
Ellis		1,451.72	1,451.72		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		229.22	229.22		5,000.00
Five Year Income . . .		1,000.00	1,188.35	– 188.35	
Frothingham		137.54	137.54		3,000.00
General	– 1,616.26	2,659.58	4,268.51	– 3,225.19	58,013.66
Hunnewell	6,844.70	229.22	418.20	6,655.72	5,000.00
Lawrence		137.54	137.54		3,000.00
Lodge		200.81	200.81		5,525.71
Lowell		137.54	137.54		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		91.69	91.69		2,000.00
Mass. Historical Trust .		458.44	458.44		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross . .		458.44	416.63	41.81	10,000.00
Parker	281.55	38.71		320.26	1,000.00
Peabody	– 435.10	1,014.21	93.75	485.36	22,123.00
Salisbury		229.22	229.22		5,000.00
Savage	– 201.35	275.05	6.80	66.90	6,000.00
Schouler		130.66	130.66		2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw . .		229.22	229.22		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		1,031.95	1,031.95		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	– 1,019.51	8,346.25	10,614.52	– 3,287.78	245,531.36
Slafter		45.85	36.40	9.45	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith . .		687.66	687.66		15,000.00
Warren		45.85	45.85		1,000.00
Washburn		114.61	114.61		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,499.15	229.22	41.30	3,687.07	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	1,813.79	458.44		2,272.23	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	2,279.52	458.44		2,737.96	10,000.00
Waterston Library . . .	– 2,160.70	177.66		– 1,983.04	3,875.14
Frederic Winthrop . . .	1,154.54	1,146.10		2,300.64	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop . . .	413.40	687.66		1,101.06	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		550.13	550.13		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		108.41	108.41		2,364.66
William Winthrop . . .		229.22	229.22		5,000.00
	$19,359.51	$30,863.46	$29,543.36	$20,679.61	$741,272.21
Anonymous Centenary .		787.60[1]			17,967.39
Building Annex		2,573.33[1]			58,705.74
Lodge		50.21[1]			
J. L. Sibley		2,782.09[1]			
		$37,056.69			$817,945.34

[1] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

HENRY LEFAVOUR
JOHN WOODBURY
Committee

April 11, 1935

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 10, 1935

MESSRS. HENRY LEFAVOUR AND JOHN WOODBURY
Examining Committee

Gentlemen:

As you requested I have made an examination of the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 30, 1935.

The books show that all payments have been posted, supported by the proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check-book reconciled with the bank statement. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

Beginnings are fraught with difficulties. The task of succeeding Mr. Tuttle as Librarian of this Society is enough to give any one pause. The distinctive personal qualities which marked his many years of service I can not presume to achieve. More important, but, because of its unobtrusiveness, too easily taken for granted, has been his intimate knowledge of the vast resources of this library, which made it possible for him to meet at a moment's notice the almost incredible variety of demands which are daily made upon an institution of this character. Shortly after my appointment, in discussing my problems with a member of the Society, I asked him what he thought was the first thing for me to do. The answer was immediate: "Learn everything that is in Mr. Tuttle's mind." It would be understating the case to call that a discouraging send-off for a novice, but it does reveal what my predecessor has been in the life of this institution.

We have, however, kept things going with as much energy as ever. Since the last Annual Meeting, 486 books and 821 pamphlets have been given to the Society, and 181 books and 270 pamphlets have been purchased. In addition, we have acquired 7 maps and 85 broadsides. Included among the gifts of books have been the publications of several of our members. It is our desire, as has often been pointed out before, to have in our collections all the writings of our members. If they do not happen to think of this in the first place, they may be sure that after a decent period of time has elapsed they will receive a note from the Librarian, courteous, I trust, but frank.

There have been generous gifts of manuscripts during the past year, some of them of the greatest importance. Notable among these are the Harrison Gray Otis papers from Samuel Eliot Morison and Miss Sophia Ritchie, the cataloguing of which is well in hand; portions of the diary of Ebenezer Parkman from Mrs. Ellen Parkman Vaughan; a large group of Winslow family papers from Miss Isabel Winslow, particularly significant for their information about the pre-revolutionary commerce of Boston and about the tribulations of the Loyalists; from Theodore P. Smith a large trunkful of the Isaac Smith family papers; and from Dr. William B. Robbins the diary of Increase Mather for the year 1681. More complete accounts of such acquisitions, as well as of those of Americana and other books, will be found in the monthly reports.

The library staff, beginning September 1, 1934, was, as a matter of economy, reduced by one. Through a different organization of the library work, however, I think it may be honestly said that we have suffered no loss of efficiency. As a further result of this new division of labor, the Librarian has found it possible to devote a considerable part of his time to the manuscripts. Since the first of September, 1934, between fifteen and twenty thousand manuscripts and photostats have been roughly catalogued. To the uninitiated this number may sound impressive. Our uncatalogued manuscripts are, however, almost as numerous as the sands of the sea, and the impression made on them during the past seven months is comparable to the effect that the removal of one bucketful of sand would have on a wide expanse of beach.

Even such moderate virtues have a way of dragging new problems along in their train. The cataloguing of this many manuscripts means the addition to the card catalogue of perhaps fifty thousand cards, and roughly the same proportion may be expected as the work continues. At the present time the entire manuscript catalogue is being gone over carefully with a view to combining several entries on one card wherever possible. But the new influx is rapidly outstripping these economies of space, the drawers are becoming overcrowded, and the time will soon be here when we must face the problem of a drastic rearrangement of the office, which is also, at present, our main work-room.

Nor do our catalogue problems stop here. The catalogue of our printed material is in a condition of great confusion. Two difficulties are present. The first is that almost one half of our cards are survivals from an earlier period. These are of a different size and shape from those currently in use and are therefore in themselves a source of great inconvenience. The trouble is acutely aggravated by the fact that when it came time to put these cards into the new drawers, and it was found that the cards were too long, the expedient resorted to, incredible as it may seem, was to cut off enough of these old cards to make them fit. That whole words of the title or three figures of the date of publication were thereby amputated apparently caused no qualms. Yet in dealing with printed material such as ours, the exact date of publication is often a very important matter; and under present conditions a great amount of time is wasted in going to the shelves to examine a book for information that a card is expected to carry.

A far worse situation arises from the fact that too often the classification of the cards seems to have been determined by the sheer capriciousness if not by the ignorance of the cataloguer. It is a surprise, for instance, to find the card for the Journals of the Board of Trade under "Great Britain, Commerce." And it is putting an undue strain on every one to expect him, when there is no title-card, to look through two hundred or more cards under "Massachusetts, Miscellaneous" before he can be sure that we do not have, for instance, any given anonymous pre-revolutionary pamphlet. Illustrations could be multiplied to emphasize the fact that we are faced with an extremely urgent need. Our present cataloguer has the ability to tackle the problem, but he is more than occupied with the daily stream of new acquisitions and telephone calls. We must have, in the very near future, for at least a year and probably two, a highly trained person who can take our catalogue in hand and put it in order. As long as present conditions last, I will not guarantee that we shall not some day buy and pay for a $500 title — assuming that we ever are that prosperous again — only to find a year afterwards that we already owned a much better copy. At present we sometimes do not consider it safe to order a five-dollar pamphlet until three or four people have combed the catalogue to the limit of their ingenuity.

When the Society can afford to take the step just suggested, it will have done the most important thing possible for making our printed materials more readily available. In the meantime we have been pushing on with a most desirable contributory measure. A century or more ago it was a common practice to bind together in single volumes groups of miscellaneous pamphlets. Individual items were often seriously damaged in the process, for binders ruthlessly chopped off margins to reduce everything to a common size. At the same time, unless such binding had been done, it is probable that many a rare item now in our library would have been lost. Now, however, that their safety is assured, it no longer seems desirable to keep many of the bound volumes in the form in which they originally came. We are, therefore, breaking them up as rapidly as possible and are putting the separate items into cheap but serviceable temporary bindings, which are then marked in such a way that whatever title is desired may be found on the shelves with a minimum of delay. As a matter of fact, we are thereby furnishing new safety for many a treasure, for these bound pamphlets are being rescued from the most inaccessible place in the building and are being placed where they can be cleaned more regularly and properly. Occasionally, when an uncommonly valuable pamphlet is thus reclaimed, it seems desirable to provide a more expensive binding such as can be procured only in England.

Such, then, are some of our current problems and every-day activities. The most important matter, from a long-time point of view, I have left till the last. As a general thing it will not be possible for us to make significant additions to our manuscript collections other than through gifts. Very desirable single pieces will from time to time appear in the market, and we must always be in a position to make an attempt to acquire them when they do turn up. Important large collections seldom are disposed of in that way, and I bespeak the good offices of every member of this Society in influencing such of their acquaintance who have such valuable collections to entrust them to us.

Printed material, however, that we should have is available for purchase every day in the year. In view of this fact it would seem that the time is long overdue when we should have determined upon some fixed policy for the use of our book-purchase funds, which would be inadequate however ample they might appear to be. What shall the Massachusetts Historical Society go in for? One thing we must deny ourselves at the outset: we shall buy as little as possible of the current output of books. We can get nowhere if we scatter our means in the acquisition of a gentleman's library. Certain important monographs will, of course, be indispensable, and we must always buy certain reference works and bibliographical tools — old as well as new — without which our efficiency would be dangerously impaired. Just recently, through the courtesy of the Huntington Library, we have been able to purchase the five volumes of the *Church Catalogue of Americana,* a rare item when it was first published almost thirty years ago and now the most important single bibliographical item in that field. Other gaps of this nature must be filled as quickly as possible.

The major interest of this library from now on will be the acquisition of all Massachusetts imprints up to 1800 and all Boston imprints for an additional twenty-five years. This, it strikes me, may almost be regarded as our moral duty as well as our great opportunity. We should have gone about it more deliberately long ago; in our default other societies with other interests to develop have had to do it for us. This is a staggering order, to be sure, and no one here can hope to live long enough to see more than an encouraging start made. But we can all help in the realization of this goal. Some things which we should have are, I might say, to use a phrase never found in the dealers' catalogues, excessively common and may be purchased for a dollar or two. I can guarantee to fill in a gap on our shelves with any two-dollar bill that is given us. Other things are " excessively rare." I had one such offered me this very week for three thousand dollars. Such things must, of course, make us pause, but they need not make us despair.

On the contrary, I look ahead with confidence to a time when we shall become so prominently identified in the public mind as the great collector of early Massachusetts Americana that the things which we need will come to us from all sides. A few in this Society already share that confidence and have expressed it in good deeds. I invite and urge every member to catch and help realize this vision of our future.

ALLYN B. FORBES
Librarian

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings* and call for no additional comment at this time.

Grenville H. Norcross
Cabinet-Keeper

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

PRESIDENT

William Crowninshield Endicott

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Henry Lefavour
Roger Bigelow Merriman

RECORDING SECRETARY

Frank Washburn Grinnell

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Francis Russell Hart

TREASURER

George Gregerson Wolkins

CABINET-KEEPER

Grenville Howland Norcross

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL

Henry Wilder Foote
Clarence Saunders Brigham
James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Matt Bushnell Jones
John Woodbury

Mr. Bliss Perry read a portion of his reminiscences dealing with his recollections of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University during the 1890's.[1]

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[1] The substance of this paper may be found in Bliss Perry, *And Gladly Teach* (Boston and New York, 1935), Chapter VII.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 9, 1935, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*. The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From R. H. Nichols, secretary of the Foundling Hospital, London, a photostat of a letter from Thomas Coram to the Corporation of Lyme Regis, October 12, 1749.

From Mrs. Robert Treat Paine, 2nd, miscellaneous papers relating to real estate transactions in Boston, 1835–1847.

By purchase: Isaac Backus, *An Address to the Inhabitants of New England* (Boston, 1787), a pamphlet referring to Shays's Rebellion; the Dublin, 1757, edition of William Livingston, *A Review of the Military Operations in North America;* and Increase Mather, *The Wicked Mans Portion* (Boston, 1675).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, HOWARD CORNING, and MILTON EDWARD LORD accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

It was *voted,* That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following standing committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman;* GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, ALLAN FORBES, and FRANCIS R. HART.

House: JOHN WOODBURY, *Chairman;* JOHN W. FARLOW and GEORGE E. CABOT.

Library: CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Chairman;* STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS and DANIEL B. UPDIKE.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART, JOSEPH WARREN, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM and STEWART MITCHELL.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman;* LAWRENCE S. MAYO, FRANCIS R. HART, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, and STEWART MITCHELL.

Mr. CLAUDE M. FUESS read a paper entitled " Currents and Undercurrents of the Republican National Convention of 1920," a portion of the biography of Calvin Coolidge which he has in preparation.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER · A MEMOIR

BY

MAX FARRAND[1]

THE name of Frederick Jackson Turner seems destined to remain forever linked with the frontier. This is largely a consequence of his first great contribution, the paper he read at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." The influence exerted by the paper was extraordinary, for it opened new vistas in historical interpretation and brought into prominence data and factors previously neglected. A part of the reputation accruing to its author was due to the variety of interests affected. Historians, economists, political scientists, geographers, and sociologists acknowledged its importance, and students of other subjects might well be included. For example, a recent bibliography of the history of agriculture in the United States declares that it has "had a dominating influence in all American historical writing since its appearance."

A new interpretation means a deviation or departure from the accepted path, and the extent of the divergence in Turner's case may be inferred from the note of a distinguished but elderly member of this Society, in which he acknowledged the receipt of "your curious and interesting paper." The rôle popularly ascribed to Turner is that of "discoverer," but he himself would have been the first to disclaim it. Twenty-five years after the paper appeared in print, he wrote, in answer to an inquiry from a colleague, that it would have been an unpleasant thing "to contend for the parentage of my intellectual first born." He did not have the "temerity to claim any exclusive property in an idea that would have evolved from growing American consciousness itself." He had come, under the guidance of his teachers and from his own reading and study, to a realization of the evolution of institutions, especially in medieval times, and he had applied these general historical and evolutionary conceptions to the United States and to the West.

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[1] This memoir owes much to the friendly criticism and helpful suggestions of Professor Avery Craven of the University of Chicago.

Frederick J. Turner

[illegible]

For Turner, the frontier in America was the meeting place of savagery and civilization, the area in which the older cultures came into a primitive environment. The frontier in Europe was a fortified boundary, in America the hither edge of free land,[2] where civilized life had reverted to primitive conditions. The crude but simple life of the wilderness eventually changed into a complex modern society that differed from older societies because the influence of the wilderness survived its own disappearance. The Atlantic coast had been the first frontier of European civilization on the North American continent, and the growth of the colonies and of the later United States had been a continuous process of expansion, predominantly westward. This expansion for over two hundred and fifty years had meant an unbroken succession of frontier influences, with a constant modification of the older civilization. Social development had been "continually beginning over again on the frontier." The farther removed from Europe, the greater became the differences between the old culture and the new, and the ultimate product was something that we call American. Accordingly, "the true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic Coast, it is the Great West."

The validity of the underlying conception is fairly breath-taking in its significance, while its direct applicability to various phases of American development accounts for the immediate and widespread recognition this remarkable essay received. Turner was young, his experience and study were limited, and restraint could hardly be expected in the enthusiasm of a great discovery. The necessity of caution was realized later with the growing appreciation of the complexity of historical processes, and led to a refinement of interpretation in his subsequent work. His buoyant spirit and his freedom of style in writing—one notices the use of capital letters for the "Great West"—added charm to the original essay, but his declarations were at times too sweeping, his assertions too positive. His main contention, however, was thoroughly sound, and most criticisms of his thesis should be directed against his followers rather than laid at his own door. The significance of the frontier, like the Monroe Doctrine, has been used by enthusiasts, through oversimplification, for conditions and situations never contemplated by the first proponent. Misapplication has brought disapproval, and even condemnation, by some who have not read the original essay or who have failed to comprehend its purport.

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[2] Woodrow Wilson had suggested the happy phrase, "the hither edge."

Turner came of old New England stock and of a branch that was caught in the eddies as well as in the currents of the stream of an expanding population. His forebears migrated from Massachusetts to Connecticut and later into New York State by way of Vermont. His father, Andrew Jackson Turner, moved on to Michigan, then to Wisconsin, and finally settled in Portage, where Indians and traders carried their canoes and cargoes overland between the Fox River, draining into the Great Lakes, and the Wisconsin River, flowing into the Mississippi. Other members of the family also settled in the West. The father became the editor and part owner of the local paper, the *Register,* and in his later life wrote a history of Portage. The son, born in Portage in 1861, grew up in a town rich in its traditions of the Indian and the fur-trade, and saw with his own eyes something of the later stages in frontier transformation. He wrote to a friend of an incident in 1921: " It carried me back to my boyhood days, when the Wisconsin river rafts came down and tied up at Portage, where the red-shirted, profane, hard-drinking, and virile Irishmen came ashore and took possession. . . . Then there was that inviting ' pinery road ' that ran past our house to the pine forests of the upper Wisconsin. I wonder now why I didn't start off some day and ' see the world,' either on a raft, or by hiking up the road! "

Environment was all the more potent because Turner had inherited many pioneer traits, among them a restless, unsatisfied hunger for new scenes and an appetite for exploration; but other qualities led him to seek satisfaction in intellectual and literary pursuits. His education was of the conventional sort, but his record both at school and at college was far from ordinary. He was distinguished even in a class that is noted at the University of Wisconsin for its able men. He won prizes for oratory in his junior and senior years; he was awarded honors at graduation; and his fellow students recorded their admiration for his ability. As an undergraduate, and in his first year out of college, he helped to support himself by working as a newspaper reporter. He talked of going farther west and of running a newspaper, very much as his father had done. He accepted, however, a position at the University of Wisconsin and for three years was a tutor in rhetoric and oratory.

Turner might well have looked forward to a literary career, but his intellectual curiosity — perhaps the outstanding trait of his mental endowment — and an inherited interest in politics, which in his case took the form of seeking explanations of political actions, deflected him in a slightly different direction. External influences are frequently the controlling factors in determining one's lifework, and Turner always referred with deep gratitude to Professor W. F. Allen, " my Wisconsin historical master in his lectures on medieval institutions." Yet his inheritance, as well as his own temperament and qualities, made the study of history a very natural choice.

When the decision was reached to continue in academic work, and in the historical field, he went to Johns Hopkins University in 1888, where he studied under Herbert B. Adams; and he later often spoke of the stimulating influences of the year spent in a new environment and in association with men from other sections of the country, in particular with Woodrow Wilson, who was then a lecturer at that institution. He received his Ph.D. degree in 1890, writing his dissertation upon " The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin."

After returning to the University of Wisconsin Turner was quickly advanced from assistant professor to professor of history, and the latter title was soon changed to professor of American history. For twenty years, with ever increasing influence and reputation, he drew about him a constantly changing group of students, whom he inspired with zeal for research, and in whom, incidentally, he aroused lasting admiration and devotion. Many important universities invited him to join their faculties, but all such invitations were declined until in 1910 he accepted a call to Harvard, where he served as professor of history up to the time of his retirement in 1924. Meanwhile, distinguished recognition had come to him in the form of honorary degrees from American and foreign universities, and of honorary membership in many learned societies. He was an editor of the *American Historical Review*, 1910–1915, president of the American Historical Association, 1910–1911, and president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1914–1916. In 1927 he became a research associate at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and there he remained until his death on March 14, 1932.

In the course of over forty years devoted to the study of history Turner finished but one piece of historical composition of any length, a single volume, *Rise of the New West* (1906) for " The American Nation " series; and this was accomplished only under the compelling drive of the editor, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart. He prepared two score and more of essays and addresses that were printed in various periodicals and were afterwards gathered into two volumes, the titles of which indicate the subjects of the individual papers: *The Frontier in American History* (1920) and *The Significance of Sections in American History* (1932). At the time of his death he was bringing to completion a fourth volume, to be entitled "The United States, 1830–1850: The Nation and Its Sections."

His published work, if measured by ordinary standards, is scant product for a lifetime devoted to fruitful study, yet it exercised an influence out of all proportion to its bulk. There is little of the ephemeral in Turner's writings. It may be affirmed more positively of him than of most historians that practically every one of his essays and addresses is a distinct addition to historical knowledge; and some of them are brilliant pieces of interpretation. His first notable contribution breathed new life into the study of our development by showing that American history had an importance peculiarly its own. It brought to the West a recognition never previously accorded. His West, it is true, was bounded by the Rocky Mountains, and that fact was early brought to his attention. He appreciated it better for himself after his first visit to California, in 1904; and his interpretations were enriched by his subsequent frequent visits to the Pacific coast. His earlier generalizations, however, had been so well grounded that their validity was not impaired.

Inherent in his interpretation of the significance of the frontier was the equally important conception of the part the sections have played in the development of the United States. The longer he studied, the more the importance of geographic and economic areas was impressed upon him. Physical environment and social environment were often controlling factors in determining group interests; these led to group conflicts, and so affected public policies and political beliefs. Two essays in particular, "Sections and Nation" (*Yale Review,* October, 1922) and "The Significance of the Section in American History" (*Wisconsin Magazine of History,* March, 1925), take rank with "The Significance of the Frontier."

Turner's writings will doubtless be accorded their proper place by future historians, but they tell only a part of the story. He was dominated by a restless, inquiring mind. His pioneer inheritance freed him, indeed forced him, to depart from the accepted, the conventional. He was always asking if there were not something more to be learned, something new to be added, or some other point of view to be found that would offer a more complete explanation. No subject for him was ever exhausted, his conclusions were only tentative, and he was impatient of generalizations upon insufficient data. Narrative history was not the form in which such a mind found satisfactory expression. Turner did not write the history of the frontier; it was the "significance of the frontier" that he portrayed. To compose a brilliant essay or prepare a stimulating address was comparatively easy, but he was reluctant to commit anything to final expression. He might draft an excellent plan, yet his pioneering spirit seldom let him carry it to completion because he was continually being drawn into new discoveries. The versatility of his interests and his perpetual search for something new prevented him from ever finishing a larger study, and made him the despair of publishers as well as of academic administrative heads who clamor for printed results.

These traits are of the sort that appeal to youth, and they help to account for Turner's largest contribution to the progress of historical study. He was a great teacher, and for a time there was almost a vogue for Turner, or a Turner cult, among the younger members of the historical fraternity. Students flocked to him, and those who were not able to come made the most they could of his published work, while both alike sought his criticism and advice. Oftentimes this was deliberate exploitation, an attempt to associate his name in some way with their work, but it serves to show the extent of the influence he exerted.

A recent "case book," *Methods in Social Science,* edited by Stuart A. Rice, includes a paper upon Turner, in which Professor Merle E. Curti declares his influence to have been "almost immeasurable . . . an influence so great that American history has been reinterpreted and rewritten because of him." Curti was evidently perplexed, however, in attempting to analyze Turner's method, and the reason is plain: Turner had no method, in the pedagogical sense of a standardized procedure that can be analyzed and described for others to follow; but he had something far better —originality.

The constructive imagination which originality implies must be for the historian the imagination of the scholar and not the unbridled fancy of romance, for it is controlled by facts. Many have accepted Turner's generalizations regarding the frontier and the sections, but few have realized the detailed and meticulous study upon which those generalizations were based. Tolerance was inherent in his nature, but not to the extent of permitting or accepting careless work on the part of his students any more than on his own part. Rigorous insistence upon exact scholarship, which had been instilled in him in his own student days by Professor Allen, was the starting point of all his classroom work.

The abilities, skills, capacities, powers, or whatever else the psychologist and educational expert may call them, that are demanded of the student to interpret the complex phenomena we call history, are so numerous and varied as to seem impossible of combination in mortal mind. Yet it may be asserted with no fear of contradiction that the one indispensable quality without which others are of little account is sympathetic understanding—the ability to put oneself in another's place. That quality or ability Turner possessed to a superlative degree. His curiosity made him eager to learn from others, and the breadth of his interests led him to hope for information from everyone with whom he was associated. His undergraduate courses were well attended, but he was in his element in a small group of advanced students, where his sympathetic understanding and eager curiosity were peculiarly effective. His attitude was not that of an instructor—he was himself a student among his fellows. Any member of the class might present some fact he had uncovered; Turner would seize upon it and show its significance in its larger relations, with the result that even the mediocre student, carried along by his leader's enthusiasm, would be encouraged to efforts beyond his ordinary capacity. And it should be recorded, to Turner's everlasting credit, that he always gave due recognition for every bit of his students' work of which he made use, even though he himself had suggested and directed it. His method, if an instinctive attitude can be called a method, was the very embodiment of the axiom that all education is self-education. Turner has said more than once that the most any teacher could do for a student was to stimulate him and to suggest to him new approaches. Stimulation and inspiration were the essence of his teaching, as well as of his writing.

He was one of nine distinguished scholars selected for Howard W. Odum's *American Masters of Social Science,* to which Professor

Carl Becker contributed an essay, such as he alone could write, upon his own introduction to historical study under Turner at the University of Wisconsin. Becker has apparently never lost his enthusiasm, and in this instance he has recaptured as well something of the awe and admiring affection with which the youthful student approached the master. The essay should be read in its entirety and not spoiled by partial quotation, but Curti has described it in saying that Becker has "spoken for all of Turner's students in emphasizing the difficulty of divorcing his methods of research and pedagogy from the charm and inspiration of his personality."

It is difficult, if not impossible, for one who was a friend and colleague rather than a pupil, to put himself in the place of the awed and respectful student. At varying times in the course of thirty years the writer fished and camped with the subject of this memoir, from Maine to California, and after following his leader over mistaken trails for miles in the woods he could never again regard him as infallible, even in matters of historical fact. Yet those experiences, commonplace and delightful, at times stirring and even poignant, sometimes irritating or ludicrous, but leaving altogether an indelible impression, only brought out more clearly the traits that bound his students to him. Sensitive, observant, appreciative, he caught the significant in a scene or an incident, and often characterized it in a word or with a phrase that was all the more telling when tipped with humor.

His love of the out-of-doors and his fondness for canoeing and camping harked back to his boyhood days. In the letter already quoted that was written to an intimate friend in 1921, he added: ". . . I remember when with my father I took one of the first trains through the woods of Northern Wisconsin to Lake Superior, — a narrow aisle cut like a gash through the wonderful white pine forest. And I remember a voyage down the Wisconsin, poled by Indians in a dugout. . . . I remember the antlered deer who stood at a bend among the balsam firs, drinking at the river's edge, and how close we got to him in our silent canoe before he snorted and broke for cover."

A gentle spirit, whose quality the elect will understand from the mere statement that he was a member of the Boston Fishing Club; a dry-fly fisherman, whose favorite sport was more than a recreation or a hobby — it was a passion.

Simple and unaffected, his modesty was ingrained and continued unspoiled through all the years. His humble-mindedness was extraordinary. He was submissive to criticism, too submissive in fact, yet many an incident could be related to show his courage. On one occasion, while he was a student reporter for a Chicago paper, the political boss of the state threatened to shoot him if he dared to publish certain statements he was intending to make; but the report was sent in spite of the efforts at intimidation. The writer recalls a visit to Madison when Turner was chairman of a faculty committee and was insisting upon cleaning up a deplorable condition into which the university athletics had fallen. An angry student mob gathered about his house, and later he was burned in effigy on the campus; but the reforms were put through.

His kindliness led him to take infinite trouble for his students as for his friends. He was imposed upon — no one more so — but, even though his letters show at times that he realized the requests were impositions, he still responded to the appeals made to him about the work of his students and about their personal problems as well. This was no more forced than was his attitude in his seminar meetings. His interest was genuine in both cases, and where his interest was aroused no trouble was too great.

Such were some of the qualities that endeared him to his students, that made his personality inseparable from his teaching, that inspired affection along with respect, and immeasurably strengthened his influence. He stimulated many of the thousands who listened to his lectures, and he was the inspiration of hundreds who came into closer contact with him in graduate courses. He was a product of the Middle West, and, because he emphasized the part to be assigned to the West in United States history, his strongest appeal was, naturally, to students from his own section; but his influence was limited neither by place nor by subject. He was a student of social evolution, and, though his studies almost invariably ended in an attempt to explain political manifestations, few scholars brought to bear upon their problems data derived from so many different sources. Perhaps the greatest tribute to him is to be found, not in the number, but in the variety of the scholars who claim him as their master, for they come from every field of history and from every other related study as well. In the days when the older, narrower traditional presentation of history was growing into the broader, all-inclusive social story of mankind, Frederick Jackson Turner was probably the strongest single influence of his generation upon historical scholarship in America.

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 13, 1935, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. C. H. Joy of Boston, a Joy family Bible (Oxford, 1777).

From Miss Alice G. Higgins, an autograph letter of John Adams, May 19, 1796, to his son Thomas Boylston Adams, Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague.

From MATT B. JONES, Benjamin Wadsworth, *Unchaste Practices* (Boston, 1716).

From the Librarian, Increase Mather, *Doctrine of Singular Obedience* (Boston, 1707).

By purchase: *An Account of the French Settlements in North America* (Boston, 1746); *A Correct Table to Bring Old Tenor into Lawful Money* (Boston, 1750); and the London, 1784, edition of Silas Deane, *Address to the United States of North America.*

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Boston Numismatic Society, through Mr. Shepard Pond, a medal of the Society, struck in commemoration of its seventy-fifth anniversary.

From Mrs. Nathaniel Curtis, in memory of her husband, a silver box given about one hundred years ago by Nicholas Ward Boylston to Nathaniel Curtis (1774–1857); also a miniature of this Nathaniel Curtis done by Fetti.

From Dr. JOHN W. FARLOW, a miscellaneous collection of coins.

From Mrs. Charles C. Hyde of New York, the sword presented, July 2, 1863, to Colonel William Stowell Tilton by the officers of the Twenty-Second Massachusetts Regiment; also an engraving of Colonel Tilton.

Mr. HORACE H. MORSE read the following paper:

THE RELATION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE IMPRISONMENT OF LAFAYETTE

To the end of his life Lafayette firmly believed that George III and William Pitt had exerted pressure upon the Austrian government to prolong the imprisonment which he endured between

1792 and 1797. In their efforts to secure his release the friends of Lafayette reiterated the charge on every possible occasion. Twice in the House of Commons Pitt felt obliged solemnly and explicitly to deny that the British government ever had anything to do with the detention of Lafayette anywhere. Nevertheless, the old accusation continued to persist in the mind of Lafayette and to reappear in the assertions of his friends. How far do the facts now available support or refute it?

On the outbreak of hostilities with Austria in 1792, Lafayette was given command of one of the three armies defending France. In the early months of the war the significant events proved to be political rather than military. Alarmed by the rapid spread of radical ideas, Lafayette left his army, made a dramatic appearance before the Legislative Assembly, urged it to check the spread of Jacobinism, and, at the moment, obtained a favorable vote. A day or two more in Paris, however, convinced him that any further efforts of his there were bound to fail, and on his return to his army he realized that his own soldiers could not be trusted to support him. He decided, therefore, to retire to neutral territory, and on August 19, 1792, with twenty-one members of his staff, he passed into the Archbishopric of Liège. That night an Austrian patrol made the whole party prisoners and soon after turned them over to the Prussians. By the end of October, only Lafayette, César de Latour-Maubourg, and Jean Bureaux de Pusy continued to be held. In 1794 they were returned to the Austrians, who kept them until their release, September 19, 1797. Lafayette had broken the monotony somewhat by an attempt at escape, November 8, 1794, and in 1795 his devoted wife had obtained permission of the Emperor Francis II to share her husband's imprisonment. The permission included their two young daughters. During the negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Campo Formio, the French Directory stipulated for the release of the entire Lafayette group. The liberation actually took place before the final ratification of the treaty, thus enabling the Austrians to say that it was granted out of consideration for the United States,[1] an explanation no one took very seriously, although Washington on May 15, 1796, had written a personal letter to the emperor.[2]

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[1] *Writings of John Quincy Adams,* Worthington C. Ford, Editor, II (New York, 1913), 220.

[2] *Writings of George Washington,* Jared Sparks, Editor, XI (Boston, 1840), 125–126.

From the moment of Lafayette's arrest until he was set free, his friends had never wavered in their efforts in his behalf. Their activities were international, but nowhere were they better organized and more continuous than in London. This fact had an important influence in producing the charge that the British government was to blame for prolonging Lafayette's imprisonment. The British government was the nearest on which his champions could exert pressure. Furthermore, the British parliamentary opposition, hopeless in numbers but incessantly active and annoying, was frequently at its wit's end to find a subject on which to attack the government without laying themselves open to charges of sedition or even of treason. The excesses of the French Revolution and the wild stupidity of many British radical organizations had brought moderate liberal leaders into very bad odor even with the extra-parliamentary British public, with the result that Lafayette, not only the enemy on the one hand of the Jacobins and their ilk, but equally on the other the enemy of absolutism, was an excellent subject for debate. Moreover, his privations and the touching devotion of Mme. de Lafayette made a human appeal quite apart from political or social partisanship.

The fact of Lafayette's American career also lent some color to the charge that George III was behind the persistence of the Austrians in retaining their prisoners. It seemed likely that the king, who had a well-earned reputation as a good hater, might take the trouble to get even with one who had enjoyed all too heartily a share in securing the independence of the United States. Neither Lafayette's friends nor the parliamentary opposition failed to take advantage of this prop to their theory.

Lafayette's own views on the matter seem to have developed gradually. It is possible to trace their growth in his letters from prison. At last he came to look upon the whole European struggle as a duel between Pitt and himself.[3] In 1805 he was toying with the notion of revisiting the United States, but finally gave it up since he believed that he would expose himself once more to the implacable hatred of Great Britain.[4] As late as November, 1828, in an intimate chat with Jared Sparks at La Grange, he recalled that when Pitt was asked to interest himself in his behalf,

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[3] Jules Thomas, *Corréspondance inédite de La Fayette,* 1793–1801 (Paris, 1903), 204, 209, 219, 231–232, 237–238, 239, 242, 277, 280 *n.*

[4] Gilbert Chinard, *Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson* (Baltimore, 1929), 237–238.

Pitt had refused and had added that if parliament should do anything, "the feelings of the King were so strongly against him [Lafayette] that no hope could be entertained of his sanctioning any measures in his favor."[5]

Whatever may have been their convictions — and both their contemporaries and later critics can not help at times questioning their sincerity[6] — the friends of Lafayette proclaimed from the housetops that the British government was to blame for his prolonged imprisonment. Latour-Maubourg, who was a prisoner with Lafayette, informed intimates of theirs that he understood Pitt was paying the Austrians £10 sterling a day for each of them, but this allowance in passing through the imperial treasury dwindled to six florins.[7]

To be taken much more seriously is a letter (April 10, 1796) to Washington from Dr. Justus Ehric Bollman, famous for his attempt to rescue Lafayette from Olmütz, for Bollman based an extensive scheme of operations in Lafayette's behalf on the theory that the British government was forcing the Austrians to hold him until the war was over. "The inducement," he writes, "which leads to this conduct of the British ministry, seems to be personal hatred, and an apprehension lest the Marquis, when arrived in this country, might embrace the interests of France, and make use of his popularity to alienate the public mind from the British cause. It is of such a nature, therefore, as is likely to continue during the present war, the end of which appears to be far distant."[8]

Another active worker for Lafayette who at this same time was in the United States was the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. He, too, seemed to feel that Washington needed to be further stirred up.

> You are certainly acquainted with the audience granted by the Emperor to Madame de Lafayette on her passage through Vienna; and you know, when she implored of him her husband's liberation, the Emperor answered her, "*His hands were tied up on that subject, M. de La-*

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[5] Sparks MSS. (Harvard College Library), XXXII (1), 101–102.

[6] For a rather unflattering judgment both of his friends and of Lafayette himself at this period, see *Writings of John Quincy Adams,* II. 122, 396. In contrast, see "Letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams, 1797–1803," Worthington C. Ford, Editor, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1912* (Washington, 1914), 585.

[7] Letter from Olmütz, March 5, 1796. Thomas, *Corréspondance de La Fayette,* 293.

[8] *Writings of Washington,* XI. 498.

fayette's liberation being out of his own power." You know the Emperor's ministers, less reserved than their master had been, pronounced to her, that, *"If his Imperial Majesty should grant M. de Lafayette's liberation, even if the watch upon him to prevent his escape were less rigorous, the Emperor would then become an object of distrust to his ally, the King of England";* and you have, Sir, unquestionably concluded, with all those who are acquainted with those authentic answers, that the part of Lafayette's conduct, for which his fetters have been forged, and are now daily riveted, is not his participation in the French revolution, but in that of America, his unbounded devotion to the cause of the liberty and independence of the United States. That is the real *crime,* never to be forgotten by the King of England, and on account of which only Lafayette is plunged into a dungeon.[9]

Washington was, to be sure, a conspicuous target for such explosions, but hardly a person in the United States or in Europe remotely likely to be of service in the cause escaped similar appeals. The Marquis de Lally-Tollendal, for example, had the temerity to send a vehement letter (March 16, 1794)[10] to William Windham, British Secretary at War, and by this time imperviously conservative. For his pains he received a tart reply which he hastened to acknowledge (March 17, 1794) with unaccustomed brevity, assuring the offended minister that he had no intention whatever of telling the British government how to run its affairs.[11] The Vicomte de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette and famous for initiating the surrender of feudal privileges on the night of August 4–5, 1789, was careful to report (May 5, 1794) to Windham his activities in the United States in behalf of Lafayette,[12] but he made no favorable impression.

The champions of the general by no means undervalued the force of that public opinion which existed quite outside of ministerial or even parliamentary circles, and they were aware that in Great Britain and the United States the surest way to influence it was through the public press. They, therefore, kept the liberal sheets busy with their articles and letters. Toward the end of 1796 their newspaper agitation had reached fever-heat,[13] and it is not unlikely that it was deliberately planned to support perhaps the most dramatic action in behalf of Lafayette's release — the celebrated motion of December 16, 1796, by General Richard Fitzpatrick in the House of Commons.

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[9] Letter of July 25, 1796. *Ibid.,* 490.

[10] Windham MSS., British Museum, Add. MSS., 37855:ff.156–157.

[11] Add. MSS., 37855:f.160.

[12] Add. MSS., 37855:ff.233–236.

[13] See the *Morning Chronicle,* November 7, 12, 1796. For government counterblasts, see the *True Briton,* November 5, December 10, 15, 1796. In Germany Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, author of *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Krieges,* was one of Lafayette's ardent champions; see *Minerva* (1796), I. 359ff.; II. 565; III. 96ff.; (1797), I. 62; II. 561.

Fitzpatrick had introduced a similar motion on March 17, 1794,[14] and had drawn from Pitt an utter denial that the British government had anything to do with the detention of Lafayette by the Prussians. In the intervening period Lafayette had been turned over to the emperor, and the emperor, thanks to generous subsidies and the steady support of Thugut, his foreign minister, was Pitt's ally. The British opposition were too few to defeat any government measure, but they could hold up to scorn the war, the Austrian alliance, and the heavy subsidies. They found it most convenient to attack the emperor through Lafayette. Never mind what might be the subject of debate, some opposition member was likely to ring in the martyred Lafayette and his brutal jailer, the emperor.[15] Thus the name of Lafayette had acquired priceless nuisance value. Gouverneur Morris cynically confided to Mme. de Staël, October 19, 1796: " May God forgive me, but I am tempted to believe that they [the British Opposition] would be very sorry to have the cause of their complaints removed." [16]

On December 7, 1796, then, General Fitzpatrick, veteran of the American War and a personal friend of Lafayette, rose in the House of Commons and

> in a low and almost inaudible tone of voice, observed, that, notwithstanding the notice which had been taken, during the last Parliament, in the House, of the miserable situation of General LaFayette, and, notwithstanding the good connexion of the British Court and its Ally, the Emperor, that gallant General remained in the same unfortunate and ill-deserved condition, without any interference on the part of Great Britain to relieve him. He, therefore, gave notice, that he should bring forward a motion to that effect on Friday se'nnight.[17]

With this warning both sides seem to have prepared carefully for the forensic struggle. Edmund Burke, who had taken a leading part in defeating Fitzpatrick's motion of 1794, was now dying at Beaconsfield, but he wrote a long and bitter letter urging his friends to bury the proposal completely. " I think," he concluded, " the

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[14] For the debate, see *Parliamentary Register,* XXXVII, 587–622.

[15] See, for example, the *Oracle and Public Advertiser,* December 8, 1796.

[16] Sparks MSS., LXXXIX. 55.

[17] *Times,* December 8, 1796.

manner in which this Business is to be opposed is of very high importance, as I take it for granted there is no idea of yielding to it publickly or privately." [18] Windham also evidently had Lafayette on his mind, for these entries appear in his diary: "10th . . . Stayed at Fulham all day. . . . Thought about the business for Wednesday, viz. Austrian remittance, as also that of La Fayette. . . . 16th. Debate on Marquis de la Fayette." [19] The *True Briton* of December 15, 1796, carried a hostile and vehement letter addressed to Fitzpatrick. The general must have prepared himself with great care, for his speech in support of his motion is considered the ablest in his parliamentary career.

For the present purpose the significant parts of the debate are the conclusions Fitzpatrick drew from the emperor's statement to Mme. de Lafayette and the reply which Pitt made to them. Fitzpatrick described Mme. de Lafayette's interview with the emperor as follows:

> He received her solicitations with kindness and indulgence; he applauded and expressed his admiration of the generosity of her conduct. To the request of joining her husband in his prison, he immediately acceded; but with respect to the more material subject of her intreaties, he used these remarkable expressions; "With respect to his liberty, it is a complicated affair, upon which my hands are bound." Of the truth of this declaration of the Emperor, I hold in my hand the incontrovertible testimony of the interesting person to whom they were spoken. Upon this fact I appeal to the House, whether I am not warranted in the assertion that La Fayette is not the prisoner of the Emperor.[20]

He then gave an account of the difficulties Mme. de Lafayette had to overcome before she succeeded in actually availing herself of the permission the emperor had granted.

> I now revert [he continued] to the declaration of the Emperor, the ground upon which I rest the absolute necessity of taking some step to vindicate the national honour from the obloquy which that declaration has thrown upon it. Let any one who opposes this motion, undertake to explain by whom, unless by his allies, "the hands of the Emperor are bound," upon this subject; and let me ask, if, after this

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[18] *Correspondence of Edmund Burke and William Windham,* Julius P. Gilson, Editor (1930), 213; cf. Burke to Woodford, December 9, 1796, British Museum, Add. MSS., 37843.f.121.

[19] *Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham,* Mrs. Henry Baring, Editor (London, 1866), 348.

[20] *Parliamentary History,* XXXII. 1352.

declaration, these prisoners are suffered to languish in their present miserable condition, to what member of the alliance will the common voice of all mankind impute the fact? If, as we were eloquently and triumphantly told by the chancellor of the exchequer, every Englishman, from the highest to the lowest, is entitled to his share of the glory of the archduke Charles's victories, where shall that Englishman shelter himself from an equal share of the disgrace and ignominy which belongs to the perpetrators of cruelty, injustice, and oppression? To free the country from the obloquy of lying under such an imputation, is the object of my motion. The motion is, perhaps, of all others, the most seasonable. We have set on foot a negotiation for peace. The act of humanity and justice I am now recommending, would be no slight indication of that temper pervading the councils of the allies, which is best calculated to promote the attainment of the great object to which the hopes and wishes of all the nations of Europe are so anxiously directed. I move, Sir, " That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to represent to his Majesty, that it appears to this House, that the detention of the general la Fayette, and Messieurs la Tour Mauborg, and Bureau de Pusy, in the prisons of his Majesty's ally, the Emperor of Germany, is highly injurious to the cause of his Majesty and his allies; and most humbly to beseech his Majesty, to intercede with the court of Vienna, in such manner as to his royal wisdom shall seem most proper, for the deliverance of those unfortunate persons." [21]

In his reply Pitt made the Government's position perfectly clear.

But I contend, that however the House may be affected by the representation of facts which have reached the hon. gentleman, and which I have no doubt he has reason to believe to be true, though I have heard a very opposite statement of the transaction, the case is one which does not properly call for our interference. The House are in possession of no facts which authorize them to take any decided step on the occasion: there is nothing to satisfy them, that the detention of La Fayette is a circumstance at all to be influenced by their authority, or connected with any exertion of their power. However their humanity may be interested, considered as a question of political relations, it is not one which does at all come within their cognizance. But how does the matter stand? The hon. gentleman has quoted a verbal report of a speech of his imperial majesty, which is represented as having said, that " the matter did not depend upon him; that it was a complicated affair; that his hands were bound up." He therefore supposes, from this declaration of the Emperor, that the detention of La Fayette is an event which depends on the will of his Britannic majesty, as an ally of that prince. But, upon what ground is such a supposition formed? From whatever motive of duty or obligation the Emperor may have acted in adopting this measure of the detention of Lafayette, by what inference can it be concluded that the king of Great Britain is either implicated in the motive, or a party to the engagement? As to the question of any such engagement, I now declare in the most public, solemn, and explicit manner, that I know of no obligation expressed, implied, or understood, by his majesty, as at all connected with the transaction. I know of no communication that has passed on the subject between the courts of London and Vienna. No opinion has been asked from this country, nor has any reason been afforded to believe that it is a question on which we could have any influence to decide. It is a transaction in which his majesty has not had the smallest participation, and with respect to which he can have no right to interfere.[22]

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[21] *Parliamentary History,* XXXII. 1357–1358.

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[22] *Ibid.*, 1358–1359. Besides contemporary newspaper reports, three separate printed versions of the debate deserve notice:

1. *Parliamentary Register*, First Session, Eighteenth Parliament, I. 417–461.
2. *Parliamentary History*, XXXII. 1348–1386.
3. *Motion faite dans la Chambre des Communes de la Grande-Brétagne, en faveur du général LaFayette par le très-honorable général Fitzpatrick* (Paris, 1794).

Examples of the contemporary newspaper reports are: *Times*, December 17; *True Briton*, December 17; *London Chronicle*, No. 5863. Among the press comments may be noted: *Morning Chronicle*, December 19; *Times*, December 19; *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, December 19; *True Briton*, December 27. The *Morning Chronicle* of December 19 printed "Stanza's on M. de La Fayette," the nature of which may be sufficiently judged from the sixth and last verse, with refrain:

"The Insult of the vulgar mind,
The last farewell to all mankind,
The sob which suffocates the brave,
The silent Death — the unknown Grave!
    All these and more must yet be borne:
    Mourn, Victim of Oppression Mourn! "

The following contemporary report by a government paper presents some interesting variations from the version above. "The Right Honorable Gentleman had also mentioned a verbal Answer, said to have been given by the Emperor to the very impressive Address made to him by Madame De La Fayette, whose character, as it had been drawn, he had no inclination to dispute. From that answer, the Right Hon. Gentleman inferred that the Emperor's hands were tied by his Allies, and that the Emperor could not act in this instance without the consent of the King of England. The word certainly did not bear such a construction. There certainly was no ground whatever for saying, that the Emperor's hands were so bound, that he could not act in any manner in which his feelings as an individual, or his duty as a Sovereign required. Whatever motive of objection there might appear in the present instance, or to whom it might apply, it could not be denied that it must exist equally in every possible case that might hereafter happen. He wished to know what peculiar grounds there were for supposing that the King of England was implicated in this transaction; but he would not leave that point to rest merely upon argument, for he begged leave to declare, in the most solemn and unequivocal manner, that he knew of no ground, expressly implied or understood, which gave the King of England the slightest right to interfere in either the treatment or confinement of Mons. De La Fayette, or any part of his family. He begged, in the same distinct and solemn manner, to declare, that he knew of no communication of any nature whatsoever having taken place between the two

Although Pitt did not attack Fitzpatrick's report of Mme. de Lafayette's audience with the emperor, but confined himself to refuting the inferences which had been drawn from it, a closer examination of what occurred may be of some interest. In Mme. de Lasteyrie's biography of her mother, Mme. de Lafayette, is found this brief account: "We accompanied her; she was received with politeness, and simply asked for permission to share my father's captivity. The Emperor answered, 'I grant it you; as for his liberty, that would be impossible, my hands are tied.'"[23] This is Fitzpatrick's account. A contemporary account, however, adds a few details which give a somewhat different aspect to the incident. It is in an undated note from Auguste Masson, a young officer who had accompanied Lafayette on the fateful night of August 19, 1792, and had the complete confidence of the family.[24] He seems to have sent it to Gouverneur Morris. In any case, it is, on the face of it, a simple statement of what actually occurred, circulated not for any public effect but for the information of close personal friends.

> His Majesty was very polite and told us he granted with much pleasure, the request we made of him, to confine us here. That this was all he could do; that he would gladly do more. Upon the observation of Madame la Fayette that the Emperor could do much more, and that it depended on him to render her most happy, by restoring liberty to Mr. de la Fayette, the Emperor replied that it was a complicated business; that Madame la Fayette knew well that the King of Prussia had sent him to him; that his hands were tied with regard to this matter; that it depended upon affairs, and finally, that he did all that was possible at that time.[25]

Courts relative to this Gentleman, or that his Majesty's opinion had ever been asked upon the subject. There was no step which the Emperor might take, which this Country had a right to interfere with, or controul. He knew of no ground on which the Honourable Mover, or the House, had a right to suppose that his Majesty's opinion would decide upon the subject: therefore the only answer he should give to this application was, that the words themselves did not import any participation of this Country in the confinement or treatment of Mons. De La Fayette; that in point of fact we never had interfered, or had any right to interfere that he knew of." *True Briton*, December 17, 1796.

[23] Mme. de Lasteyrie, *Life of Madame de Lafayette* (Paris and London, 1872), 332 (page 353 in the original French edition, Paris, 1868).

[24] For much detail in regard to Masson, see "Lafayette Letters in the Bostonian Society," *Publications*, Bostonian Society, Second Series, IV (Boston, 1924).

[25] Sparks MSS., LXXXIX. 46. It is among the Morris papers which Sparks had copied and is a translation from a French original. It seems to have been written about December, 1796. It makes no mention of Pitt's persecution of Lafayette, but concentrates upon the Austrians' brutal treatment of their prisoners.

On May 10, 1796, Mme. de Lafayette wrote to her aunt, Mme. de Tessé: " The King of Prussia wrote to Mme. de Maison-Neuve [26] that it was not he but the Emperor who was the cause of their detention; the Emperor told me that it was not he but the King of Prussia. Mr. Pitt has said to Parliament that he has nothing to do with the matter, and, during that time, the three prisoners were turned over to the Court of Vienna, whom Mr. Pitt was taking into his pay." [27]

Not quite two weeks later, however, Mme. de Lafayette dispatched a letter to Dr. Bollmann, in which she explicitly charged that the British government was her husband's principal enemy. It was apparently intended to provide instructions for Bollmann and others who might be working for the release of Lafayette, and is therefore of a semi-public character.

> Lafayette's detention is evidently a measure entered into in common by the powers either openly or secretly allied against France, or rather against liberty. It is said to have been agreed on in a coalitionary council, that his existence was dangerous to the repose of the governments of Europe. As long as those governments transferred from one to the other his person, and those of his friends, or the applications urged in their behalf, it was more difficult to form a plan; but at present most of them have become the friends, or at least the humble servants of France. The pretenders of the Bourbon family are now regarded as mere objects of charity: and though the emperor, in permitting my presence here, told me that Lafayette's affair was extremely complicated; though M. Thugut in speaking of him, frequently mentioned the word " *importance*," – it is quite certain that, notwithstanding the hatred of all the other governments, the cabinets of Vienna and London are the only ones that can persecute us here. You know that the Court of Vienna, in addition to its hereditary aversion for every species of liberty, has a particular antipathy to Lafayette, and that to all the known motives for that dislike, may be added the secret impressions that have been constantly given by the late queen, or on her behalf. The conduct observed towards the three prisoners, towards you and ourselves, does not depend on the disposition of that Court, but the malevolent action appears concentrated in the internal cabinet; and I might hope for some advantages, were not that party itself, as the letters from Vienna state, in the servile dependence of England. In that quarter is Lafayette's principal enemy to be found: Pitt and he have long formed a judgment of each other; and that

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[26] Sister of Alexandre Lameth, who was a fellow-prisoner with Lafayette in Magdeburg.

[27] Translation from *Mémoires du général La Fayette,* IV (Paris, 1838), 275.

minister, who is no less perverse in his means of execution than in his views, has every kind of superiority over the governments under his direction.

She then speaks of various efforts that may be useful, and continues:

The denunciations made by the opposition party in England, also produce much effect on these Courts, which perceive among that opposition the members of a future ministry. . . . it is very certain that the presence of an American envoy [in Vienna], besides the advantage of the step itself, would have that of furnishing an opportunity, a pretext, a sort of protection for all the measures which might be secretly adopted in our favor. It is true that England considered either as a power or as a banker would always be the stronger, and to force her to relax her hold, she must be pressed at home. There at least public opinion is of some weight, and as our object should be not to caress or persuade Mr. Pitt, but to make him feel more personal inconvenience from Lafayette's detention than from his liberation, no means must be neglected of exciting public opinion against him in that respect. . . . I will add, that if American influence at Vienna is limited to the courteous consideration which two countries at peace owe to each other, such is not the case with regard to England, to whom the situation, commerce, and policy of the United States are of too much importance to admit of the supposition that the British cabinet is not interested in treating them with consideration. The faults committed in this way by the English ministry are properly taken up by the patriots of England, and we must here repeat what Lafayette has incessantly observed, . . . that such manifestations from the Opposition have always appeared not only extremely flattering and valuable to himself, but advantageous to his interests. . . .

You will not be tranquillized by a recent and secret information, of the truth of which you can entertain no doubt, and which proves to you, that in a place where there was no question of phrases without meaning, M. Thugut, the prime minister, and wholly devoted to Pitt, no later than a fortnight ago, represented Lafayette as dangerous to the public tranquility of Europe — an expression that must be referred, not to the war which now exists, but to the liberty which is now dreaded, and that recalls, almost word for word, your interesting conversation with M. Luchesini, which was held nearly four years ago in the council of the coalesced parties, and which was recently disclosed by an act of indiscretion on the part of the Baron de Breteuil, who was present.[28]

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[28] Jules Cloquet, *Recollections of the Private Life of General Lafayette* (London, 1835), 326–333. Cloquet says he found this letter from Mme. de Lafayette to Dr. Bollmann in Masclet's correspondence. Masclet had entered into the dissemination of Lafayette propaganda with great zest and had written the "Eleuthère" letters in the *Morning Chronicle*. The original is in the Huntington Library, H.M., 9417. See Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette Comes to America* (Chicago, 1935), 153 *n* 2.

The fullest, frankest, and probably the most nearly contemporaneous account of the interview between the emperor and Mme. de Lafayette, together with her earliest inference from it, would seem to point to the king of Prussia rather than the British king as the evil genius inspiring the kindly emperor. The letter to Bollmann looks like a highly elaborated afterthought, probably developed under the influence of Lafayette himself as the most likely theory on which to push activities in his behalf.

It is possible to approach the problem from another angle. If the British government were so concerned to have Lafayette detained, it is a reasonable assumption that some indication of their anxiety would appear in the diplomatic correspondence. During the period of Lafayette's imprisonment the dispatches which passed between the Foreign Office and the British ministers at Berlin and Vienna are full and continuous. Again and again cipher dispatches appear, but, fortunately for the investigator, they have been decoded so that nothing significant seems now concealed. In this abundance of material Lafayette's name rarely occurs, and such notices as are found are casual, trivial, and sometimes inaccurate. All the references together are so few that they may be briefly summarized here.[29]

Sir Morton Eden reported to Lord Grenville, October 2, 1792, that colors and a sword of Lafayette had been brought from Verdun, were shown at Monbijou on his Prussian Majesty's birthday, and were deposited in the arsenal.[30] This was the first news after Lafayette's capture sufficiently important to report to London. George Rose, who was then at Berlin, wrote on January 12, 1794, of having heard that Lafayette had been transferred from Magdeburg to Glatz.[31] This was incorrect: Lafayette at that time was sent to Neisse. Eden, meantime, had been assigned to Vienna and by February 8, 1794, had found out that Austria and Prussia were conversing about a transfer of Lafayette and his fellow-prisoners to the custody of the emperor. Since Lucchesini, Prussian minister to Austria, complained of the expense Prussia had undergone, it would seem that so far the British government had not been inveigled into paying the captives' board.[32] Rose wrote Grenville on June 10, 1794, that Count Finkenstein, Prussian foreign minister, had confided to him that a mysterious American, one Mr. Marshall,[33] had appeared in Berlin with a letter from Washington to the king of Prussia and another to Prince Henry; but since the king had refused to receive Washington's communication, the Count did not know what the mission was about.[34] Lafayette's attempt at escape was first reported incorrectly in a dispatch of November 12, 1794, and then correctly three days later.[35] When Madame de Lafayette arrived in Vienna with her two daughters to share her husband's imprisonment, Eden noted it only incidentally.[36] On September 24, 1796, he presented Gouverneur Morris to the emperor and was careful to report the fact to Lord Grenville. Since his recall as minister to France from the United States in 1794, Morris had been traveling about in Europe, from time to time sending his observations to kindred spirits, among whom was Grenville. He was much interested in the Lafayettes and while in Vienna exerted himself in their behalf. It was not until August 9, 1797, that Eden again had anything he considered worth noticing about Lafayette. He had picked up some details relating to negotiations at Leoben for the release of the prisoners.[37] On September 23, 1797, he announced their liberation.[38] Not quite two weeks later a dispatch from Hamburg reported their arrival at that city and their formal delivery to the American authorities there.[39]

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[29] To glean these notices of Lafayette, all dispatches passing between London and Berlin from April, 1792, to December, 1794, contained in the volumes in the Public Record Office numbered F.O.64:25–31 were read, as were also those between London and Vienna from January, 1792, to December, 1797, in the volumes designated as F.O.7:29–50. Of the Chatham Papers, the following were examined: G.D. 8:101–104, 111, 135, 137, 152, 187, 190, 195, 332, 339. A considerable mass of other material in the same archives was also read, but it yielded nothing.

[30] F.O.64:26, No. 79 (pp. 6–7); also in Jackson Papers, F.O.353:18, No. 79 (p. 3). Several others of the dispatches are in the same collection.

[31] F.O.64:29, No. 3 (p. 1).

This absence of evidence in support of the charge, together with Pitt's denials, raises a strong presumption that the British government was not concerned with Lafayette's detention. A newspaper story following the Fitzpatrick debate arouses a suspicion that some of Lafayette's friends did not care to push the charges too far. It was proposed to present a petition from American citizens in London to Rufus King, the American minister, to press the case of Lafayette upon the British government.[40] A week later, however, the same newspaper stated that the Americans were deferring their petition in view of Pitt's statement that he had no share in Lafayette's detention and would inform the American Cabinet that the British government did not participate in a desire for his imprisonment.[41]

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[32] F.O.7:36, No. 12 (p. 2).

[33] James Markham Marshall, brother of John Marshall, sent unofficially by Washington in Lafayette's interest. See Samuel F. Bemis, "The London Mission of Thomas Pinckney, 1792–1796," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1923), 246.

[34] F.O.64:29, No. 40 (p. 5).

[35] F.O.7:37, Nos. 43 (p. 6), 44 (p. 3).

[36] October 13, 1795. F.O.7:43, No. 111 (p. 5).

[37] August 9, 1797. F.O.7:50, No. 81 (pp. 1–3).

[38] F.O.7:50, No. 92 (p. 1).

[39] Charles Henry Fraser to Lord Grenville, F.O.33:13, No. 50 (p. 1).

The presumption raised by the lack of evidence is strengthened by two curious statements which may be called positive. They are as personal and unofficial as anything can be which passes between men in high public station. Each was dashed off in the reckless and illegible hand with which intimates are accustomed to torment each other. The first was from George III, who was in the habit of scribbling brief notes on current matters to the minister whom he happened at the moment to trust and support — in this case Pitt.

> WINDSOR DEC. 17, 1796
> 40 *m.* p[as]t 8 A.M.
>
> I am happy to find by Mr. Pitt's Account that Mr. Fitzpatrick's motion for an Address that intercession might be made with the Emperor for the release of Monr. La Fayette, has been rejected by 132 to 50.
>
> Besides the very objectionable conduct of that Gentleman toward this country which would be reason enough for not appearing in his favour; I cannot see any right this or any Country has to meddle with the executive administration of any foreign one.
>
> I return the Messages which I have signed.
>
> G R[42]

This note may fairly be construed to suggest that Great Britain, with the king's consent, at least, had never mentioned the subject of Lafayette to either Prussia or Austria.

Four days later (December 21, 1796) Gouverneur Morris was writing from Vienna to Lord Grenville:

> I mentioned to M. de Thugut the situation of Monsieur de la Fayette, and found that they wished never to have taken him, and would

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[40] *Morning Chronicle,* December 19, 1796.

[41] *Ibid.,* December 26, 1796.

[42] Chatham Papers, G.D.8:104.

now be glad to get rid of him, but see no way in which it can be done conveniently. I proposed his liberation in a moment of rejoicing for any good news, but this did not seem to take. He told me, however, that if England would ask for him, they would readily give him up; and the King might, if he pleased, let him loose in London. Now I wish you to consider that, when peace takes place, he will of course be liberated, and go to America. He will have more or less influence there. I believe he will have a good deal. You may, if you please, send him thither under such a weight of *notorious* obligation that he shall be incapacitated from disserving you. And, if you take him now, there are two supposable cases in which, if he were twenty times a Frenchman, he would be inclined to serve you; namely a restoration of the titular monarch, or the full establishment of the present rulers of his country. In all cases you would do an act agreeable to America, which would cost you nothing; and I am sure you are not to learn that such things propitiate more the minds of men than more solid services, which, however much they promote the interests, seldom fail to wound the pride of the obliged party. Should you incline to this measure, the least hint would induce the American Minister to request it on the part of the United States; unless, which I would deem the better mode, you did it of your own motion. The effect would then be great even in France, for though he is now of no importance there, that nation is highly sensible to every act of nobleness and generosity.[43]

Grenville must have had time to receive and reflect on this interesting bit of special pleading when Pitt evidently was thinking again about the Lafayette problem. Grenville's reply is the second bit of evidence to which I have referred. It belongs to the same family as the first, the note sent by the king — scratched off in haste, without the intermediation of an amanuensis, and sent with complete informality to an intimate and trusted fellow-worker.

Ap. 4, 1797

I forgot to answer you last week on the subject of La Fayette – You mentioned it to me immediately after the debate in the H of C and I said I was perfectly sure that it was not understood at Vienna that we had anything to do with that business. There I conceived (and still remain of the same opinion) that the matter ought to rest. To write to Vienna to make any such declaration would be to convey an implied condemnation of that which I am confident the more it

[43] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortesque, Esq.*, III. 289. This letter is not indicated as coming from Morris, but the entry in Morris's diary leaves no doubt but what it is from him. See *Writings of Washington,* XI. 491 *n.*

is examined will appear more and more evidently conformable to the Law of Nations, and the rules of Justice.

Ev. Yrs.

G[44]

Sometime there may be found evidence to show that Lafayette occupied the large place he imagined he did in the harassed minds of Austrian and English diplomats, but the material here examined leads to the conclusion that the malevolence of the British government never went beyond the passive stage. It seems to have been little more than an unwillingness to complicate with an ally affairs already too intricate by meddling in the case of individuals whose significance in Europe was at the time completely negligible.

[44] Chatham Papers, G.D.8:140.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1935

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 10, 1935, at 3 p.m., President Endicott in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Gardner W. Allen, letters to him from Admirals Goodrich and Sims.

Through the courtesy of the Bostonian Society, photostats of the accounts of the treasurer of the Boston Vigilance Committee, appointed October 21, 1850, to assist fugitive slaves.

From H. W. L. Dana, on deposit, a group of Dana manuscripts and of books from the library of our late associate, Richard Henry Dana.

From Matt B. Jones, letters from Henry Barnes to Gilbert DeBlois, 1759, 1778–1779, and to James Murray, 1776–1779, interesting in the study of Massachusetts Loyalists; Number iii, Volume iii of *An Impartial History of the War* (Boston, 1781–1785); and the copy of Ursinus's *Arboretum Biblicum* (Nuremberg, 1663) which belonged to the Reverend Samuel Lee and appears in the printed catalogue of his library.

From George H. Lyman, on deposit, a group of Theodore Roosevelt letters.

From the Peabody Museum, twenty-eight manuscripts of Samuel Hodges, Jr., of Stoughton, 1813–1817.

From Mrs. Samuel E. Morison, "Memoranda of the Boston Light Infantry, 1789–1838," a manuscript by E. L. Austin with oil illustrations.

Through the courtesy of Walter P. Webb, photostats of Alfred Townsend's journal of a whaling voyage, 1833; also of letters of Dennis Townsend, mainly from California, 1852–1853, to his family in Norwich, Vermont.

By purchase: *Additional Observations to A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston* (Boston, 1770); *An Eulogium on Major General Joseph Warren* (Boston, 1781); James Fitch, *The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ* (Boston, 1679), with a "To the Reader" by Increase Mather; and a broadside, *Life and Confession of Jonathan Green, To Be Executed for the Atrocious Crime of Burglary* (Worcester, 1786).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Edward Brooks, a piece of one of the timbers of the *Somerset,* British man-of-war, which bombarded Charlestown Neck during the Battle of Bunker Hill.

From Mrs. Alan B. Silvey of Merion, Pennsylvania, a Currier lithograph, " Battle at Bunker's Hill."

Mr. GEORGE H. LYMAN read a paper entitled " Further Personal Reminiscences of Men Prominent in Public Life."

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 14, 1935, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, manuscripts pertaining to the Mishawum Literary Association of Charlestown, 1861–1864.

From Mrs. Charles Hyde of New York, diaries, 1862–1864, of W. S. Tilton, then colonel of the Twenty-Second Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers.

By purchase: *An Act for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England* (London, 1649), the Act of Parliament incorporating the so-called New England Company; Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America* (London, 1772); William Robinson and William Leddra, *Several Epistles* (London, 1669), a rare tract relating to the persecution of the Quakers in New England; Benjamin Wadsworth, *Benefits of a Good and Mischiefs of an Evil Conscience* (Boston, 1719), *The Faithful Reprover, The Highest Dwelling with the Lowest,* and *The Danger of Hypocrisy* (Boston, 1711), in the case of the last of these, the only located copy.

The chair announced the death, on October 24, 1935, of HENRI PIRENNE, an Honorary Member.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH read the following paper:

THE FIRST GEORGE WASHINGTON SCANDAL

Most good Americans are unaware that there is a series of tales about George Washington, involving him, by implication, with women at various times in his life. The tales have on the whole been excellently refuted by John C. Fitzpatrick, former keeper of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, in his pamphlet, *The George Washington Scandals* (1929). One may set one's mind at ease, therefore, as to any smirch on Washington's character arising from these obscure and either undocumented or falsely documented stories.

But since the first of these arose in Boston, since Mr. Fitzpatrick, when he wrote, had not the full story, and since the tale closely touches actual history and is in some details not unpicturesque, it seems well to set it out in full as far as the existing documents allow. It can be used as a footnote to the greater history of the times. The story is double. One part of it, not scandalous at all, involved John Adams in a very awkward situation. The other has a certain element of obscurity, but only when we try to detect the author of a mischievous and perfectly plain attempt to besmirch Washington. Unluckily, at this long range it is possible to give only the dry bones of an affair which in its day caused much sly chuckling on the one hand and much indignation on the other, but which fortunately failed of its intended effect.

The tale begins in late July, 1775, when the Second Continental Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, and when Boston was besieged by the Eight Months Army under Washington. Outside, in Watertown, the third Massachusetts Provincial Congress had just finished its session. Down in Braintree lived Mrs. John Adams; in Cambridge was Washington; in Watertown was James Warren, president of the Provincial Congress; and here in Boston was General Gage, with his three major-generals (Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne) and all the lesser ranks, while Admiral Graves (to whom I have called attention before[1]) commanded the vessels in the harbor, and was commander-in-chief of all British warships in America. If in addition to this it is recalled that with the Congress at Philadelphia was John Adams, and also a certain exuberant Virginia delegate, Benjamin Harrison, father and great-grandfather of two later presidents,[2] one has the chief characters of this tale — always except for Benjamin Hichborn, much more obscure than any of these, yet not a nobody in his day. It was he who gave the story its start.

A young lawyer, in 1774 Hichborn had been accepted as an attorney qualified to practice before the Massachusetts Superior Court.[3] But, of course, in 1775 no courts were sitting, all law cases were suspended, and for some reason Hichborn was in Philadelphia in July — not, let us notice, in the army before Boston. Nor was he, for that matter, at any time in the Revolutionary army, a thing not uncommon with young unmarried men in any of our wars up to the last. He seems to have considered himself under suspicion of Toryism because he had studied with a Tory lawyer — a suspicion which enlistment in the army would speedily have dissipated, one might think. But to relieve himself of this onus, he applied to John Adams, asking to be trusted with a letter to carry home as a certificate of patriotism. Adams was at first busy and put him off. But Hichborn came again and again, and finally, on July 20, caught Adams in a mood, not merely to write, but to write too freely.[4]

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[1] "The Hallowell-Graves Fisticuffs, 1775," *Proceedings,* LXIII. 23–48.

[2] Benjamin Harrison, born in 1726, was prominent in Virginia politics. As a member of the Continental Congress he had roomed in the same house with Washington.

[3] 1 *Proceedings,* XIX. 149, 150, 152.

Adams had just been vexed by John Dickinson, who, impatient that Adams had opposed his petition to the king, had caught him outside the Congress and lectured him as haughtily "as if," wrote Adams, "I had been a school-boy and he the master." Moreover, Adams, as a matter of policy, had felt obliged to vote for the petition. In his mood of vexation, therefore, he wrote two hasty notes, one to his wife and one to James Warren, and gave them to Hichborn. At the same time the young man had succeeded in extracting a letter from Benjamin Harrison to Washington, whom the Virginian knew well. Armed with these certificates of his Whiggism, Hichborn set out for camp, which he was destined not to reach for many weeks. For, injudiciously, Hichborn chose the road, not merely by Rhode Island, but also, if one can guess his route more exactly, by Newport.[5]

That he should think this a safe thing to do shows the peculiar state of war existing at the time. Various American ports, and among them Newport, were stations of British ships, the captains of which, while frequently bickering with the Whigs ashore, were in constant communication with the Tories, and, quite as in peacetime, got their supplies from shore. Hence while at Boston the Battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, and there was a genuine state of siege, independence had not been declared, at Newport and New York there was as yet no real war, imports and exports came and went, and travellers passed in and out of the ports on their way to camp or Congress — that is, commonly.

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[4] John Adams tells the story in his diary, *Works of John Adams,* Charles F. Adams, Editor (Boston, 1850), II. 410–413. In my *First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1934), 445–447, I have rehearsed the story, but only as regards Adams.

[5] Walter Barrell, writing to Joseph Green on August 14, 1775, stated that Hichborn was captured at Conanicut Ferry. *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (Historical MSS. Commission, 14th Report, Appendix, Part x), II. 352. (I have seen the original.) No one else writes so definitely. For the seizure of a mail carrier, see the *Essex Gazette,* August 17, 1775.

Evidently once in a while a naval commander would send out a boat and intercept a ferry. And just as Hichborn was on his way, the commander of the *Rose* (strange name for a warship!) sent out and, quite by chance, one may suppose — unless Hichborn, safe in his Whiggism, had uttered a reckless boast — gathered him in. What happened to Hichborn in Newport is not known, except that Adams's letters were discovered on him; but when next Captain Wallace sent a tender round to Boston with his report,[6] Hichborn went too, and had the honor of being imprisoned on the admiral's own flagship[7] and the exasperation of reproaching himself that the admiral was gloating over his letters.

For the letters need not have been captured. Afterwards Hichborn gave an explanation to Adams which saved his honesty, Adams's editor wrote, "only at the expense of his character for presence of mind."[8] If Hichborn had but thrown his packet into the water, many things would not have happened, and no historian would have had to try to disentangle the sequence. But as Hichborn saw the British boat intercepting his, he buttoned his coat the tighter or stuffed the letters down into his bag, and of course they were found, read, and sent with him to Boston, where he arrived on the sixth of August.

At this point the story splits into three parts, two of which need be followed only briefly. As to Hichborn, he was doubtless captured early in August, and a traveller who was in Hichborn's boat, but (being of no importance) was set free, hastened to bring the news to Washington in Cambridge, describing how the British captain "exulted much in the Discoveries he had made."[9] Supposing that letters which excited so much joy were at least official ones from Congress, Washington sent at once to Philadelphia to inquire what they were. A plan was set on foot by which Hichborn should be included in an exchange then under consideration. To this Washington agreed, but permitted himself the dry remark: "It is very surprizing if the Letters intercepted are of Consequence that these Gentlemen should act so imprudent a Part. If their suffering only affected themselves I should not think it improper that they should feel a little for their Misconduct or Negligence." [10]

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[6] Hichborn arrived at Boston on August 6. Ad.1:485:689.

[7] Hichborn wrote Gage from the *Preston;* see also 1 *Proceedings,* IV. 79.

[8] *Works of John Adams,* II. 411 *n.*

[9] Washington to Hancock, August 4, 1775. *Writings of George Washington,* Worthington C. Ford, Editor, III. 69.

As it happened, the plan for exchange fell through, and Hichborn, imprisoned on the flagship in Boston harbor, did " feel " because of his negligence. He therefore tried to help himself. After more than a fortnight on shipboard, he wrote on the twenty-third to Gage from the *Preston*. Having been thus confined all this time "as the Bearer of some exceptional Letters," and understanding that the admiral would " enlarge " him if the general agreed, Hichborn " intreated " Gage not to protract his imprisonment. On the same day Gage responded with characteristic brevity. Understanding on his part that Hichborn was a prisoner of the navy, not of the army, and not conceiving his interference necessary, if the admiral knew no cause for Hichborn's further detention, Gage knew of none.[11]

But the admiral, if he had really given Hichborn cause to hope for freedom, changed his mind. For weeks longer Hichborn remained on the *Preston*, and he later complained that he was " treated very cruelly while on shipboard, except by one or two." As the freedom which was evidently accorded him does not agree with our notions of cruelty, it would seem as if the British officers gave no social consideration to, and probably bestowed a good many sneers on, the insignificant provincial, doubtless in this following the example of the admiral, whom Hichborn described as a " rough, boisterous man." And poor Hichborn, having completely ruined his chance of making a good impression on the American leaders, found himself reduced to his own devices. He studied conditions on the boat, noted every careless custom and habit, and finding these sufficiently numerous and himself not very closely guarded, decided to try to escape.

The story is known from the journal of Jeremy Belknap, who happened to be in camp and recorded that Hichborn got away on the nineteenth of October. Though he was watched "night and day," he apparently had the freedom of the ship, and made friends, after a sentry proved incorruptible, with " a young man belonging to the ship," whose simplicity of character and ignorance of scientific facts were just what Hichborn needed. This young man, who caught fish for the officers, had the use of a canoe, and one afternoon when Hichborn had interested him in an experiment, he left the canoe tied by a cabin window. Hichborn made all preparations for " letting down a tight-corked bottle into the water, which, at a certain depth, would be broken by the pressure of the water against it." Darkness coming on, the experiment was postponed till morning. But by that time Hichborn was gone, with the canoe, and had safely reached American headquarters.[12]

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[10] Washington to James Warren, August 6, 1775. *Collections,* LXXII. 99.

[11] Hichborn to Gage, and Gage in reply, August 23, 1775, Gage MSS., William L. Clements Library.

Having observed the weakness of the crew of the *Preston* and carefully memorized their habits, Hichborn now proposed to Washington that the ship should be taken. It was dismantled and permanently moored, with only a sixteen-gun ship near by. In Washington's papers are explanations and a map for carrying out the enterprise. But as in the case of so many other such plans proposed to Washington by enthusiasts, the common sense of the general put aside a scheme of such doubtful profit.[13]

This would be almost all there is to tell of Hichborn, but for the picturesque story of his marriage to the widow of a friend. This friend, Benjamin Andrews, being about to go on a journey some four years later, was sitting one evening in a room with Hichborn and others, cleaning his pistols, and in so doing, it was later remarked, he had pointed them at every person in the room. Hichborn took one of them to remove a spot of rust, and, having done so, returned the pistol to Andrews. In the act, Andrews struck the unguarded trigger, the pistol was discharged, and he was killed. Such a thing was more unusual then than today: a pistol had not merely to be loaded, but its pan must be primed and closed, and its hammer cocked, and it was curious that these two men had not observed the perfect combination of these things. The verdict was returned, " death by misfortune." But Hichborn was so much moved by his responsibility in the affair that he married the widow and brought up his friend's children with tenderness and care. For the rest, Hichborn was an orator on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre in 1777; he may have been the militia colonel who brought about the capture of Job Shattuck in Shays's Rebellion; his name appears frequently in the records of the Boston bar; he made various transfers of real estate; and he finally died at a ripe age.[14]

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[12] 1 *Proceedings*, IV. 79–81.

[13] Various proposals for taking the *Preston* were made. See Peter Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, III. 1604–1606; Washington Papers, MSS., Library of Congress, 20:2505:1–2; letter of Josiah Quincy to Washington, with map, November 27, 1775, Knox MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

Next comes the story of the letters. Received in Boston, all three letters must have been immediately recognized as important. There was Harrison's signature; and there were, in another hand, letters addressed to James Warren and to John Adams's wife. It made little difference that of the latter two one was unsigned, while the other bore only the initials "J. A." They were evidently by a member of the Continental Congress, and in case of any doubt that they were by Adams himself, the handwriting could easily have been submitted to Jonathan Sewall, Adams's former crony.[15] If that was done, it was probably the first time in years that the Tory attorney-general had looked upon Adams's hand, and it was probably the last time for years to come. Sewall had but lately pronounced treasonable certain actions of the Whigs. If he looked upon Adams's writing, did he think of him as a traitor? Certainly he could not foresee that at their next meeting Adams would call upon him in London as minister of the United States.

At any rate, the three letters were at once known for what they were. According to the custom of the time, copies were made in the garrison and were sent to London. Not only did Gage send home the copies that the admiral gave him, but the admiral sent copies as well, and various other people, important or unimportant, did the same.

There can be no doubt that Adams's letters excited the most interest. Indeed, they roused a great deal of interest for the reason that the one to his wife gave a personal picture of the work of the Continental Congress, while that to Warren spoke not merely of persons — one person, rather, the "piddling genius," John Dickinson — but also of policy. The unanimous vote of Congress had been for one more petition to the king for clemency;

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[14] For various details as to Hichborn, see James S. Loring, *Hundred Boston Orators* (Boston, 1852), 131–133; *Boston Gazette,* January 11, 1779; 1 *Proceedings,* I. 18; VIII. 319; XII. 67; XIX. 149–165; XXI. 304–306; XXIV. 64–65; *Recollections of Samuel Breck,* Horace E. Scudder, Editor (Philadelphia, 1877), 23–24; Annie H. Thwing, "Inhabitants and Estates of the Town of Boston," MS. catalogue at Massachusetts Historical Society.

[15] Sewall was in Boston at the time and wrote from there on August 12, 1775. 2 *Proceedings,* X. 415.

but here was a New England delegate plainly for seizing all the privileges of sovereignty, and asking if Massachusetts officials were ready to exercise every power inherent in the state. Therefore he desired independence; he was aiming at it in spite of the vote of Congress. Of course all the rest must be just like him. What nonsense for Americans longer to pretend that they did not wish to be free of England! And as at that time Samuel Adams overshadowed John, naturally the letters were ascribed to him. Clinton called him the great promoter of trouble and pointed out that " America never meant anything but independence; . . . at least these Northern Provinces never did." [16] Burgoyne, always more verbose, called Adams (again Samuel) " as great a conspirator as ever subverted a state "; declared that all parties in America, and some in Great Britain, were puppets in his string; and concluded that any one would lose sight of Catiline or Cromwell in judging his character. America, it was plain, must be subdued or relinquished: she would not be reconciled.[17]

By reason of their political importance, Adams's letters were copied more widely than Harrison's. Burgoyne took no notice of Harrison's letter; Souter, captain of marines, appears to have sent only the Adams letters home; while in the papers of General Gage are seven copies of the letter to Mrs. Adams and five of that to James Warren, with but one of Harrison's, as if the general expected a heavy demand for the former. In England Adams's letters were noticed in parliament; and it was these letters which called general attention to the work of the Continental Congress and to the fact that, in spite of the second petition to the king, there was at least one New England delegate who looked forward to an inevitable break with England.[18]

While in England all Tories were horrified that Americans were not willing, at the demand of the king, to dissolve all congresses, conventions, and committees, give up their forts, and disband their armies without the promise of any redress of grievances, in America the effect of the Adams letters, published in many places, was to set forth the situation in its exact terms and show what must be done if England would concede nothing. It is true that there were some who opposed Adams's notions. In Massachusetts the letters were versified in handbills, " so scurrilous," wrote Hannah Winthrop, " as not to be worth notice." In Philadelphia John Dickinson cut Adams in the street, and they never again were on speaking terms. In Rhode Island copies of the letter to Warren were circulated before an election, to raise the cry of independence against the liberal delegates. But the plan failed, and Adams was convinced that, embarrassing as the publication of the letters had been, they did good to his cause.[19]

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[16] Letter of August 19 to Thomas Carter. Clinton MSS., William L. Clements Library.

[17] Edward B. De Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Life of John Burgoyne* (London, 1876) , 195.

[18] The second petition to the king was under discussion in England at this time.

On the other hand, the letter of Benjamin Harrison to Washington, my third subject and main theme, to which I come at last, excited no interest from its news or politics. In fact, it seems safe to say that at the time it excited little interest at all. Take the copy which Gage sent home, and which today is in the proper file in the Public Record Office.[20] (The admiral, said Gage, had kept the originals of all the letters and given him only copies.) Let us see what the Harrison letter, sent by the general to Lord Dartmouth, contains.

The letter, begun on July 21, started by discussing army affairs and the effort to keep Washington supplied. It then spoke of Governor Dunmore's raiding his own province of Virginia, and told of actions and rumors in New York and Georgia. Continued on July 23, it went on to tell of the coming adjournment of Congress and of personal matters. The final portion of the letter, written on the twenty-fourth, recommended a captain of riflemen, and at the end, in a postscript, referred to certain correspondence.

Here was little, either in military or general information, of importance to the British, and the letter made no such political stir as those of Adams. If this were the only version of Harrison's letter, there would have been no scandal. But in the Gage papers there exists another version, containing an additional passage complete in itself, a little literary gem which would make Washington appear to be something of a man, not with the ladies, but with women.

According to this version, Harrison interrupts himself at the end of the section of his letter dated July 21, and starts off again briskly on an entirely personal strain. It is a vivid little picture that we suddenly get.

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[19] *Works*, II. 412–413.

[20] Gage's letter accompanying the copy is in C.O.5:92:497; the copy of the Harrison letter, in *ibid.*, 509. A copy of the Harrison letter is also in the Dartmouth MSS.

> As I was in the pleasing Task of writing to you, a little Noise occasioned me to turn my Head round, and who should appear but pretty little Kate the Washer-woman's Daughter over the Way, clean, trim and rosey as the Morning; I snatch'd the golden glorious Opportunity, and but for that cursed Antidote to Love, Sukey, I had fitted her for my General against his Return. We were obliged to part, but not till we had contrived to meet again; if she keeps the Appointment I shall relish a Week's longer stay — I give you now and then some of these Adventures to amuse you, and unbend your Mind from the Cares of War.[21]

Here then is the scandal which would make Washington appear as being no better than he should be. Let us examine it.

Why should Gage keep this version detrimental to Washington, and on August 20 send the other home with his report? On the other hand, why should the admiral, three days earlier, himself still have kept the original letter, which has never come to light, while sending home a copy containing the scandalous passage?[22] Why should the *News-Letter* on the same day, August 17, print this same longer version? There is something curious here, immediately rousing the suspicion that the scandalous passage is an interpolation, its falsity known to Gage as well as to the admiral.

Postponing an examination of this question, note that the admiral's version of the letter is the one best known. In England, as in America, it was the only one that got into print.[23] And it was evidently in the hands of certain Americans on both sides of the water. Thus Arthur Lee, writing from London about all three letters, besides inveighing against the spirit of sectionalism which encouraged the British to hope that enmities would arise between congressmen, spoke of the scandalous passage only as " the ridiculous amours of Falstaff." [24] John Adams used the same comparison, but with more severity, calling Harrison "another Sir John Falstaff, . . . his conversation disgusting to any man of delicacy or decorum." [25] In the absence of a direct reference to the letter, it is not clear whether Adams had it in mind. But it is evident that Samuel Adams did when he wrote to James Warren on October 3: "Colonel Harrison's Character may be drawn from his Confidential Letter published not long ago in Madam Draper's Gazette." [26]

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[21] The passage is copied from the letter as printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter,* August 17, 1775.

[22] The admiral's letter is in the Public Record Office, Ad.1:485:689. With it he sent twelve enclosures, the number of them, as was customary, being indicated by pen-strokes in the margin. Only three of the original enclosures are now in the file. But a copy of the letter is in C.O.5:122; ten enclosures, all copies, are with it, the three intercepted letters being numbers 6, 7, and (Harrison's) 9.

[23] In England, for example, the letter is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* XLV (September, 1775), 413–414; and in Scotland, in the *Caledonian Mercury,* Number 8410 (September 27, 1775). I have no present evidence of the reprinting of the Gage version of the letter in America.

None of these three writers shows interest in the moral aspect of the scandalous passage in Harrison's letter except as displaying Harrison's character. To their minds, Washington's was not called in question. And, so far as is known, there came no breach between Harrison and Washington because of the passage. In two months Harrison came to camp and was daily in consultation with Washington.[27] He is scarcely mentioned in any letter of that time except in one by Nathanael Greene, who called him "a very facetious good humourd sensible Spirited Gentleman." "He appears," added Greene, "to be calculated for Military employment." [28]

What is there here as casting, or not casting, any reflection on Washington's character? Is it an eighteenth-century acceptance of a general idea that any gentleman, as a matter of course, entertained himself, when occasion offered, with washerwomen's daughters? Such a notion might seem English enough, if one reads the memoirs of the time. But America had not then accepted such a standard. There was no general sexual freedom in those days, any more than there is today except in fiction and the movies. Look at this question from another angle, and go back to the fact that there are two versions of Harrison's letter — the copies which contain the scandalous passage, and those, like that sent home by General Gage, which do not.

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[24] The letter here ascribed to Arthur Lee, September 24, 1775, is in C.O.5:39. It is unsigned; the name W. Lee has been added in pencil; but there is a further pencilled note: "Not William but Arthur Lee."

[25] *Works,* III. 35.

[26] *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress,* Edmund C. Burnett, Editor (Washington, 1921), I. 214.

[27] Harrison was a member of the congressional committee which consulted with Washington on the reorganization of the army, October 18–22, 1775. The other members of the committee were Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Lynch. Vessels of Washington's little navy were named for each of the three.

[28] Letter of October 16. Clements MSS.

Why should Gage, it has been asked, have gone so far as to delete this particular passage? Why should anyone besieged there in Boston have taken the trouble to shield the reputation of the besieger by going to the length of cutting from a captured letter a passage that was very much to the taste of the gentlemen of the British army and navy? Is it not simpler to suppose that someone in the British camp had the bright idea of smirching Harrison, and naturally also Washington, and causing bad blood between them as well, by cleverly inserting a passage in the letter?

This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick, and it seems, in the circumstances, unavoidable.[29] Unless one believes Gage and others sensitively, even quixotically, chivalrous, one can entertain no other idea. If, on the other hand, one considers Gage too much of a gentleman to lend himself to the scheme of others, there is a proper explanation. As one has to choose between Gage and Graves and decide which sent home a falsified letter, the admiral certainly will not be selected, well known at the time, as he was, for his bullying, his favoritism toward his nephews, and his money-making schemes. Here, again, I recall my previous discussion of his character. At the same time, nothing has ever been said against the personal character of Gage.

Mr. Fitzpatrick supposed, however, that the doctoring of the letter took place in London. But this must have happened in Boston, for there the scandalous passage appeared in print soon after the capture of the letter. Mr. Fitzpatrick was mistaken, further, in stating that the British files contain no doctored letter, for they do contain a manuscript copy of Graves's copy.[30] Mr. Fitzpatrick seems also to imply that the original letter exists, whereas it has not yet been found. But in spite of the fact that one can not appeal to the original, one can show that no change was made in the Harrison letter for several days after its arrival in Boston.

In Boston there was at that time a protégé of General Haldimand, whom the general left behind when he went to London. This Francis Hutcheson wrote frequently to his patron, and the letters are among the Haldimand manuscripts in the British Museum. They reveal Hutcheson as apparently an honest fellow, serving Haldimand loyally, but in the unhappy position of being quite out of the line of promotion. A captain in the Sixtieth

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[29] *The George Washington Scandals* (n.p., 1929), 1–2.

[30] See note 24, page 470, above.

Regiment, he had been separated from his corps by Haldimand, who put him in the temporary position of brigade-major but otherwise left him stranded while Hutcheson saw all around him officers getting rapid promotion because of the casualties of Bunker Hill, or because of the natural expansion of the army at the beginning of war. Almost all his letters to Haldimand contain appeals to secure him a regular majority, without which he could never hope to retire on decent half-pay. So far as one can make out, the promotion never came; and although a Francis Hutchinson who was created an Irish baronet in 1782 may have been the same man, there is no certainty of it.[31] The letters otherwise show him to be taking good care of Haldimand's nephew, then in Boston, and meanwhile to be serving up to the absent general all the gossip of the siege.

On August 11 Hutcheson wrote Haldimand about the captured letters, "of which," he said, "the enclosed are Copys." The copies, with Hutcheson's annotations, are still preserved. And the copy of Harrison's letter does not contain the scandalous passage. That such a tattler as Hutcheson would not deny himself the pleasure of sending a real tidbit to his general may be considered additional proof for the argument. And the date of the eleventh shows that five days after the arrival of the letter in Boston it had not yet been tampered with.[32]

The purpose of altering the letter, I have suggested, was to besmirch the characters of Washington and Harrison and to set the two at variance. To whom can we ascribe the clever trick, if such a trick be clever? Naturally one would suppose that it was done by someone in the admiral's circle. The admiral himself can safely be ruled out as too heavy and plantigrade in all his writings, for he was a pompous man. But perhaps his secretary, Gefferina,[33] might have been capable of the slyness, or some other of the naval set. One might leave the matter here did there not come from Sir William Howe, in a letter to Gage, the proposal of an exactly similar device in a different case. Only a week before Harrison's letter was brought to Boston, Howe proposed to set the American generals quarreling by publishing a falsified statement in the Boston papers, which, coming into the American lines and getting to the notice of the generals, would cause dissension.

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[31] The spellings of these two names are often confused, and in the Army Lists of 1775 and 1776 Hutcheson appears as Hutchinson; but his written signature uses the *e*.

[32] For the baronetcy, see the *Gentleman's Magazine,* LII (October, 1782), 504. Hutcheson's letter is in the British Museum, Add. MSS., 21680:18v; his copies are in Add. MSS., 21687:226v ff. The Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum writes: "Hutcheson's letter is dated August 11, 1775, these three copies are dated July 21, 24, 24, respectively in the same year, are dated from Philadelphia, are headed in each case 'Copy,' and are on one gathering of paper. They were clearly copied at the same time. Harrison's letter is not annotated in any way, but the other two have notes in Hutcheson's hand."

[33] The secretary, who signed himself "G. Gefferina," went with Graves into his

Howe wrote on July 28, only a few days after Washington, by brigading his army, had shifted the positions of various of his generals, and in place of Putnam had put the thoughtless Charles Lee in command opposite Charlestown, where Howe was stationed: [34]

> Yesterday evening a letter was sent to the Lines by us to be delivered to Gen'l Putnam; L. Col. Walcott who commanded there sending to desire to meet Putnam had for answer, from Gen'l Lee (who came forward upon the occasion,) " That Putnam did not command there, nor would be allowed to hold any farther intercourse with us, the Commander in Chief having taken Offense from his frequent interviews with our Officers " — He said farther " that Putnam was *removed,"* — and if any message came from us, it must be delivered to him who had now the command there — By this there appears to be a breach between the two in question, which perhaps might be widened by a paragraph in the Boston papers, relating the cause of offense given to Washington *as mentioned by Genl. Lee to one of our officers* — Should such a paragraph come to Putnam's view, he might possibly carry home many if not all of the Connecticutts.[35]

This priceless opportunity was lost, doubtless because Gage was not the man to countenance the experiment. And it is pleasant to perceive him, in this obscure affair, as resolute against the one trick as the other. But it seems evident that the admiral took up the suggestion. It is not necessary to suppose that Howe himself, stationed in Charlestown, could have altered the Harrison letter. But the garrison of Boston was small, communication between the officers of the army and navy was naturally frequent, and it seems plain that Howe's scheme, altered to suit the case of the

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retirement when the latter was recalled, and helped him write the " Conduct of Admiral Graves," in which he defended himself. The manuscript, now in the British Museum, was never printed.

[34] The brigading took place on July 22. Lee's impulsiveness was well known.

[35] Gage MSS.

Harrison letter, was used by some clever writer to prepare an apple of discord to be thrown into the enemy's camp.

The plan did not succeed. There must have been some denial on Harrison's part that he wrote the scandalous passage. John Adams himself wrote of his own letters as printed (though he had kept no copies), and particularly of the passage about Dickinson: "The British printers made it worse than it was in the original." [36] The *Massachusetts Spy* printed the statement: "We can assure the publick that these letters are not copied from the originals." [37] Those who heard of such denials would be ready to discount the Harrison letter, and among contemporaries this affair was readily forgotten.

It remained for modern muckmongers to exhume the story and make it prominent. I trust that my examination of the facts, as nearly as I have got at them, has shown the baselessness of the tale. Only the discovery of the original letter itself, or of some contemporary letter giving us the confidential story, is likely to alter the scheme as here built up. That a copy without the scandalous passage was sent from Boston to London before the printing of the longer version; that though the admiral sent home the latter, Gage, while possessing both versions, sent home the innocent one; that no enemy is likely to have taken upon himself to cut out a passage from a letter in order to shield Washington's character; that Howe had devised, for another case, the method of using the Boston newspapers in order to create quarrels among the Americans — these seem reasons enough why one may dismiss from further consideration this first George Washington scandal.

Mr. Grinnell exhibited a collection of British caricatures of famous jurists and statesmen of the period preceding the Reform Bill of 1832, and made descriptive and explanatory remarks about them.

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[36] *Works,* II. 411.

[37] In a footnote in Force's *American Archives,* Fourth Series, II. 1717, accompanying the Adams letters, this sentence is quoted as from the *Massachusetts Spy.* I do not find it, however, in the numbers now on file at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 12, 1935, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. GARDNER W. ALLEN, letters to his father, the Reverend Joseph H. Allen, from Thomas Starr King, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and Edward Everett Hale.

From Miss Louise W. Case, the records of the committee on libraries of the Women's Education Association of Boston and of the library committee, the successor to the former body.

By purchase: William Hubbard, *The Present State of New England* (London, 1677), the first edition of which was published in Boston in 1676; John Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736); William Pynchon, *The Covenant of Nature Described* (London, 1662), and *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption* (London, 1655); *The Remarkable Adventures of Jackson Johonnet* (Boston, 1793); Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel* (London, 1648), one of the Eliot Indian Tracts; the commonplace book of Thomas Weld (H.C. 1671), minister of Dunstable, where he died in 1702.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. C. Minot Weld of Boston, a portrait of Daniel Webster painted by Chester Harding.

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH read a paper entitled

CHARACTERS OF NATIONS

I

That the articles of food upon our breakfast tables often originate in exceedingly remote places and undergo striking changes of form before they reach us has been made a sufficiently familiar idea. It is less generally realized, perhaps, that the pages of great modern writers like Macaulay or Parkman, who belong both to history and to literature, sometimes contain kinds of material the origins and early traditions of which are by no means historical. When, for instance, Parkman in the first chapter of his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* sketches the typical Indian, or Macaulay in his famous third chapter turns out those brilliant composite photographs of the English family chaplain or the country squire of 1685, there recurs — far from its original setting — that ancient and historically most interesting kind of discourse that used to be called a " character." Upon that essentially " literary " type a few observations are here offered, with special regard to one sub-species of it which may be termed " characters of nations."

The essays, plays, poems, pamphlets, travels, and other miscellaneous writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially those of a satirical and facetious sort, contain many such generalizations. In 1615, for instance, an almost unknown writer named I. Cocke, in the sixth edition of that famous collection of characters that passed for Overbury's, wrote thus of one national type:

> A BRAGGADOCIO WELSHMAN
>
> Is the oyster that the pearl is in, for a man may be picked out of him. He hath the abilities of the mind in *potentia,* and *actu* nothing but boldness. His clothes are in fashion before his body, and he accounts boldness the chiefest virtue. Above all men he loves an herald, and speaks pedigrees naturally. He accounts none well descended that call him not cousin, and prefers Owen Glendower before any of the Nine Worthies. The first note of his familiarity is the confession of his valour, and so he prevents quarrels. He voucheth Welsh a pure and unconquered language, and courts ladies with the story of their chronicle. To conclude, he is precious in his own conceit, and upon St. David's Day without comparison.

Some eighty-five years later Edward Ward in his *London Spy* (1698–1700) sets forth " The Character of an Irishman " in these words:

> He is commonly a huge Fellow, with a little Soul; as strong as a *Horse,* and as silly as an *Ass;* very poor, and yet proud; lusty, and yet lazy; foolish, but yet knavish; impudent, but yet cowardly; superstitiously devout, yet infamously wicked; very obstinate in his Faith, but very loose in his Morals; a loyal Subject to his Prince, and an humble Servant to his Master; for he thinks 'tis his Duty to make a Rogue of himself at any time to serve the one, and a Fool of himself at any time to serve the other; that is, to back a *Plot,* or make a *Bull,* he's the fittest *Calf* in *Christendom.*[1]

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[1] Fourth edition (1753), Part XVI, 348.

Slightly different is the point of view of one J. Gaillard, Gentleman, "Who hath been Tutor Abroad to several of the Nobility and Gentry." He published in 1678 *The Compleat Gentleman: or Directions for the Education of Youth,* which contains "a character of some Nations, out of which a Traveller may receive some Lights and Directions how to behave himself when he comes amongst them" (178 ff.). The author cautions his readers that, "As there is no Rule without exception, so in every Country some are of a temper different from what is here represented" (183). In general, however, Gaillard instructs his complete gentleman to regard the French, Spanish, Italians, and Germans as differing thus:

In Learning

The French knows a little of every thing,
Spanish hath a deep learning,
Italian like a Doctor,
German like a Pedant.

In Religion

French zealous.
Spanish superstitious.
Italian ceremonious.
German indifferent.

In Promises

French light.
Spaniard deceitful.
Italian advantageous.
German true and faithful.

Josiah Dare, in his *Counsellor Manners his Last Legacy to his Son* (1673), is equally willing to trust everything to a single adjective: he advises his son, if he travel, to "*note* the *Virtues* of the *people* and *imitate* them; their *Vices* and *Vanities* likewise, but to *avoid* and *abhor* them. There are many *young Sparks* that travel abroad, who leave the *English Gentleman* they *carried out* with them, and bring home again nothing, unless it be a *formal Spaniard,* a *drunken Dutchman,* or an *airy Frenchman*" (149).

In Cornelius Arnold's *Commerce. A Poem* (1751) we have another instance of nations pigeonholed by a single adjective. The poet, after dwelling upon the glories of the Royal Exchange

Where various nations of the peopl'd earth
Transact *the* Business *of the* bustling *Globe,*

brings thither

> . . . *the furr'd* Russian, *and the turban'd* Turk,
> *The trowser'd* Dutchman, *and the* buskin'd Swede,
> *The plain, rough* German, *the* Italian *soft,*
> *The slow, grave* Spaniard, *and the* Frenchman *gay.*

This summary classification is here, be it noted, the expression of one who, though no poet — as "the peopl'd earth" amply shows — is no satirist either, but one who "can smile on all benevolently good."

Occasionally, though not often, such generalizations are used in actual praise. Bishop Sprat, early in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667), thus sketches his "idea of a perfect philosopher":

> He should not be all of our *Clime,* but have the different Excellencies of several Countries. First, he should have the *Industry, Activity,* and *inquisitive Humor* of the *Dutch, French, Scotch,* and *English,* in laying the ground Work, the Heap of Experiments: And then he should have added the cold, the *circumspect,* and *wary* Disposition of the *Italians* and *Spaniards,* in meditating upon them, before he fully brings them into Speculation.[2]

Many other examples might have been selected; but these are fairly representative. They hardly tend to present the "character" as a medium well adapted to give anything like a complete, objective, fair-minded view of their subject. Rather, they leave us, do they not, with some such feeling as this: granted, we say, that some of these pieces are not intended to be taken very seriously, and granted also that still greater unfairness is to be seen in those generalizations about nations that took the form of satirical prints and drawings, do not most of these writings show an obvious hostility? And is not the writer usually speaking with a witty exaggeration which tends to take certain definite forms or patterns? Are not the convention of the single epithet in Arnold's verses, for example, and the conscious balance in Ward's portrait of the Irishman much too strongly in evidence — at least, too strongly if their purpose be to tell what an historian would call the truth?

To such a judgment upon the "character" a person like Edward Ward might well reply that only one wholly ignorant of the origins and conventions of the "character" would expect it to be dignified, complete, objective, or fair-minded. Therefore let us briefly consider those origins and conventions.

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[2] Fourth edition (London, 1734), 64.

II

Students of the history of criticism know how the tradition of a "rule" of three "dramatic unities" — of time, place, and action — was gradually built up until before the end of the sixteenth century Aristotle's precept of unity of action, together with his simple statement about the usual length of the dramatic time involved in a Greek tragedy, had, in spite of his complete silence in respect to any unity of place, become expanded to the "Rule of the Three Unities." Not unlike that was the development of a theory of characterization.

The chief steps were somewhat as follows. Aristotle, in the *Poetics,* intending to legislate mainly for tragedy and epic — and definitely excluding history — had merely required that characterization should be good, true to life, consistent with itself (or at least consistently inconsistent), and true to type. There is, he said, for example, a type of womanly gentleness, and it must be observed. This is central in Aristotle's theory as the representation of the universal.

In his *Rhetoric* Aristotle also has something to say about character. Here he is not discussing poetry, but oratory. The orator, he says (II, xii), must, to make a successful appeal to his audience, know the distinctive character of youth, middle age, old age, and so forth. To this end Aristotle gives "characters" of these three types and of certain others. Later in the *Rhetoric* (III, viii) he makes the point that style must have the virtue of being "ethical," that is, of representing facts by the proper characteristic sign as regards age, sex, or country. Here, clearly enough, Aristotle recognizes the existence of national characteristics: "the difference between Laconian and Thessalian" are his words in the Jebb-Sandys translation. Aristotle is here merely pointing out that the successful orator will in general take account of existing characteristics in his audiences and subjects. He is not suggesting that a good speech should have "characters" in it. Still less is he intending to stereotype the lines of such "characters."

But with Horace this rhetorical advice comes over into poetics, and *decorum* becomes a principle which should govern the writing of tragedy, necessitating fidelity to the manners (*mores*) characteristic of childhood, youth, manhood, or old age. These four "ages of man" are briefly and well summarized. The whole passage runs to about twenty lines. In 1684 John Oldham freely imitated this part of Horace in these lines:

> *Observe what Characters your persons fit,*
> *Whether the Master speak, or* Todelet:
> *Whether a man, that's elderly in growth,*
> *Or a brisk Hotspur in his boiling youth:*
> *A roaring Bully, or a shirking Cheat,*
> *A Court-bred Lady, or a tawdry Cit:*
> *A prating Gossip, or a jilting Whore,*
> *A travell'd Merchant, or an home-spun Boor:*
> Spaniard, *or* French, Italian, Dutch, *or* Dane;
> *Native of* Turky, India, *or* Japan.[3]

To indicate fully the many pseudo-classic variations that were played on this Horatian theme would open a very large subject, involving all the countries that felt the Renaissance influence. Limiting ourselves to England, we note merely two early examples.

The first is George Whetstone, who, writing in 1578, urges that comedy keep to its unity of time, and that it also submit to *decorum,* not allow fools to give grave counsel, and not forget that " old men should instruct, young men should show the imperfections of youth, boys should be unhappy, and Clownes should speak disorderlye."

The second is William Webbe, whose *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) follows the Horatian precepts that the speech of each character must be suitable to " the dignity, age, sex, fortune, condition, place, *Country, etc."* [4] He also holds it necessary that the nature of each character shall observe fitness: thus, " it is meete and agreeable everywhere a man to be stoute [*i.e.,* bold], a woman fearefull, a servant crafty, a young man gentle."

III

All this was by way of general *poetical* precept while as yet there were, one may say, hardly any formal, intentional " characters " in England. But soon after 1600 there began to be many " characters " published, singly and in collections — their production accelerated and modelled to some degree, no doubt, by these critical doctrines that have just been considered. Here and there among this " character " literature one finds indicated the point of view of the writer, and sometimes an actual definition — a "character of a character," one may say. Let us assemble some of this material topically.

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[3] *Poems and Translations* (London, 1684), 11. The last two lines show how important a phase of the idea the " character of a nation " had become.

[4] G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I. 292, § 11.

As regards length, there is ample testimony that the character should be exceedingly brief and pithy. "Here a man writes a great deal in a little room," says one author.[5]

In actual practice, if not by definition, the characters strongly tended to be either wholly favorable or wholly unfavorable. In perhaps four cases out of five it was wholly unfavorable.

Obviously this brevity and the avoidance of mingled praise and blame create a serious danger of unfairness. In the vast majority of cases it is perfectly clear that fairness was not intended. The character, says Richard Flecknoe in 1665, either "extols to *Heaven,* or depresses into *Hell;* having no mid' place for *Purgatory* left." And Edward Ward wrote of one of his books of characters (1709): "'Tis true, the Picture is but half drawn, and only the unagreeable Side is exposed to our Reflexions."

But the character also exaggerates, intentionally, by its very form. At the end of the preface to his *Collection of the Choicest Epigrams and Characters* (1673), Flecknoe expresses his opinion that epigrams and characters may be aptly coupled, "since these are only Epigrams in Prose, as the others are onely Characters in Verse." Character writers differ in their style, of course, as do writers in general. But in a large number, if not in the majority, of cases the character manifested so curious a fondness for alliteration, balance, conundrums, puns, paradoxes, and ideas arranged in sets of three or four that it early developed stylistic conventions tending toward other ends than telling what an historian would call the truth.

To make matters worse, the rhetoricians had got hold of the character and made it one of the forms regularly practised in schools. That was true even in Roman times, continued throughout the middle ages, and ran right on almost up to our own time.[6] By way of indicating the degree to which rhetoricians had formalized the "character," three cases — all English — may serve.

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[5] S. Person, *An Anatomical Lecture of Man: Or a map of the little world, delineated in essayes and characters* (1664).

[6] Edward Everett Hale, while he was a Harvard undergraduate, entered in his diary for November 24, 1837, the fact that he "wrote some on a theme this morning. It is 'Draw a Character of a Misanthrope.' Sketching character was never my forte. I don't like the subject much." Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (Boston, 1917), I. 33.

The first is that of Thomas Wilson, the popularity of whose *Arte of Rhetorique,* first published in 1553, may be judged by the fact that it reached at least a fourth edition by 1585. He regarded the "character," which he called "description," as a valuable ornament to discourse, especially if the style were artfully considered. "It much avayleth to use this figure in divers matters," wrote Wilson, "the which whosoever can doe, with any excellent gift, undoubtedly he shal much delite the hearers." But Wilson bids the young writer note that "similitudes, examples, comparisons, from one thing to another, apt translations, and heaping up of Allegories, and all such figures as serve for amplifying, doe much commend the lively setting forth." He specifically indicates that this figure of the "description" or "character" is not only suitable for representing conditions, such as "the pleasure of Plowmen, and the care that a King hath," but by it "men are painted out in their colours, yea, . . . Kingdomes, and Realmes are portured, places and times are described. The Englishman for feeding and chaunging for apparell. The Dutchman for drinking. The Frenchman for pride and inconstance. The Spanyard for nimblenes of body; and much disdaine: the Italian for great wit and policie: the Scot for boldnesse, and the Boeme for stubbornesse." [7]

It is reasonably safe to imagine the pupils of Thomas Wilson sedulously aping in their themes the master's suggestion that all Italians are as notable for wit and policy as Dutchmen are for drinking.

The second case is that of Joshua Poole, M.A., of Clare Hall, Cambridge, who, in 1657, in his preface to *The English Parnassus* [8] says of that whole group of literary types in which he includes the "character" that it is all

> a facetious kind of writing, full of spirit, humour, and fancy. . . . It is full of mirth and salt, *sententious, directive* as to *Morality, proverbiall, Mythologicall, Enigmaticall,* in a word hath all humane actions and accidents to work upon, closing up all with a certain smartnesse of *conceit.* The numerous brood of it, are, *ingenious fallacies* in, and *extra dictionem, Encomiasticks, Vituperatories, Scoffs, Sarcasms, Jeers, Jests, Quibbles, Clinches, Quippes, Bulls, Anagrams, Chronograms, Acrosticks, Criticismes,* in a word whatever is of Succinct and concise Poetry, on what subject soever, handsomely couched, and worded.

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[7] *Arte of Rhetorique,* G. H. Mair, Editor (Oxford, 1909), 178–179.

[8] This book reached a second edition in 1677.

This passage perhaps raises more questions than it answers. But at least it puts the " character " with the more conceitful literary forms. And Poole was in his own day important enough [9] to make his attitude toward the " character " significant.

Our third rhetorician, who was also a schoolmaster, is Ralph Johnson, whose *Scholars Guide* (1665) aims " in a low and familiar language, such as a Child doth readilyest apprehend," to supply " Short, Plain, and Easie Rules for performing all manner of Exercises in the Grammar School," including the writing of " characters " (15). Johnson's definition of a " character " emphasizes the " witty and facetious " element in it; his suggestions of possible subjects strongly imply adverse characterization, as does his final rule — that the " character " should conclude by leaving the persons characterized " to the effect of their follies or studies." And Johnson's directions for making the body of the character,[10] especially if they are considered in the light of his earlier rules (8–11) for " amplification," " allusion," " imitation," and " observation," strongly enforce the impression, already given by Wilson and Poole, that the " character " was presented to schoolboys as a form of prose or verse to be practised with studious regard to certain effects, among which are to be found neither fairness in considering substance nor plainness in considering style.[11]

One must not suppose that only the learned writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have known the earlier authors well enough to make ready use of their diction. As a matter of fact, there were, in addition to dictionaries, a number of well-known books which codified the usage of earlier writers, especially that of the poets, with regard to synonyms, epithets, and periphrases. The influence of such books upon the style of both prose and verse has hardly received sufficient attention. It will be well, therefore, to consider the nature of that influence upon " characters of nations."

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[9] Charles Hoole, in his well-known *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (E. T. Campagnac, Editor, London, 1913), recommends (159) the use of " the pleasant *English Parnassus* " in the case of more advanced pupils in the grammar school " to furnish them with Rhymes, Epithites, and varietie of elegant expressions."

[10] " Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools, desires, aims, or ends, by witty Allegories, or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages."

[11] Johnson's book must have had a very considerable influence, for at least five editions of it had appeared by the end of the seventeenth century.

Such phrase-books were especially used to suggest the proper epithet. Dr. Johnson, in his famous *Dictionary* (1755), defines an epithet as "an adjective denoting quality good or bad: as the *verdant* grove, the *craggy* mountain's *lofty* head." A collection of epithets, therefore, to go with such a word as "Italian," "Spaniard," or "Englishman" may be regarded as a very useful — perhaps dangerously useful — source of information for a schoolboy who has been told to write a "character."

An especially well-known book of this sort was the *Epithetarum Thesaurus* of Johannes Ravisius Textor (who died in 1524). In the edition of 1595 Textor catalogues various nations as follows:

> Angli: Brutiades, angligenae, brutigenae, armipotentes.
>
> Belgae: Armiferi, audaces, pugnaces, crudi.
>
> Galli: Feroces, truces, bellicosi, Romanis infesti, armorum, avidi, rebelles, acres, stolidi, fortes,[12] timidi,[12] leves, alacris, saevi, atroces, efferi, ardentes.
>
> Germani: Invicti, atroces, potentes, feroces, bellaces, truces, caerulei.
>
> Helvetii: Feri, armipotentes, saevi, truces.
>
> Hispani: Venales, feroces.
>
> Itali: Superbi, praefulgidi.
>
> Scoti: Truces.
>
> Turcae: Infidi, immanes, improbi, atroces, immites, feroces, fortes, potentes, armipotentes, pharetrati minaces, audaces, horribiles, truci, mahometigenae, orthomanigenae.

Generally speaking, these epithets seem to have been carried over from a much earlier period, to consider primarily the warriors of the various nations, and not to embody the observations of recent visitors.

Rather different are the epithets in Joshua Poole's *English Parnassus,* the introduction to which has already been considered. Poole wrote in English. He regarded the English themselves as "stout, courageous, valiant, true-hearted, hardy, bold, audacious, adventurous, warlike, apish, imitating." For the French he suggests "warlike, courtly, generous, ingenious, deviseful, active, industrious, lascivious, wanton, stately, courteous, cavalering, courageous, complementive." Germans should be called "fierce, warlike, audacious, daring, adventurous, valiant, ingenious, industrious, rebellious, thirsty, drunken." The Italian he finds "spruce, neat, amorous, proud, courtly, complimental, ceremonious, jealous, suspicious, proud, insolent."

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[12] Here, as often, the epithets are contradictory.

Compared with earlier phrase-books, Poole's *English Parnassus* seems based, as we know that it was based, on a rather large and varied body of English literature. In Poole's list of authors read [13] three earlier books of "characters" appear — Earle's (called Blount's), the Overbury collection, and Fuller's *Holy and Profane State.*

The "character" of a "braggadocio Welshman" in the Overbury collection, it will be remembered, emphasized the Welshman's boldness and his love of pedigree. Therefore it is interesting to note that Poole's "Welshman" is "valiant, furious, genealogicall." There could hardly be a better example of the stereotyping influence of these phrase-books in fixing supposed national traits. And two of the epithets in Arnold's *Commerce* (1751) — the "furr'd Russian" and the "turban'd Turk" — are to be found in Poole.

Even more widely used was the *Gradus ad Parnassum,* which first appeared about 1687,[14] ran through a very large number of editions, and, judged by the names and dates in many extant copies, was relied on as an aid in hammering out Latin verses until well on in the last century. The "*Gradus* epithet" has become a byword among hostile critics of eighteenth-century verse. The *Gradus* epithets for the principal nations of the world are but little changed from those of Johannes Ravisius Textor of nearly two centuries before, though they are considerably more numerous: the Scots are still "truces," the Germans are "invicti," the Italians are "superbi," the Swiss have fourteen epithets, of which the first four are exactly those in the earlier book and are printed in the same order.

It would be a serious error to suppose that those who thus recommended the pigeonholing of nations by means of a few approved traits were at variance with the great body of critical tradition in their time. What has been found true of the "character" was generally true throughout the pseudo-classic period.

The English were less consistently pseudo-classical than the French, and John Dryden was less consistently pseudo-classical than some other English critics. It is, therefore, a very important fact that in his preface to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679) Dryden not only recognizes such differences in type as we have been considering, but argues for their fundamental importance in all poetry, shows that his ideal poet would gather his knowledge of these type-characteristics from reading far outside the boundaries of literature, and emphatically remarks that no one who ignores this phase of his equipment deserves to be called a poet. So important a passage deserves to be quoted here:

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[13] Pages 41–42 in the edition of 1657.

[14] Edward Arber, *Term Catalogues,* II. 190.

> The manners, in a poem, are understood to be those inclinations, whether natural or acquired, which move and carry us to actions, good, bad, or indifferent, in a play; or which incline the persons to such or such actions. . . . To produce a villain, without other reason than a natural inclination to villainy, is, in poetry, to produce an effect without a cause; and to make him more a villain than he has just reason to be, is to make an effect which is stronger than the cause:
>
> The manners arise from many causes; and are either distinguished by complexion, as choleric and phlegmatic, or by the differences of age or sex, of climates, or quality of the persons, or their present condition. They are likewise to be gathered from the several virtues, vices, or passions, and many other commonplaces, which a poet must be supposed to have learned from natural philosophy, ethics, and history; of all which, whosoever is ignorant, does not deserve the name of poet.[15]

If space permitted, one could easily produce other passages from English critics whose emphasis upon *decorum* naturally led them to stress its importance in characterization. From Jeremy Collier's *Short View* (1698) one could, for example, cite that amusingly emphatic paragraph[16] about "propriety of *Manners*," in which the dramatist is bidden "to hold his *Persons* tight to their *Calling* and pretentions." Or one might in Thomas Rymer's two well-known critical treatises[17] discover an abundance of instances to show that Rymer habitually takes *decorum* to include the representation of that which may be supposed poetically probable in the case of a fictitious person of a given rank, profession, or nation, without regard to the occasional exceptions presented by history.

But even without this additional support, Dryden's great prestige makes his testimony suffice, perhaps, to show that we are considering a theory that was not far from the very foundation of seventeenth-century literary thought.

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[15] *The Works of John Dryden* (Scott-Saintsbury edition, Edinburgh, 1882–1893), VI. 267 ff., especially 269.

[16] Reprinted in Joel E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908–1909), III. 282.

[17] *Tragedies of the Last Age* (London, 1678), and *A Short View of Tragedy* (London, 1693).

One does not venture to be sure exactly what Dryden intended by his vague wave of the hand toward a whole library of books in the fields of "natural philosophy, ethics, and history" which every real poet ought to read. He may have meant to include — at all events they are too important to omit — some of the authors who, from Greek times down through Montesquieu and later, wrote upon the deeply interesting question of the influence of geographical location and climate upon national character.

There was Pierre Charron (1541–1603),[18] for instance, whose *De la Sagesse* (1601) was widely influential[19] and was twice translated into English.[20] At the beginning of the forty-second chapter in the first book (1653 edition), Charron sets forth his belief that "as fruits and beasts are divers, according to the divers countries wherein they are; so men are born more and less warlike, just, temperate, docible, religious, chaste, ingenious, good, obedient, beautifull, sound, strong" (153 ff.).

"Following this foundation," says Charron, "we may in grosse, divide the world into three parts, and all men into three kinds of nature." His three divisions of the world — northern, middle, and southern — have, in his opinion, the result that

> the natures of men, are . . . different in every thing, body, soul, religion, manners, as we may see in this Table: for the

	Northern People are	*Middle are*	*Southern are*
1. *In their bodies*	High and great, phlegmaticke, sanguine, white, and yeallow, sociable, and voice strong, the skin soft and hairy, great eaters and drinkers, puissant	Indifferent and temperate in all those things, as neuters or partakers a little of those two extremities, and participating most of that region to which they are nearest neighbours	Little, melancholick, cold, and drie, blacke, Solitarie, the voice shrill, the skin hard, with little hair, and curled, abstinent, feeble
2. *Spirit*	Heavy, obtuse, stupid, sottish, facile, light, inconstant		Ingenious, wise, subtile, opinative
3. *Religion*	Little religious and devout		Superstitious, contemplative
4. *Manners*	Warriers valliant, painfull, chaste, free from jealousie, cruell and inhumane		No warriours, idle, unchaste, jealous, cruell and inhumane

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[18] For Bodin and other writers before Charron on this subject, see Robert Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History* (Edinburgh and London, 1893), 198.

[19] According to the catalogue of the British Museum there would seem to have been at least fourteen editions in French by 1663.

[20] The earlier translation, by Samson Lennard, appears to have gone through at least five editions by 1670.

After much interesting comment on various examples of these differences, Charron thus concludes (158):

> By all this discourse we may say see [*sic*] that generally those of the North do excel in body, have strength for their part; and they of the South in spirit, and have for their part subtiltie; they of the middle Regions partake of both, and are temperate in all. So likewise we may see that their manners, to say the truth, are neither vices nor virtues, but works of Nature, which to amend or renounce altogether is more then difficult; but to sweeten, temper, and reduce the extremitie, to a mediocritie, it is a work of virtue.

Charron was translated into English in 1707 by George Stanhope, D.D., " Dean of Canterbury, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty," a fact which seems to show that by that time he was not considered especially dangerous. It is important to notice, however, that Charron not only furnished epithets for characterizing various nations, but expressed views which tend to transfer the discussion of national traits from the moral to the natural realm.

Montesquieu and other exponents of this theory who followed Charron might be discussed if space permitted. That such theories amused some people, the opening lines of Richard Tickell's *Project* (1778) may perhaps be admitted to prove:

Since sage philosophers aver,
That climate *forms the* character;
And prove each nation, tame, or bold,
Just as its air is hot or cold;
What schemes might crafty statesmen lay,
If such a system they'd obey?

Suppose the Turks, who now agree
It would fatigue *them to be free,*
Should build an ice-house, to debate
More cooly *on affairs of state,*
Might not some Mussulmen be brought,
To brace their minds, nor shrink at thought?
How, as their blood began to cool,
Would nature scorn despotic rule?
The silken sons of slavish ease,
Would glow for freedom, while they freeze;
And in proportion to the coldness,
Discover latent fire and boldness.

IV

Only a few have been selected from the many known cases in which writers on poetics, rhetoricians, and makers of phrase-books have fostered the tradition of characterization with strict fidelity of type and of emphasizing fixed national traits as one phase of that tradition. But perhaps enough has been said to show how well supported by precept were the great army of practitioners who in widely scattered regions contributed to that enormous mass of observations about human beings, real and fictitious, for which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are so notable.

The authors of the travel books and the courtesy books, though as a rule more urbane than the average, are likely to show their confidence in the superiority of their own countrymen and the adequacy of a stock epithet or two by way of labelling outsiders. Thus John Macky thought in 1714 that the English were "free from the Vanity and Insincerity of the French, the Haughtiness of the Spaniard, or the Moroseness of the Dutch." [21] And the reader of James Howell's *Instructions for Forraigne Travell* (1642) learns that the wise traveller will "from the *Italian* . . . borrow his *reservednesse,* not his *jealousie* and *humor* of *revenge;* . . . from the *Spaniard* his *Sobriety,* not his *lust:* from the *German* (cleane contrary) his *Continency,* not his *Excesse,* the other way."

The comedies, periodical essays, and novels were, of course, crowded with fictitious persons, sometimes based on real ones, whose natures were more aggressively unified than present taste commends. Only after a very thorough study of them could one confidently generalize on the non-English characters. But one's impression is that long after the English characters had been liberated from their comparatively rigid conformity to type, the foreigners continued to personify the characteristics of their nation as handed down in a convention that had little relation to actual life. They tended, on the whole, to supply elements of evil in the tragic or melodramatic novel, for example, and of comic in the lighter sorts of stories. Italians and Spaniards, generally speaking, served the former purpose, and Irish and French served the latter, though of course there are alternatives and exceptions.

One might expect that the eighteenth-century professional man would view his fellow-professionals, even when they were not British, with comparative freedom from this tendency to apply national epithets indiscriminately. Probably he did so in many cases; but not always. David Fordyce (1711–1751), for instance, was an eminent professor of moral philosophy at Aberdeen, whose *Dialogues concerning Education* (1745–1748) and *Theodorus: a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching* (1752) received a good deal of attention in the American colonies as well as at home. In the second of these works Fordyce generalizes as follows on the sermons of French, Italian, and Spanish preachers. In them he finds much to praise, but even more to remind him of the national characteristics of their authors:

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[21] *A Journey through England* (London, 1714), iii.

> The *French* are a lively, loquacious, and witty People: Accordingly, we find their Preachers wonderfully warm, diffuse, full of Action in the Pulpit, as in Conversation; fanciful and picturesque in their Descriptions, and rather elegant and wordy, than deeply strong in their Conversations. The *Italians,* who are of a more severe, cautious, and reserved Cast in their Temper and Conversation, shew a proportionable Difference in their Manner of Speaking and Preaching. Their Preachers are subtil, acute, and refined, of a less vivacious, yet more commanding Action than the *French:* Full of Spirit and Passion, yet more smooth and artful in managing them. Though this may be generally true of the common Rule, yet both Nations have given us good Models of strong Reasoning and masterly Eloquence, equally accommodated to please the most refined Taste, and to affect the most Vulgar. The *Spanish* Manner, like that of the Nation, is more solemn, stately, and full of Figures formed for Ostentation, and proudly swelling with all the Pomp of Rhetoric. Their Genius is piercing, and sublime; and though, perhaps, as full of Fire as any of their Neighbours, yet more chastened by the Stiffness and Haughtiness of their Manners.

Political events in the eighteenth century were, as everyone knows, often treated allegorically, and the result sometimes had a very strong effect in perpetuating national traits and nicknames. Of such works Arbuthnot's *John Bull* is deservedly best known, and has several "American descendants." [22] The very numerous satirical prints and drawings have a similar relation to our subject.

Meanwhile it must not be supposed that writers in other countries failed to make their contribution. The "perfidiousness" of the English was a convention which received the imprint of Scaliger's authority[23] in the mid-sixteenth century. In 1571, De la Porte's *Les Epithètes* set down the English as " ennemis des françois, . . . superbes, rouges, furieus, hardis, audacieus." [24] And in 1640 Jules de la Mesnardière's *La Poétique* (122–123) finds the English " infidelles, cruels, ennemis des étrangers."

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[22] See George E. Hastings, "John Bull and his American Descendants," *American Literature,* I (March, 1929), 40–68. On Arbuthnot, see the admirable *John Arbuthnot: Mathematician and Satirist* by Lester M. Beattie (Cambridge, 1935).

It is rather a pleasure to find Dr. Johnson commending Shakespeare's characters because they are represented as human beings rather than as inhabitants of particular countries. In spite of Dennis and Rymer, who " think his Romans not sufficiently Roman," Shakespeare seems to Johnson to " make nature predominate over accident."

> His story requires Romans or Kings, but he thinks only on men. He knew that Rome, like every other city, had men of all dispositions; and wanting a buffoon, he went into the senate-house for that which the senate-house would certainly have afforded him. . . . a poet overlooks the casual distinctions of country and condition, as a painter, satisfied with the figure, neglects the drapery.

But in spite of this resonant good sense, and in spite of all that novelists like Miss Edgeworth and Scott must have done some fifty years later to humanize English notions of Irishmen and Scots, we must not suppose the old-fashioned set " character " to have disappeared with the rise of romanticism. Keats — perhaps not altogether seriously — writes in one of his letters that " a Scotchman will go wisely about to deceive you, an Irishman cunningly." And he shrewdly adds: " It seems to me they are both sensible of the Character they hold in England and act accordingly."

So it goes, right down into our own lifetimes. As recently as 1892 the distinguished French critic, Ferdinand Brunetière, though he quite frankly admitted the difficulties in so doing, ventured to summarize in a single word the character of French literature, which he found *sociable,* as well as that of the Italian (*artiste*), Spanish (*chevaleresque*), German (*philosophique*), and English (*individualiste*).[25] Nearer still are the very interesting but questionable generalizations of Salvador de Madariaga, whose *English-*

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[23] J. C. Scaliger, in his *Poetices* (1561), recognizes (Book III, Chapter xvii) " Natio, sive Gens " as one of the categories under which human beings differ, and gives lists of epithets for the principal nations of the world. For *Angli* his first epithet is *perfidi.*

[24] Sir Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England* (New York, 1910), 60. I have not been able to examine a copy of De la Porte's book.

[25] *Études Critiques,* Fifth Series.

men, Frenchmen, Spaniards: an Essay in Comparative Psychology (1928) is founded upon the belief that " in international psychology, by far the most important factor is national character." Those who delight in sharply contrasted generalizations about national characteristics will here find them in abundance: " while English thought is concrete and vague, French thought is abstract and precise " (67) ; or, " the Englishman goes to action, the Frenchman to thought, the Spaniard to passion, spontaneously " (112) .

V

To affirm that most of the foregoing generalizations about nations are ill founded might very well be merely to add another dangerous generalization upon an exceedingly difficult subject. Yet surely we have, while tracing in brief outline certain formative influences that went into the making of these " characters of nations," observed forces at work that seem ill calculated to promote the discovery of any serious truth. More than once, indeed, we have overheard the schoolmaster instructing his pupils or the writer declaring the purpose of his book in words which seemed explicitly to disclaim even the intention to be what the historian would call truthful. Certainly a tradition so deeply affected by rhetorical considerations would seem to tend toward increasing the difficulties presented by love of country, hatred of other peoples' religion, trade rivalry, and many other powerful human forces which stand in the way of the dispassionate portrayal of foreigners.

Yet portrayal of foreigners will doubtless go on indefinitely: for no amount of good advice can ever make painful the contemplation of our own excellences or the perception of what looks like a mote in our brother's eye.

How, then, should one face this not entirely trivial matter? Sir Leslie Stephen once said that " the conventional picture made by one nation of another is a mere random putting together of hasty guesses and rash assumptions." [26] Hume, in his essay " Of National Characters," took a somewhat more moderate position: " The Vulgar," he wrote,

> are apt to carry all *national characters* to extremes; and having once established it as a principle, that any people are knavish, or cowardly,

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[26] *Some Early Impressions* (London, 1924), 87.

or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure. Men of sense condemn these undistinguishing judgments: Though at the same time, they allow, that each nation has a peculiar set of manners, and that some particular qualities are more frequently to be met with among one people than among their neighbours.

More bluntly, an anonymous writer of a letter to the editor of the *London Chronicle* (September 18, 1760) declared: "Ever since I have had an opportunity of examining mankind a little with my own eyes, I have found myself very liable to a good deal of scepticism, as to the general Character I find given of any people antient or modern, from whatever pen it has flowed."

One may, then, be assured of respectable company if one decides to be systematically skeptical on this whole subject. Or one may decide to regard all such generalizations as merely amusing when one finds them in funny papers, and harmlessly wrong when one finds them elsewhere. It will not do, however, to believe seriously that, although conventional generalizations about other countries are true and important, the stage American in a foreign play is a monstrous exaggeration about which something ought to be done at once.

Mr. Henry L. Seaver read a paper on

The Royal Touch [1]

From the time of Robert the Pious in France and his contemporary, Edward the Confessor, in England, the sovereigns of those two states [2] were accustomed to touch persons afflicted with scrofula, in the belief that the royal touch effected miraculous cure. The practice continued in England through the reign of Queen Anne, till 1714, and in France through the reign of Charles X, till 1830. The slow evaporation, through those eight centuries, of belief in the miraculous character of royal cures forms an interesting chapter in the intellectual history of Europe.

That cures were effected is not to be denied, though English controversialists sometimes patriotically denied the French cures, and the French the English. Such overwhelming numbers sought cure that organized examination was instituted to make sure that only actual cases were treated; and cure is asserted by witnesses of every degree of competence and trustworthiness. Cures, it is true, seem to have become rarer as belief in their miraculous character waned; but the subject of interest for the moment is the change in opinion about their character.

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[1] This paper is by way of footnote to the standard book: Raymond Crawfurd, *The King's Evil* (Oxford, 1911).

[2] No other royalty "touched" for scrofula, unless St. Olaf's miraculous cure of the swollen throat (in the Heimskringla, VIII. 189) be an exception.

Religious indignation long defended the miraculous nature of healing by royal touch, for men are always troubled and resentful when a natural explanation is offered for occurrences previously believed supernatural. The restless, eager, and inquisitive mentality of the Renaissance propounded many new " natural " explanations and tended to assume natural causes as discoverable for all phenomena. This rationalizing tendency immensely troubled Protestant Christendom. Protestant orthodoxy rests on the assumption that miracle is possible. It assumes that there are two sorts of phenomena differing not merely in degree but in kind: the natural, due to natural causes, explicable by the reason, and the supernatural, due to supernatural causes, inexplicable and to be accepted on the authority of revelation. The intrusion of a supernatural cause into the usual sequence of natural causes is a miracle. Protestant orthodoxy similarly accepts as actually miraculous many of the events narrated in the Old and the New Testaments. But Protestants, presumably through the unconscious spread of the rationalizing habit of thought of the Renaissance, increasingly refused to accept as authentic any contemporary miracle, either denying the occurrence outright and dismissing the account of it as the product of credulity, or assuming some natural cause as evident or discoverable upon investigation.

This " cessation of miracles " left Protestantism in an awkward position, asserting that doubtless miracles could happen, and did happen, but that they don't happen. There remained also the embarrassing difficulty of determining when miracles ceased; and Protestant apologetics never reached agreement on the date back of which accounts of miracles could be trusted. The unsatisfactoriness of the Protestant position seemed acute to young Gibbon: he then believed it historic fact that the Catholic Church had maintained an unbroken demonstration of the power to work miracles, and therefore gave to it his somewhat brief adherence.

It is curious that little or nothing was made by Protestant controversialists of the miracles of healing generally credited to the touch of Protestant royalty. Cures were many and notorious. That they were miraculous had not been questioned in the Middle Ages, though it is perhaps possible that they lacked a shade of sanctity. For there were grades of the supernatural, and miracle differed from miracle in glory. Miracles par excellence would include beneficent occurrences, such as healing or saving life, especially if achieved under the auspices of the Church, her prayers, officials, saints, shrines, or relics. Supernatural, but in a contrary class, were performances of the devil or of witches using his power. Outside these sharply contrasted benevolent and malevolent wonderworks lay ambiguous phenomena with a shadowy supernaturalism or magicality, such as the protection of talismans, the unusual powers of the seventh son of a seventh son, the achievements of the dowser. That royal healing did not belong among these shadowy, not to say shady, phenomena was clear, since royal cures were urged as evidence of sanctity in the canonizing of royal saints. Before the days of Protestantism, then, there was no skepticism about royal miracles. There was little doctrinal novelty in the Protestant movement under the Tudors, and complete clerical sanctity would seem to attach to supernatural cure wrought by a sovereign who was also head of the Church; so Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth continued to touch just as their medieval predecessors had done, and a ritual for the business was provided in the Prayer Book, where it remained for one hundred and fifty years. James I, however, coming from a pronouncedly Protestant atmosphere, had serious doubts concerning the miraculous cures by sovereign touch and proceeded only with misgivings upon a business that became a favorite display of royal grace in the reigns of his son and his two grandsons. Mr. Crawfurd found in the Public Record Office this most interesting news-letter written in Italian in London, October 8, 1603:

> The King was at this time concerned as to what he should do about a certain ancient practice of the Kings of England, of healing those sick with the King's Evil; and so, when the sick were presented to him in his antechamber, first had a sermon preached by a Calvinist pastor on the business, and then declared he found himself perplexed what to do: for, on the one hand, he did not see how he could heal the sick save by miracle, and miracles had already ceased and were no longer performed, and so he was afraid of committing some superstitious act; on the other hand, since the practice was ancient and for the profit of his subjects, he was determined to try it, but only

by way of prayer, which he asked them all to join in, with him; and thereupon he touched the sick. It is to be noted that when the King made his discourse he repeatedly turned his eyes to the Scotch ministers who stood by, as if awaiting their approbation of what he said, having previously consulted with them.[3]

Indeed, upon entering his kingdom James had requested to be excused from touching, "not wishing to arrogate vainly to himself so much of virtue and divinity as would empower him by his touch alone to heal the sick."[4] But the business was so flattering that he was soon reconciled and touched constantly throughout his reign.

Charles I touched thousands, even during his captivity. The Puritan parliament, no member of which would have repudiated the idea of miracle, denounced the practice as superstitious and ordered public proclamation, to enlighten the people; but it was enthusiastically revived at the Restoration, and Thomas Rosewell, a dissenting preacher, was tried for treason for denying the power. The account of this trial is one of the most interesting in Howell's *State Trials*. The ferocious Jeffreys presided with a breezy and infectiously hearty assumption that the accused was guilty. Rosewell objected to the meaningless Latin "*morbus regni*" in the indictment: "There are proper words for the disease, as struma and scrofula." "Not at all in law," was the Lord Chief Justice's ruling; "those may be the words used by physicians; but in legal proceedings we are to keep up exactly to the legal names and phrases." The defense declared that the offending sermon concerned only the Biblical kings mentioned in its text; but the jury rendered a verdict convicting Rosewell of "treason by inuendo." He was sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the king.

The practice of Catholic Charles II and James II is irrelevant to the significance of Protestant miracle, as is the practice continued by the Catholic Stuart Pretenders; but, after suspension in the reign of William and Mary,[5] touching was resumed by Protestant Anne. In her time the note of incredulity becomes audible, sounded by many persons who would not deny the possibility of miracle or the authentically miraculous character of Old and New Testament narratives. Repudiation of the miraculous character of the royal touch came, apparently, not from any change of belief about the metaphysics of the supernatural, but from a vague sense of something incongruous or preposterous in the performance. The supposed miracle lost something of dignity or gravity and only afterward was challenged and dismissed as a natural phenomenon superstitiously misunderstood.

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[3] Italian text in Crawfurd, *King's Evil,* 82–83.

[4] Quoted from another Italian letter, *ibid.,* 84.

[5] Of Macaulay's famous anecdote ("God give you better health and more sense") I can find no trace elsewhere. His references (*History of England,* Chapter XIV) seem not exactly to concern the quoted saying, and I have not been able to verify them.

It is interesting to observe the temper of the references to the miracles of the Protestant monarchs. Brief but suggestive entries occur in both the great Restoration diaries — reserved and impersonal entries in Evelyn's, more spontaneous and revealing ones in that of Pepys. Evelyn attended the first state ceremony of healing by Charles II, for whom at that early date, July 6, 1660, he still had evident respect; and he describes the ritual in grave detail. But his last entry, November 5, 1688, after William had already landed, is brief and pregnant: "I saw his Majesty touch for the Evil, Piten the Jesuit . . . officiating." Pepys also attended the early healings. On April 13, 1661, "I went," he says, "to the Banquet House, and there saw the King heal, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one." Half a dozen years later (April 10, 1667) he saw another healing, "wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before."

Such laconic contempt perhaps means that general belief in the royal miracle was dead, and healings were abandoned during the reign of William and Mary; but Queen Anne, probably as an assertion of hereditary rather than parliamentary right, at once resumed the practice, though the accounts of her touchings mention usually tens of applicants rather than the hundreds of the previous century.

A generation later, English opinion generally flouted the notion of royal miracles, as an unfortunate historian then learned. Walpole wrote in a letter of July 22, 1744: "The good City of London, who, from long dictating to the government, are now come to preside over taste and letters, have given one [Thomas] Carte, a Jacobite parson, fifty pounds a year for seven years, to write the history of England; and four aldermen and six common-councilmen are to inspect his materials and the progress of the work.

Surveyors of common sewers turned supervisors of literature!"[6] These surveyors probably overlooked a footnote in Carte's first volume, published in 1747, relating a cure wrought by the Old Pretender in Paris in 1716. Carte had examined the surgeons' testimony and the scars of the healed man, and reported: "I am apt to think there never was an instance, in which the distemper had prevailed to a higher degree, or the surprising cure of it was known to such infinite multitudes of people . . . and I found upon the whole that, if it is not to be deemed miraculous, it at least deserved the character . . . of being one of the most wonderful events that have ever happened." The outraged Corporation, probably upon political grounds rather than philosophical, cancelled their subscription.

The philosophical *coup de grâce* was given to the moribund belief by John Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, a member of Dr. Johnson's club, whose name lends episcopal gravity to the margins of Boswell. In his book, *The Criterion* (1752), he attacked modern miracles, examining the recent Jansenist miracles in France, and dismissing them as explicable by the power of imagination over health. He thus explained the cures by royal touch, the reality of which he did not deny since he had himself known a person healed by Queen Anne.

More than a century after Anne's revival of touching in England, a French king revived the practice, then thirty-one years in abeyance. Touchings by French kings had been featured especially as part of their consecration. The boy King Louis XV touched over two thousand wretches lined up in the pathways of the Abbey of Saint-Marcoul, near Rheims, four days after his coronation.[7] There had been misgivings, mainly through uneasiness about the risk to the child's health, but in part about popular belief regarding the supposed miracle. The Royal Council decided in favor of the touching, believing "that the multitude would be much more struck by the supernatural attributes of the king than disturbed [*choquée*] by the constant inefficacy of the remedy." Louis XV court circles were skeptical; and d'Argenson's *Journal*[8] relates the humiliation of a credulous curé, who narrated a royal cure and was laughed to silence. But

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[6] *The Letters of Horace Walpole,* Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Editor, II (Oxford, 1903), 39.

[7] Henri Leclercq, *Histoire de la Régence* (Paris, 1922), III. 296 ff.

[8] Edme J. B. Rathery, Editor (Paris, 1859), I. 47.

Louis XV at his coronation was such an endearing child that all the ceremonies, in which he showed a naïve and delighted belief, acquired a sort of grace, if not credence.

Louis XVI touched 2,600 strumous persons in the park of the abbey at his coronation; and one of the three documents which survived the destruction by the mob of the papers of the Hospital of Saint-Marcoul in 1793 attests the recovery of three children and a widow.

Louis XVIII, obese and cynical — restored at the age of sixty — with so little desire for the religious trappings of royalty that the ultras called him King Voltaire, omitted the coronation ceremonies, outmoded by the forty-one years that had passed since the crowning of Louis XVI. Charles X, however, stressed every feature of divine right and resumed the coronation ritual in 1824, including touching for scrofula.[9] A sympathetic account of the matter from a royalist follower throws interesting light upon the belief in royal miracle. Baron Damas, a peer of the restored monarchy, writes in his *Memoirs:*

> Several men of letters charged with studying the matter gravely declared that touching for scrofula was an old popular superstition which we must be careful not to revive. We were Christians, and yet we adopted that proposal; so it was decided in spite of the clergy that the King would not go. But the people thought otherwise: many sick had themselves brought to Rheims; many hundreds had already been sent away, but still they came. Finally the King decided and touched 120 sick. I have visited the place since and studied the matter carefully; I have checked up the known results and remain convinced of the reality of the miracle which it is permitted to our kings to work.[10]

A memorandum made by the baron at the time of his visit to Rheims has some even more interesting sentences. He saw there an affidavit that five of the 120 touched by Charles had been cured, perhaps a somewhat meager basis for confidence. Perhaps more equivocal was the comment of the cardinal archbishop of Rheims, who asserted to the baron his belief in the miracle, with this rather compromising explanation:

> Miracles are supernatural occurrences contrary to the general laws that govern the world. It is not however the same with the cures

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[9] Jean P. Garnier, *Le Sacre de Charles X et l'Opinion Publique en 1825* (Paris, 1927), 75 ff.

[10] *Mémoires du Baron de Damas* (Paris, 1922–1923), II. 65.

> wrought by our kings at their consecration. These cures should be considered privileged mercies [*grâces privilégiées*], not absolutely opposed to the natural order of things, but which depend both on the faith of the king who touches and the faith of the sick person touched. . . . The archbishop, I think, should inform the faithful that the king to whom so great a privilege has been accorded will touch the sick on an appointed day, and should order public prayers for the healing of a greater number.[11]

A pendant to the passage from the baron's *Memoirs,* and a comment upon it, may be taken from the memoirs of a court lady of the restored monarchy, the Comtesse de Boigne.[12] Her reflections do not concern the touching but the other details of the consecration of Charles X; the temper of them, however, reveals much as to the decline of belief in royal miracles:

> Following my habitual indolence, I felt no inclination to go to Rheims. If I had believed it was, as is now very likely, the last appearance of the Holy Ampulla for the very Christian Kings, that perhaps would have spurred my curiosity. Despite the magnificence under which they tried to mask the mummeries of the ceremony, feudal and clerical, they occasioned criticism. Charles X in a white satin shirt lying on the ground to receive through seven [13] slits contrived in his garment the touch of the holy oil, did not rise sanctified, for the multitude, as the Anointed of the Lord, rather a person made absurd and belittled in the eyes of the crowd by this ceremony. The birds released in the cathedral as a symbol were merely inconvenient poultry. . . . There are always in old ceremonies usages which time has made obligatory, and others which are in dependence constantly upon general impressions. Tact consists in perceiving these, and intelligence in choosing them. That is a distinction which the Emperor knew how to make.

" Ideas," says Mr. Santayana in another connection, " are abandoned in virtue of a mere change of feeling, without any new evidence or new arguments. We do not . . . refute our predecessors, we pleasantly bid them good-bye." [14]

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[11] *Mémoires du Baron de Damas,* II. 306.

[12] Récits d'une Tante. *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne,* Charles Nicoullaud, Editor (Paris, 1907–1908), III. 141–142.

[13] Actually only six, though there were seven unctions: one on top of the head, one mid-breast, one mid-back, one on each shoulder, one in each elbow bend. Leclercq, *Histoire de la Régence,* III. 304.

[14] George Santayana, *Character and Opinion in the United States* (New York, 1934), 9.

JANUARY MEETING, 1936

THE Society met at the home of President ENDICOTT, 163 Marlborough Street, Boston, on January 9, 1936, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the estate of our late associate, Henry H. Edes, an autograph letter of Samuel Adams to John Tileston, January 13, 1783.

From Hollis French, the journal kept by Mrs. Heard of Ipswich on a trip from Boston to Niagara Falls in the summer of 1815.

From the estate of Walter E. Thwing, two manuscripts written by him, " My Travels " and " Ships and Shipping."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the estate of our late associate, Henry H. Edes, a portrait of John Tileston.

From Hollis French, a William H. Seward token used in his campaign for the governorship of New York.

From the estate of Grace Williamson Edes Stedman, through Miss Theodora Willard, a portrait of Rufus Webb.

From the estate of Walter E. Thwing, the sword of Samuel Thwing used at the Battle of Lake Champlain.

The Society elected Lawrence Counselman Wroth of Providence, Rhode Island, a Corresponding Member.

The following tribute to JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., was read in honor of his ninety-sixth birthday:

This meeting falls on the ninety-sixth birthday of JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr., Harvard College 1860, senior member of the Society since the death of Winslow Warren on April 3, 1930. Next Saturday Mr. Morse will begin his sixtieth year as our associate. He was chosen on January 11, 1877, in the midst of those distant and exciting days when it was not yet decided who would be declared president-elect of the United States, Hayes or Tilden.

In the one hundred and forty-five years which have elapsed since the founding of this Society only ten men have enjoyed a membership of fifty years or more. Their names call up memories of affection, achievement, and honor: John Davis, Josiah Quincy, James Savage, Robert

Charles Winthrop, George Edward Ellis, Lucius Robinson Paige, Samuel Abbott Green, Winslow Warren, Charles William Eliot, and John Torrey Morse, Jr. Mr. Morse has now attained to the third place in length of service, his fifty-nine years of membership being surpassed only by the sixty-seven years and eleven months of Josiah Quincy and the sixty years and one month of James Savage.

In offering Mr. Morse their congratulations this day, his fellow-members of the Massachusetts Historical Society would remind him that his can never be the misfortune to outlive his friends, that he himself has become the true interpretation of the words of the poet: "He whom the gods love dies young."

Mr. LAWRENCE S. MAYO read a paper entitled "New Hampshire and Independence, 1776 (John Langdon)."[1]

Mr. M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE presented a paper entitled "John Jay Chapman, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Governorship of New York."[2]

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[1] Printed in *John Langdon of New Hampshire* (Concord, N. H., 1937), Chapter x.

[2] Incorporated in *John Jay Chapman and His Letters* (Boston, 1937).

W. W. Fenn

WILLIAM WALLACE FENN · A MEMOIR

BY

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

William Wallace Fenn, a member of this Society since 1923, who died in Cambridge on March 6, 1932, was born in Boston on February 12, 1862, the only child of William Wallace and Hannah Morrill (Osgood) Fenn. His father had come from a farm in Weston, Vermont, his mother from Gilmanton, New Hampshire, to Boston, where they had met. They both were of New England ancestry, and in his character Mr. Fenn well illustrated the sturdy virtues and rugged independence of his forebears.

His father died less than seven weeks after the child's birth, on March 31, 1862, and the infant was christened by Dr. Kirk, of the Mount Vernon Church, at the close of the father's funeral service. His mother fortunately determined to remain in Boston after her husband's death, and devoted herself with courage and hope to the upbringing of her son. He went through the Boston Latin School, thence proceeding to Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1884 with highest honors in classics. He next entered the Harvard Divinity School, graduating in 1887 with the degrees of A.M. and S.T.B. His intellectual abilities had been conspicuous from his early youth, and in the Divinity School he made a special study of the New Testament, hoping eventually to teach that subject in a theological school. In October, 1887, he became acting minister of the newly organized Unity Church (Unitarian) of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, but he was not ordained until January 8, 1890, when the church building was dedicated. He remained in Pittsfield through March, 1891. On May 28, 1891, Mr. Fenn married Faith Huntington Fisher of Lanesboro, Massachusetts.

When he left Pittsfield, the choice of two opportunities was open to him, one in California, the other in Chicago. Dr. Charles W. Wendte, then settled in Oakland, California, had proposed the establishment of a Unitarian Theological School on the Pacific Coast, and Mr. Fenn was asked to come out to look over the field with a view to taking charge of the enterprise. He travelled to Berkeley, but soon discovered that there was no money in sight and no substantial foundation upon which to build a school. It was not, in fact, until thirteen years later that it became possible to establish such a school at Berkeley. After a brief stay, therefore, Mr. Fenn returned to Chicago to accept a call to the First Unitarian Society of that city, which he served from May, 1891, to March, 1901. The pulpit was a distinguished one, his immediate predecessors having been Brooke Herford and David Utter, and he worthily carried on its tradition. His experience as a parish minister was valuable to him, and enabled him, after he became a professor of theology, to mold his teaching into forms most helpful to theological students. During his ministry the downtown property of the church was sold, and a new chapel, which forms a part of the present beautiful church, was erected on the corner of Woodlawn Avenue and 57th Street, adjacent to the University of Chicago. He earnestly desired to establish a closer connection with the university and with members of its faculty. Of special significance was his close friendship with Professor George B. Foster, a friendship which was helpful and stimulating to both men. While in Chicago he served as Shaw Lecturer on Biblical Literature in Meadville Theological School from 1892 to 1901, a lectureship which he held again from 1905 to 1907. He was also a member of the Board of Preachers at Harvard from 1896 to 1898, and again from 1902 to 1905.

After the death of Dean Charles Carroll Everett of the Harvard Divinity School, in the fall of 1900, Mr. Fenn was invited by President Eliot to become Everett's successor as Bussey Professor of Theology. He accepted the offer and held that professorship from 1901 until his death. He also served the School as dean from 1906 to 1922. He was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1909. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in 1908.

Aside from the decade which he spent in Chicago, his life was almost wholly lived in the New England which he loved. Late in life he made a second trip to California to lecture and preach for a few weeks in the neighborhood of Berkeley, and he made a brief visit to England in 1925 to give the Essex Hall Lecture. But he was no traveller and was always more glad to return to his books and the quiet delights of home than he had been to leave them.

Professor Fenn's personality was strongly marked both by his exceptional intellectual abilities and by his great reserve and modesty in his estimate of his own qualities. He was a thorough scholar in his methods, hating shams and prizing intellectual integrity and sincerity above all things. His early mastery of the field of the New Testament stood him in good stead when he turned to the field of systematic theology on coming to the Harvard Divinity School. In his courses on theism he resolutely faced all the problems and sought to solve them by rational processes. But, though clear-sighted, incisive, and entirely modern in his own views, he had a sympathetic understanding of those from which he differed, only asking that they be sincerely and intelligently held, and he had a profound respect for the great masters of the older theological tradition, whether Catholic or Protestant. He acquired the power of stating doctrines with which he did not agree in so lucid and persuasive a way that they seemed irrefutable until he turned his incisive criticism upon their fallacies and omissions. To many a student belonging to other denominations than his own he revealed the inner and deeper meaning of confessions of faith which the student had hitherto but formally and superficially accepted. He never sought to impose his own views upon any student, but only to lead him to think clearly and honestly for himself.

His interest in the historical development of religious thought and his loyalty to his native New England early led him to the study of " the New England theology " from its development out of English Puritanism and the Calvinism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the work of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins in the eighteenth century into the liberalism of Channing and Emerson. He was widely read in the earlier and now remote and obscure aspects of this field, and probably no living man remains who knows them so understandingly as he did. It is a great loss to American scholarship that he failed to write out the substance of his teaching on this subject, for his published work regarding it consists of only a few addresses and book reviews. Even from these, however, the careful reader may draw a clearer and more just appreciation of what in one of his addresses he called " the Christian way of Life in New England " than from almost any other source.

His unwillingness to put his views into print was a result of his modesty, of a reserve which at times bordered on shyness, and of a dread of checking his own intellectual growth by stereotyping his thought. As a young man, while still a minister in Chicago, he published several admirable booklets for Sunday School use (*Lessons on Luke,* 1890; *Lessons on Acts,* 1894; *The Flowering of the Hebrew Religion,* 1894; *Lessons on Psalms,* 1900) ; but after he returned to Harvard, it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be persuaded to publish even his occasional addresses. Very few of his sermons have been printed, yet he was a distinguished preacher of a markedly intellectual type, whose words carried the weight of a great authority.[1]

His modesty and reserve, his extreme dislike of any notoriety, and his utter refusal to court popularity led to his being far less widely known than his abilities deserved. But those who really knew him discovered, beneath the sometimes formal and brusque exterior, the great scholarship, the powerful personality, and the crystal-clear sincerity and warm-heartedness of the man. To the young men who studied under him he gave unstintedly of his friendship as well as of his learning, and no member of the faculty was more beloved or honored by them.

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[1] A posthumously compiled volume of his lectures, *The Theological Method of Jesus,* was published in 1937.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 13, 1936, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, a group of miscellaneous manuscripts.

From Hollis French, Ichabod Thayer's commission as captain of militia, July 1, 1781, signed by John Hancock; also a broadside containing an order of the Continental Congress, April 3, 1776, relating to commissions for private ships of war and letters of marque and reprisal, signed by John Hancock.

By purchase: William Cooper, *The Danger of People's Loosing the Good Impressions Made by the Late Awful Earthquake* (Boston, 1727); Nathaniel Morton, *New-Englands Memoriall* (Cambridge, 1669); the *New England Primer* (Boston, 1768); and Philip Vincent, *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Salvages* (London, 1637).

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from LAWRENCE COUNSELMAN WROTH accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Society elected Randolph Greenfield Adams of Ann Arbor, Michigan, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. SAMUEL E. MORISON read a note on

FRANCIS BOWEN, AN EARLY TEST OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN MASSACHUSETTS

A leading character at Harvard College and in the community until his death in 1890 was Francis Bowen, philosopher, and author of one of the earliest works on economics, and commonly known to the Harvard undergraduates as "Fanny" Bowen. In 1851 he was the center of an interesting controversy, a clean-cut fight on the issue of academic freedom.

Jared Sparks, the historian, became president of Harvard College in 1849, thereby vacating the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History. Francis Bowen, a former tutor at Harvard, and at that time editor of the *North American Review,* was elected by the corporation to the McLean chair on May 25, 1850. He promptly accepted, and when college opened the next fall, began giving courses on English constitutional history and modern history to the juniors and seniors, and on Greek history to the freshmen. For some reason his name had not been submitted to the board of overseers at commencement. It went over to the January meeting of 1851; and at an adjourned meeting on February 6 Professor Bowen's appointment was rejected by a vote of thirty-three to thirty-nine, and his connection with Harvard College for the time being ceased.

This was the period when the country was much excited over the Compromise of 1850 and the " Young America " movement, which proposed to loose the chains of all oppressed races. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian leader, one of the most eloquent and successful European propagandists that ever visited this country, had not yet arrived in the United States; but the American people had followed the Hungarian Revolution with keen sympathy and with a complete disregard of the fact that the Hungarians were oppressing their own subject races. Professor Bowen's great offense against public sentiment was the publication of a series of articles in the *North American Review* tending to show that Kossuth and the " Magyar patriots " were humbugs, and urging that Hungarian independence meant giving the Magyar nobility a blank check to oppress five million southern Slavs, Roumanians, German Transylvanians, and Slovaks. Very few Americans had yet heard of these peoples; the public had gone mad over the " gallant Hungarians " and were unwilling to listen to the other side.

At this time Massachusetts politics were controlled by the famous coalition between the Free-Soilers or " Conscience Whigs " and the Democrats. George S. Boutwell was elected governor in 1850, and Charles Sumner sent to the Senate. This coalition was hostile to Harvard University. The Free-Soilers regarded it as a preserve of Whig aristocracy and " old fogy-ism," whilst the Democrats, who at that time represented rural piety and orthodoxy, disliked the religious liberalism of Cambridge. Governor

Boutwell, who as member of the General Court had already tried to tinker with the college government, announced on January 16, 1851, that something ought to be done to " make important changes in the government of this institution." On account of the express protection to the Harvard College charter in the state constitution, this could not be effected without the university's consent; but something might be done to annoy the university through the board of overseers. At that time this governing board consisted of the upper branches of the state government, together with fifteen clergymen and fifteen elected alumni. Ordinarily very few of the Senate or Council took the trouble to attend the overseers' meetings; but there was a full turn-out on the day Mr. Bowen's name came up, and it was rejected by the solid vote of " coalition " state senators and councillors. All but one of the clerical and alumni members voted for him, but they were not enough.

Ever since his nomination to the Harvard chair had been announced, Bowen had been attacked in several Boston papers for his heretical views on the heroic Hungarians; and, as he humorously declared himself, " every now and then, a good-natured friend in the country sends me a copy of the *Worcester Spy,* or some other rural sheet, in which I am called a ' Russian Serf,' a ' college professor of despotism,' a ' hired slave of the Boston aristocracy,' or some other pleasant and high-sounding designation." The *New York Tribune* also showed interest and declared that Republican institutions were not safe if a man of Professor Bowen's reactionary views were allowed to profess history in Harvard College. But Bowen himself believed that the Magyar business was merely a smoke screen; that his real offense against the coalition was his article, " The Action of Congress on the California and Territorial Question," printed in the *North American Review* for July, 1850 (LXXI. 221–268). Therein Bowen praised Webster, Clay, and the Whigs and supported the Compromise of 1850. The coalition, of course, regarded that compromise as the great betrayal — Whittier's poem on Webster, " Ichabod," will be remembered. State Senator Buckingham of Middlesex County, whose sons had been Bowen's pupils, told him that the party had determined to " get " him ever since his article on the Compromise of 1850 had appeared, and Buckingham feared that the best he could do would be to cast a blank ballot in spite of his personal respect for Bowen. The solid political vote against Bowen on the board suggests that his diagnosis of the opposition was correct. The professor was really being punished for defending "traitor" Webster; but the "heroic Hungarians" made a more general and popular appeal, and were therefore used to whip up public sentiment against the university.

Mr. Bowen wrote a humorous farewell that appeared in the *Boston Daily Atlas* on the very day (February 6, 1851) that the axe fell:

> CAMBRIDGE
> February 4, 1851
>
> Gentlemen! Friends of the Magyars, and believers in their republicanism! Enlightened supporters of the unlimited freedom of the whole human race! I admit the patriotism of your intentions; I see as plainly as you do, the singleness of your motives; I respect your energy and activity, for I have been made to feel them. When the time comes for waging a grand war against all the despotic powers of Europe, I have no doubt you will all be found in the front rank, bravely contending for liberty or death. But will you be kind enough to reserve a portion of your courage and ardor for this great emergency, and not expend them all in crushing a poor book-worm. You have now killed me often enough, and there is no need of fighting your battles over again. According to your own statements, I have been "annihilated" at least a dozen times, within the last two months. Give my remains a Christian burial, and inscribe on my grave-stone only the two words of that affecting Italian epitaph which so much pleased Lord Byron — *implora pace*. . . . Deprive me of my office, if you will. Take away my bread and butter; but in mercy allow me then to munch a crust in the corner, in peace and silence.
>
> And your petitioner will ever pray.
> FRANCIS BOWEN

The *Boston Commonwealth*, on February 7, made this stinging comment on the rejection of Bowen's name:

> If the Board had not had other sufficient reasons, Mr. Bowen's own article in the *Atlas* of yesterday would have been enough to justify their vote. Bringing the trumpery testimony of a nameless "clergyman" . . . to overthrow the best settled facts of passing history, and prove to us that Austria and Russia are the good friends of "the subject races," is not quite the thing for a republican professor of History. Nor does his pathetic whining about his bread and butter bear any better testimony of his qualifications for an office established for the public, and not private good. Harvard College stands relieved of a precious incumbrance, and with a better chance of contributing its due share to the advancement of the state and the age.

It had never been suggested in the course of the discussion that Mr. Bowen was unqualified, so far as knowledge was concerned, to act as professor of history; and his junior and senior classes signed a petition to the overseers praising the quality of his lectures and begging that he be confirmed. Simply for his " views " he was rejected. In 1853 he was nominated Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy, and this time confirmed; but his earlier rejection had far-reaching consequences. Friends of Harvard University saw that academic freedom was menaced by the preponderant political composition of the board of overseers. The commonwealth had ceased to contribute toward the support of the university since 1824. A joint appeal of Harvard, Amherst, and Williams for a state subsidy in 1848 and in 1849 had been turned down, and this had been followed by Boutwell's attempt to " liberalize " the Harvard Corporation by making it a body of fifteen elected for six-year terms by the General Court. Then came the rejection of Bowen, which emphasized this struggle for control of the university in a dramatic way. The conclusion was obvious: if Harvard alumni wished academic freedom for their university, they must support her themselves and free her from political control. As a consequence, the Harvard Alumni Association was formed, the act of 1865 abolished the ex-officio membership on the board of overseers, and election to that board was placed in the hands of the alumni.

Mr. William V. Kellen read the following paper:

William Price, A Colonial Philanthropist

William Price, a colonial worthy of the eighteenth century and benefactor of Episcopal churches, was born in England in 1684, migrated in early manhood to Massachusetts, and settled in Boston. By trade a cabinetmaker, he also had become an organist of sorts. In Boston he opened a shop for the sale of books and prints, and became known locally as the " Pickterman." He prospered in his business, made a good marriage, and looked about for a suitable lot of land on which to establish a permanent home befitting his growing position in the community. He bought a lot in that part of Boston called Cornhill, nearly opposite the present *Boston Globe* office, running through to Court Square on the existing passageway along the side of Young's Hotel — the lot on which Thompson's Spa is now located. Price proceeded to build there a goodly brick mansion and appurtenances and there lived in great peace and comfort for the rest of his long and useful life. His household included, besides himself and wife — a childless couple — two favorite nieces of his, whom they regarded and treated as daughters.

William Price was a very religious man, even according to the standards of a community where church membership was a prerequisite to civic advancement and even to business success. More particularly, he was a zealous Anglican and early became active in the affairs of King's Chapel when it was the only church of that denomination in town. While his fellow townsmen, however, were content with one pew in one meeting-house, Price, with characteristic fervor, came to own three pews, one in each of three churches, including King's Chapel, in different parts of the town. When Christ Church, the Old North, was built on Copp's Hill, he not only helped to build it, but acquired a pew and served on the vestry for many years. He also agreed in writing to play the organ there "without sallery." When Trinity Church was founded and erected its first barnlike structure in 1732 at the corner of Bishop's Lane and Summer Street, Price was not only one of fourteen to give one hundred pounds each towards building it, but took a pew and acquired burial rights under the church and there built his tomb. Solid townsman, prosperous business man, community-giver, he joined in every movement looking to the growth and well being of his adopted town.

With such religious prepossessions and much apparent thought he approached the making of his will, dated November 30, 1770. It was a very elaborate document expressing his testamentary wishes clearly and precisely — in short, what men would call a good will. He took ample care of his family. He made his wife his executrix, urging her to care for his nieces as they together had done in his lifetime. He gave her all his personal property outright, subject only to trifling payments. He gave his wife and nieces, successively, life tenancies in his brick mansion and appurtenances; he gave them, also, sittings in the Trinity Church pew as long as they chose to use it and pay the assessments. Upon the death of the last surviving life tenant, the estate was to go to the rector and wardens of King's Chapel and to their successors as such, to be formally accepted by them in precise terms as set forth, "in trust forever"; failing which acceptance as indicated, the estate was to go to Trinity Church on a like trust.

For his funeral he made detailed arrangements, disclaiming any attempt at self-glorification. He was to be buried in his tomb under Trinity Church, only his wife and nieces to share it with him. He desired his friend, the Reverend Dr. Henry Caner, rector of King's Chapel, if alive and well, otherwise the Reverend William Walter of Trinity Church, to preach a funeral sermon in that church from a text in Deuteronomy, for which good service the preacher was to receive "two pounds sterling . . . within three days." The will went on:

> This sermon I propose particularly for the good and instruction of all such of my friends and acquaintances as shall attend my funeral and with a general wish and desire that all present may thereby receive a benefit by being solemnly reminded how absolutely certain and unavoidable death is and not with a view of anything being said of me, which I desire may be avoided, for I am a sinful man, O Lord.

The will further provided:

> In case the Minister, Wardens, Vestrymen and Proprietors of pews for the time being of said King's Chapel will not accept of this my donation which I intend for the benefit of said church, I hereby give and bequeath all hereinbefore given to and for the benefit of said King's Chapel to the minister and Church Wardens of Trinity Church aforesaid in trust in the same manner and under the same provisions, limitations and conditions that it is hereinbefore given to the minister and Church Wardens of said King's Chapel, and if the minister and Church Wardens of said King's Chapel will accept of this my donation they shall under their hands certify to the Minister and Wardens of Trinity Church aforesaid for the time being such their acceptance in the manner following, viz: "We do accept the donations of Wm. Price agreeable to his last will and testament, and will as far as possible strictly fulfill the said will in every part thereof." And I hereby solemnly and earnestly request the Ministers and Wardens of said King's Chapel at all times hereafter strictly to comply with and fulfill this my last will and Testament in all parts thereof which relate to said King's Chapel and by no means either neglect so doing or presume to evade it. And I do hereby appoint all the Gentlemen of the Vestry of said [Trinity] Church for the time being, my Trustees forever to inspect and if need be, to call the Minister and Wardens for the time being of said King's Chapel to account for all or any of the income of my said estate and to see the same is punctually employed for the uses and purposes hereinbefore mentioned and in no other manner.

William Price died on May 30, 1771, at the ripe age of eighty-seven years. His will was duly admitted to probate, and the widow Price and the two nieces lived in his goodly brick mansion. During the lifetime of the last surviving niece King's Chapel changed its faith and doctrine and became an independent Congregational church. This surviving niece came into possession of the estate and claimed it as and for her own on the ground that after the withdrawal of King's Chapel from the Anglican communion her uncle, could he have foreseen this action of King's Chapel, would not have donated the estate to that church; and she went through the form of giving the estate to a nephew of hers, to whom she had leased it, and who was in possession. The courts made short shrift of her claim and upon a writ of entry brought by King's Chapel dispossessed the nephew, and King's Chapel took possession of the Price estate as described. Whether King's Chapel ever accepted the gift in the precise form laid down by Price as quoted above can not be shown, but alleged failure to do so served as the basis of the claim subsequently and successfully made by Trinity Church. The records of King's Chapel, probably embodying such action by its proprietors, disappeared with the church silver when the Loyalists left Boston at the close of the American Revolution, and neither has ever come to light.

Another provision of William Price's will, which illustrated the man's religious character and which was not carried out as he wished, called for the establishment of a course of Lenten lectures or sermons to be preached annually in King's Chapel, every detail of which was arranged for with the minuteness characteristic of this outstanding early citizen of Boston. The will provided that King's Chapel should pay each year out of the income of the estate sixteen pounds for this course of sermons to be given by the rector of the Chapel for the time being and his assistant, together with the ministers of Christ Church and of Trinity Church for the time being " in Lent, beginning on the first Ash Wednesday after the termination of my two nieces' occupancy of the estate under their several life tenancies, and ending on Good Friday."

There was meticulous provision in the will for the first sermon: " First Sermon on Ash Wednesday (the service to begin about three o'clock in the afternoon) upon the duty, usefulness and propriety of fasting and abstinence or upon Repentance or Faith or Hope or Charity or Christian Morality." The arrangements for the seven sermons to follow were set out with equal definiteness. Each clergyman was to receive forty shillings for preaching. If any minister refused to officiate or was prevented from preaching, "some other minister of the Church of England was to officiate." Provision was made for an offertory at each service, to which a small addition was to be made from the general fund, and the total, so enlarged, was to be divided among the poor of King's Chapel, Trinity Church, and Christ Church. The will also prescribed that the ministers of the three churches should preach upon the eight different subjects listed in such rotation "as that they each of them preach on the eight different subjects within four years."

Right here Price's benevolent plan for Lenten uplift met with a serious snag, seeming at one time likely to wreck the project. The general public did not wish to attend meetings save on Sunday and would not turn out on weekdays. The clergy, not wishing to preach to empty pews, shared this feeling of the laity. There was another obstacle in that King's Chapel became an independent church with a liturgy of its own. Moreover, Dr. Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, due to preach the first sermon, let it be known that he could not conscientiously and would not take part in a service conducted according to the liturgy of another denomination, nor would he listen to prayers embodying doctrines in which he did not believe.

While King's Chapel continued in physical possession of the Price estate, the town of Boston developed into an expanding city. But while King's Chapel held and managed the estate, Trinity Church, through its vestry as visitors, kept its eye on that management and did not falter in its claim to the property. As the estate grew in value with the growth of the city, the claim of Trinity Church became more exigent. For some years there was no legal collision between the two churches. In 1824 the embers of dissatisfaction blazed out in Trinity Church, and a committee on the Price will was chosen. The committee reported to the proprietors on June 13 of that year that, in its opinion, a question might fairly be raised whether the rector and wardens of King's Chapel were capable in a legal sense of accepting the bequest at the time when they professed to accept it, and if not, whether the claim to it by Trinity Church could not be substantiated.

On July 9, 1824, this committee sent a letter, a model of churchly amenity, to Dr. Freeman and others of King's Chapel reciting that

> Mr. Price's donation, having been a topic of discussion at a recent meeting of the Wardens and Proprietors of Trinity Church, who claim the Estate in Cornhill once his Mansion-house, the undersigned respectfully represent to you that at that meeting they were elected a Committee upon the subject, with discretionary powers to retain counsel, and take such other means as they should deem most expedient for the interest of the Church, and they beg leave to assure you, that, while in discharge of the duty imposed on them, they shall be governed by a sedulous regard to the rights of their own church, under the will of the gentleman, no consideration arising from theological tenets or from polemical antipathies or prejudices will be permitted to influence their conduct in urging to a final decision the technical niceties and dry matters of law and fact on which the questions between the parties depend.

Then follows a paragraph which, if taken to heart by all litigants, would, it is submitted by the signers, greatly lessen the frictions and disappointments of the law, or at least greatly facilitate a satisfactory settlement. Here is the stately paragraph:

> It is in the spirit of that urbanity with which they hope the controversy will be carried on by both parties, if a suit in law is to be commenced, that they now address you on the subject, and, if there be any mode for which you have a preference by which the rights of the Church we represent, arising from that testamentary instrument, can be determined in an amicable manner, a communication of your wishes and views as early as convenient, will be received as evidence of the gentlemanly deportment which we believe you will always display in the discussion of the controverted points.

It was not long afterwards that the litigation over the Price will was begun. The dignified rector and wardens of Trinity Church entered upon the Price estate in Cornhill and were promptly ejected by the tenants at will of King's Chapel then in possession of the same. A writ of entry was then brought by Trinity Church against King's Chapel and its tenants. The case went to the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, whereupon, the tradition is, the learned justices were so scandalized by the spectacle of two leading Boston churches squabbling over a piece of real estate that they advised the parties to settle. And settle they did by an agreement under which judgment was entered in favor of Trinity Church whereby that church was to and did come into possession of William Price's brick mansion and estate in order to discharge all the trusts under his will, and then, after paying the expenses of the trust, was to divide the net income with King's Chapel; and this has been the amicable and satisfactory procedure between the two churches ever since. The feeling, however, persisted among a considerable number of the King's Chapel adherents that if they had been patient and awaited the decision of the full bench, King's Chapel would probably have retained the property; and this is very likely so!

And then 1926 dawned, and Simon Lebrowich appeared upon the stage, the same Simon who afterwards changed " Lebrowich " to " Lowe." That intermittent good fairy known as " unearned increment," that watches over well-placed real estate, had been busy for many years hovering over the Price estate and increasing its value and its rents and profits. Leases fell in and were renewed, and rents were increased. Rumors of building improvements filled the air, centering about Young's Hotel and Thompson's Spa. The " fifty associates " owning the Young's Hotel site gave an option thereon to Simon and his associates. Simon applied to Edward W. Hutchins, sane and level-headed leader of the bar and senior warden of Trinity Church, for a like option, and was refused, but was offered an agreement of sale, the price to be $500,000. Such an agreement was accepted, and deeds were passed. The hotel scheme was to build a " New Young's " to cover both lots, including the passageway to Court Square, leaving a covered way for pedestrians. The scheme failed, but Trinity Church carefully invested the proceeds of the sale of the Price estate, and thus did the Price Fund reach a size and income return which enables both Trinity Church and King's Chapel to carry out in spirit in many directions the benevolent intentions of this colonial philanthropist.

And who shall say that William Price was not a worthy prototype of the modern Carnegies and Rockefellers who first laid down on a world-wide scale the doctrine of self-distribution of one's gains and estate, or of holding them in trust for the benefit of one's fellows to the uplift of the world in comfort and culture?

Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth read the following paper:

Dr. Bray's "Proposals for the Incouragement of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations" — A Bibliographical Note

I

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, familiarly known as the S.P.C.K., was organized in 1699; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, briefly the S.P.G., was, in its origins, a subsidiary association chartered in 1701 to take over the foreign missionary activities of the parent organization. For more than two centuries these two societies have been effective instruments in the work of the Church and State of England throughout the world.

The spirit and purpose of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. are expressed in the tract we know briefly as Dr. Bray's *Proposals,* and it has been generally supposed that this piece was published as part of the propaganda of the elder of the two societies some months after its formal organization in 1699. The present examination of the tract has been undertaken to show that the publication of the *Proposals* antedated the formation of the societies, and that it is, in effect, the fundamental document underlying their organization. It will develop in the course of the examination that in the form in which the *Proposals* is known today it is of joint rather than single authorship, and that editions and variants of it exist which have not been widely recognized. In short, there are here combined in a single investigation three aims — to change accepted attributions of date, to establish authorship, and to identify and describe previously unknown editions. There is nothing so sweet to the bibliographer as the opportunity of correcting his predecessors on these three fundamental factors in the history of a book.

The Background

The background of the document which forms the subject of this bibliographical discussion is the province of Maryland in the early years of its quarter century as a royal colony, that period between 1690 and 1715 during which it was governed at first hand by the king instead of indirectly through an hereditary lord proprietary acknowledging feudal obligation to the Crown. That situation had been brought about by the logic of events rather than through the deliberate purpose of William III. As a consequence of the revolution which enthroned him in England there had occurred in Maryland in 1689 a revolution in miniature in which the Protestant inhabitants, or a compact minority of them, had rudely snatched the government from the representatives of the Catholic proprietary. In the circumstances, William might not refuse the sovereignty they proffered him. One historian of the province has remarked, paraphrasing a saying of an earlier day, that the people of Maryland thereafter found the king's little finger to be as thick as Lord Baltimore's thigh; and it is true that with the coming of royal governors and the machinery of a more complex form of administration there came also restrictions on the one hand, programs of development on the other, bothersome ideas, and increased taxation. The rhythm of life was forever altered in what had been, or what seems at this distance of time to have been, an idyllic community, a small, self-contained agricultural commonwealth, lightly governed upon sound constitutional principles, in which ruler and people alike cared only for peace and the opportunity to cultivate their respective gardens. Through this action Maryland lost its happy isolation and became an inconsiderable unit in the British imperial organization.

It was with the idea of consolidating the gains of the Protestant revolt that a strong party in Maryland set about the erection of their province into a Church of England stronghold. Their representations were sympathetically listened to by the royal and ecclesiastical authorities in England, who encouraged their efforts to bring about a church establishment in a land where hitherto church and state had been rigorously kept apart. Governor Lionel Copley was charged with the interests of the church in his letters of instruction of 1691, and it was effectually arranged that the Assembly of 1692 should be of a political constitution not inimical to the intended legislation. At that Assembly was passed in due order the first of a series of acts for the " Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion " by which the Church of England was eventually settled upon Maryland as the state church. Admirable and beneficent as the Establishment proved itself in many of its operations, it was impossible that it should ever become anything but a burden and a source of dissatisfaction to the many Catholics, Quakers, and Presbyterians of the province who were thenceforth taxed for its support. When the American Revolution brought the Establishment to an end, it had existed for nearly a century, a cause of political disruption and a financial drain upon the whole people. It had long outlasted the royal government which set it up, for in 1715 the province was restored to the Calverts, who, in the person of the fourth Lord Baltimore, had abjured the errors of Rome and come into the Anglican fold. With the larger aspects of the Establishment — the question of its expediency, its political and social morality, the effect of its good features and its bad upon the development of American liberalism — this discussion has no concern. The circumstances which brought it about are interesting, however, because they explain why the affairs of Maryland in the closing decade of the seventeenth century became the impelling force in the initiation of a religious and social movement of world-wide scope.

The Act of Establishment of 1692 divided the province of Maryland into parishes and provided means for the building of churches and the maintenance of ministers. Because of the death in 1693 of Governor Copley, little was done to put its measures into effect. Confusion was created, furthermore, when, on constitutional grounds, the king refused assent to the act. The establishment of the church lay virtually in abeyance until the coming as governor of Colonel Francis Nicholson, who procured in 1696 the passage of another act to the same end, and, while awaiting the royal assent, set about the building of churches for which the new statute provided. But Nicholson's act, too, was disallowed by the king, as was another of the year 1700. It was not, indeed, until 1702 that the Assembly passed an act acceptable to the royal authority. This successful piece of legislation was drawn up by the Lords of Trade themselves at the suggestion of Dr. Thomas Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary for Maryland, with the foreknowledge and consent of the Maryland Assembly; its passage was urged upon the Assembly by the new governor, Nathaniel Blakiston, grandson of John Blakiston, one of the regicides of 1649.

Foremost in this long struggle for the establishment of the church in Maryland were three English officials well remembered in colonial history — Sir Thomas Lawrence, baronet, Colonel Francis Nicholson, and the Reverend Thomas Bray. Lawrence came early to Maryland as royal secretary; he was present at the Assembly of

1692 and, later, strongly supported Nicholson's efforts to bring into being the Establishment set up by the law of that year. William Penn once characterized him as "a silly knight," but that designation need not be accepted as the ultimate judgment of posterity. He was an active and useful official, whose contentious disposition kept him always the center of dispute. Governor Nicholson described him as "a very pious and zealous son of the Church of England, a constant assertor of monarchy . . . wholly devoted to his Majesty's interest." The second of this group, Governor Francis Nicholson, one of the first of England's professional colonial administrators, came to Maryland in 1694 after employment as lieutenant governor in New England, New York, and Virginia. Though he made enemies in plenty in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, of which colonies he was successively governor, he showed himself in those places a constructive, businesslike official, devoted to the interests of religion and education, and worthy in general of the respect with which he has been remembered by many historians. Finally, we come to the protagonist of this story, the Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D., the Bishop of London's commissary for Maryland, founder of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the organization known as The Associates of Dr. Bray.

The influence of Thomas Bray upon American affairs was broad in geographical scope and long in duration of time even though his only official association with the English colonies was his few years of service as commissary for Maryland, and his only physical contact with the land a residence in that colony of something less than six months. The first of his two great societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is said to have sent 34,000 books to the thirty-nine parochial libraries he established in Boston, New York City, Charleston, and various places in East Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was instituted by him to take over from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the duty of providing and supporting colonial missionaries, leaving to the parent organization the task of education at home and abroad. An American church historian has recently written that

> For more than eighty years, from 1702 to 1782, the majority of the Church of England missionaries in the American colonies were chosen,

sent over, and in great measure supported by the S.P.G. . . . The colonies of New England received 84; New York, 58; Pennsylvania and Delaware, 47; New Jersey, 44; South Carolina, 54; North Carolina, 33; and Georgia, 13. . . .[1]

If I find myself disinclined to place as much emphasis as is sometimes done upon the relationship between the Bray libraries, parochial and provincial, and the modern public library system of the United States, it is because I see a clean break in continuity between those libraries and the great development of later years. None the less, one must recognize the interest and importance of the Bray libraries as a foreshadowing of what was to come and as a definite cultural influence in a land where such influences did not abound. Not through his American association, but rather because of his natural benevolence, Bray created about the year 1723 a society, called ever since The Associates of Dr. Bray, which had for its primary purpose the conversion and education of Negroes and Indians. Within a few years of their incorporation, the activities of the Associates were enlarged to include prison reform and the extension of aid to helpless debtors. Through two of the membership, John Perceval, first Earl of Egmont, and James Edward Oglethorpe, the Associates of Dr. Bray touched influentially upon American affairs in the establishment of the colony of Georgia.

Though the S.P.C.K. originated in plans for ameliorating the condition of the Church of England missionaries in Maryland and Virginia, that Society and its subsidiary, the S.P.G., soon began to conceive the wide world as their field of activity. Now in advance of it, now following, they have accompanied the British flag wherever it has gone for more than two centuries. Their effect upon the extension of empire and upon its stabilization may not be ignored by historians. Their founder died in 1730, rector of the Church of St. Botolph Without, Aldgate, having received for his service neither reward from the state nor preferment from the church. A contemporary described him as " A Great Small man," who " had done Great good things in his life Time." He seems to have been a man without guile, a sound Christian of benevolent instinct and practice, and an organizer and executive of unusual quality.

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[1] Edgar L. Pennington, *The Reverend Thomas Bray* (Church Historical Society, Publication No. VII, Philadelphia, 1934), 41.

But let us go back to 1692 when the ecclesiastical authorities found themselves called upon to supply the thirty newly created Maryland parishes with ministers. The difficulty of securing competent men of reputation for those distant posts must have been continuously present in the minds of bishops and officials, but no one seems to have had so practical a suggestion as Dr. Bray for inducing good men to enter that service and for keeping them effectively employed in it. A simple-minded scholar himself, he conceived the possession of a library of sound and learned works to be a chief condition of happiness and virtue. He impressed this idea so successfully upon his superiors that soon he was able to show names of the highest ecclesiastical authority subscribed to an appeal for public support of his plan. When his program first comes to view it is in the form of a piece of two leaves containing on the first leaf " Proposals for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations," and on the second a first-hand report entitled " The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Mary-land, Stands Thus." It seems clear, however, that before this form of the tract came from the press, the " Proposals " alone had been separately printed and distributed in the form of a single half-sheet.

In the bibliographical list of editions which comes hereafter there may be recognized as having once existed seven separate editions and variant issues of the Bray tract and three compressed versions of it, all published between 1695 and 1700. The edition and its reissue which are designated in the appended list as **E** and **F** represent the forms in which the tract is commonly known through its presence in the British Museum, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Garrett collection of Baltimore. It carries the names of four English bishops [2] signed in approval of its terms, and may be concisely designated as the " four bishops " edition. There exists in the Sion College Library and in the John Carter Brown Library an issue, described in this list as **G**, which for an analogous reason may be called the " five bishops " issue. These three have been tacitly supposed to be the only separate forms in which the *Proposals* appeared. They have been incorrectly dated by nearly everyone who has entered them in a bibliography, reprinted their texts, or mentioned them in writing. It is by accident only that one can now point to earlier editions and variants of the tract with their implication of vigorous and continuous activity on Bray's part in making effective those ideas which ultimately brought into being the great missionary societies of the English church.

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[2] All the known editions of the tract contain also as signers the names of the archbishops of Canterbury and York. In this text and in the notes of the " Tentative List " below, I have omitted mention of this invariable factor in my citation of the number of bishops' names appended to the document.

The accident, or accidents, that I refer to are these: a bookseller who knew that a copy of the *Proposals* was already to be found in the John Carter Brown Library, showed that library a copy of the piece purely because of his pleasure in its fine condition. But this copy had more to its credit, it soon appeared, than clean, crisp paper and deckle edges. Upon comparison with the John Carter Brown Library copy of F it turned out to possess radical and unusual features: a different setting of type, definite differences in the texts of both its sections, the signatures, on page 2, of three episcopal subscribers instead of four, and, appended to its second section, entitled " The Present State of the Protestant Religion in Mary-land, Stands Thus," the name of Thomas Lawrence, secretary of Maryland, as author of that separate report. That copy of the tract, described in the attached list as D, was immediately purchased for the John Carter Brown Library.

In the search for information stimulated by this pleasing discovery of an edition of the tract not previously known, it was observed for the first time that the description of the edition in Bishop White Kennett's *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia* showed that it contained, at the conclusion of the first part, the names of five approving bishops instead of the three of D and the four of E and F. In the effort to secure for the John Carter Brown Library a photostat copy of this piece, that library's agent in London learned that it was no longer to be found in the library of the S.P.G., where, presumably, it had been deposited two centuries ago with the White Kennett collection. After an effort to trace it through auction sales of S.P.G. books, it was given up for lost. One day, several months later, a visitor to the John Carter Brown Library remarked that only the evening before, he had seen a copy of the *Proposals* in New York in the hands of a visiting English bookseller who happened to be the accredited agent of the S.P.G. for the sale of certain rarities no longer of practical usefulness in its library. The next hour found me at the telephone, and the next day I was in New York looking at the only known copy of the lost edition of the *Proposals*. That copy appears in the list below as **G**; its permanent location is now the John Carter Brown Library. All three copies of the tract are shelved, appropriately, in the case that contains the long series of annual S.P.G. sermons and the related material lovingly collected by Harold Brown, son of the founder of the institution.

II

In the bibliographical discussion which follows, I propose to deal with questions of authorship of the *Proposals,* date of publication of the first edition, and the order of those editions which followed it, presenting in conclusion a trial list of such editions of the tract as are known in actual copies or by inference. Because the tract is without a general title, it will be referred to, when it is a question of the elaborated piece of two sections, as the *Proposals,* but as this is in reality the title of the first part only, confusion would result from the employment of that title when one part or another specifically is meant. I hope to avoid this confusion by speaking of the first part as the " Design," the term by which its matter was designated by Bray himself. The second part will be referred to as " The Present State," a shortened form of its correct title.

Authorship

There is no problem in connection with the authorship of the " Design." It is universally attributed to Bray and is so reprinted in his contemporary works, **H**, **I**, and **J** in the bibliography below.

The " Present State " has been generally, but incorrectly, attributed to the authorship of Dr. Bray; for example, in White Kennett's *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia* (1713) ; by Bernard Christian Steiner in his *Rev. Thomas Bray. His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901) ; and, inferentially, by Charles F. Heartman in a reprint of the piece in the Thomas Bray Club publication of 1916. But the discovery, related above, of the edition of the *Proposals* with Sir Thomas Lawrence's name beneath the " Present State " (**D** in the following bibliography) takes this title away from Bray and gives it to the royal secretary of Maryland. If further corroboration of the attribution be needed, it is to be found in the heading of the condensed version of the " Present State " printed in the *Bibliotheca Pa-*

rochialis, where Bray, as editor, writes that his text is "taken from the Account of his Majesty's secretary for Maryland." It needed the discovery of **D** to force this clear statement upon the attention of bibliographers and historians.

Dates of Publication

The issue of the *Proposals* in separate form, or of one or the other of its parts, is found in bibliographies or in modern reprints with attributed dates as follows:

1. In White Kennett, *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia* (180, 181), the parts are entered separately without date, but in a group of Thomas Bray publications of the year 1700.

2. In the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum* the date "[1700?]" is assigned the *Proposals.*

3. In Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* the "Present State" is entered separately, No. 7481, following exactly the wording of the White Kennett entry, as of "[1700]."

4. In his selected works of Bray, entry **K,** below, Dr. Steiner reprinted "The Present State" and said in a note, without correcting Sabin's assigned date, that this was Sabin No. 7481. It should be added that five years earlier, in his article "Rev. Thomas Bray and His American Libraries,"[3] Dr. Steiner showed himself aware of the earlier publication of the "Design," though his statement concerning it was indefinite. He was working from transcripts from the Sion College Library, and I believe that he had at the time never seen a printed copy of the *Proposals* with its two pieces, and, consequently, that he thought of them always as separate publications with different dates of issue.

5. In the reprint of the *Proposals* by the Thomas Bray Club in 1916, entry **L,** below, the title-page bears the words "Printed about 1701."

There are several reasons of a bibliographical and textual character for questioning both 1700 and 1701 as the date of publication of the *Proposals.* These are, briefly, working forward from those dates:

1. One of the signatories of the "Design" in edition **E** and its variant was Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who died on March 27, 1699.

2. In all the editions of the *Proposals* Francis Nicholson is

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[3] *American Historical Review,* II (October, 1896), 59–75.

spoken of in " The Present State " as governor of Maryland, but actually he was transferred from that office to the governorship of Virginia in November, 1698.

3. The *Proposals,* both parts shortened and edited, and with features indicating that this version is certainly later than edition **E,** is found in Bray's *Bibliotheca Parochialis,* published, according to Arber's *Term Catalogues,* III. 2, in February 1696/97. See **H** in the list below.

4. Sir Thomas Lawrence, author of " The Present State," returned to Maryland in August, 1696, after a visit to England. While he was on the high seas, the Maryland Assembly passed, in July, 1696, an act for establishing the church and an act for the founding of free schools. Lawrence mentions these two acts in the " Present State " as " now humbly submitted to his Majesty." He did not return to England until two years later, so this " Present State," which we know to have been published in part in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* in February, 1696/97, must have been written in Maryland. It contains notices of events that would have become known to him immediately after his arrival there in August, 1696. It does not contain notices of certain events of later date which would have been of prime interest in his report. Such, for example, would have been the passage of an act of Assembly in October, 1696, for the care of the parochial libraries then expected from Dr. Bray and the actual arrival of the first of them. This was probably received late that year or early the next, for in the dedication of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis,* published in February, 1696/97, Bray wrote that some libraries had already been sent over to Maryland. Lawrence's account, therefore, was certainly sent between August, 1696, when he arrived in Maryland, and February, 1696/97, when a shortened form of it was published in England in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis.* It was probably sent, indeed, before October, 1696, for the reason that in it he did not mention the pertinent act of that month just referred to. Thus, in the artilleryman's phrase, we have " established a bracket." The account may, indeed, have been sent immediately after Lawrence's arrival in Maryland in August, 1696, and have reached England some months before its publication in the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* in February, 1696/97, allowing opportunity for those publications of it in separate form which, it is demonstrated below, occurred before that event.

The evidence so far presented suggests as possible a separate publication of the *Proposals* in both parts at least as early as the closing months of 1696. As it happens, it is not necessary to labor this point by finespun argument, for there exists a contemporary document which corroborates the conclusions that would be reached by such a course. In the Library of Congress transcripts of the "Accounts of Dr. Bray in Manuscripts of Dr. Bray's Associates" there occurs the following statement:

An Account of the Charges in Printing Proposals[4]

		£	s	d
Dec: 95	Maryland proposals Composd in small pica ½ Sheets	0	10	0
	Ditto Very much afterwards Altered with Additions to make it a whole sheet and several times wrought	1	5	0
Jan: 95/6	1 Quire Ditto Several great Alterations being made	0	10	0
March 96	4 Quires Ditto at two several times	0	6	0
June 96	500 Ditto the Forms being Standing	0	6	0
Oct: 96	The Proposals Recomposed and Several times wrought	1	4	0
	Ditto more 250 wrought	0	4	0
Jan 96	Ditto Recomposed anew it being fallen asunder with Lying so long. Twice wrought	1	4	0
July	Ditto more 500	0	6	0
Aug 97	Recomposed again and 1 Quire wrought	1	0	0
	Ditto: 750 more wrought off at several times	0	9	0
	Ditto for the Religious Societies 500	0	6	0
	Ditto more 500	0	6	0
	Ditto more 500	0	6	0
Jan 97/8	Ditto Recomposed anew and 1000 wrought at several Times	3	4	0
		11	6	0

It is most unlikely that this document should be anything but Dr. Bray's record of the cost of publishing the piece being discussed under the general title of the *Proposals.* The entries suggest, indeed, that the printing began even earlier than was concluded from the foregoing examination of internal evidence; that the publication began as the "Design" only, seven months before

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[4] This document was discovered by Dr. Joseph Towne Wheeler in the course of research for his doctor's thesis at Brown University in 1938. It has since been published in his article "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIV (September, 1939), 246–265.

August, 1696, the earliest date at which the " Present State " could have been written; that instead of the four varieties now recognized in actual copies, there were at least seven editions and issues in more than fifteen printings; that its earlier forms were issued before Dr. Bray was appointed commissary for Maryland and may have been instrumental in bringing about his appointment to that position. The document also raises questions which it is not possible to answer. What was the content of the *Proposals* printed on a single half-sheet in the first edition of December, 1695? Probably, as suggested above, it comprised the " Design " only. But in that case what was the nature of the addition made for the second edition of that month, seven months before the " Present State " was written, which necessitated the use of a full sheet?

It seems fair to say that the evidence of this document, even though it leaves unanswered several questions, supports and amplifies the argument from bibliographical evidence presented earlier. As the result of the convergence of these two lines of evidence, I submit, subject to correction and enlargement, the following list of editions, actual and inferred, of Bray's *Proposals.*

Tentative List of the Proposals *and its Parts*

A. Maryland Proposals.

Date: Composed (MS. " Account of Charges in Printing Proposals ") in small pica ½ sheets in December, 1695.

Notes: Contained in all probability only an undeveloped form of the " Design."

No copy known.

B. Same.

Date: Very much altered, with additions, to make it a whole sheet. Several printings (MS. " Account ") in December, 1695.

Notes: Did not contain " The Present State," which could not have been written, in the form in which we know it, before August, 1696. What then were the additions?

No copy known.

C. Same.

Date: Printed, with several large alterations (MS. " Account "), in January, 1695/96.

Notes: For the same reason as given under preceding entry, did not contain " The Present State."

No copy known.

C2. Same.

Date: March, 1696 (MS. " Account ") .

Notes: Did not contain " The Present State " for the same reason as given under **B.**

No copy known.

C3. Same.

Date: Printed from standing forms in June, 1696 (MS. " Account ") .

Notes: Did not contain " The Present State " for the same reason as given under **B.**

No copy known.

D. Proposals For the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations; And to Induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities, to accept of a Mission into those Parts.
[Second title:] The Present State of The Protestant Religion in Mary-land, Stands Thus. [Signed at end:] Thomas Laurence Secretary of Mary-Land.

Date: Sir Thomas Lawrence's report, " The Present State," if written soon after his arrival in Maryland in August, 1696, could easily have been received in England sometime in October, 1696, and, as the MS. " Account of the Charges in Printing Proposals " shows that the *Proposals* was recomposed and reprinted in the latter month, it is not impossible that this was the edition referred to in that document under that date.

Characteristics: " Incouragement " in title. Names of *three* bishops. The signature of the Bishop of Coventry is printed " W. *Cov.* and *Litch.*" *Seven* articles in the " Design " (see comment upon this characteristic under next entry) . " Present State," in more extended form than in any of its other printings, signed " Thomas Laurence . . ." with twenty-three lines in first paragraph and twenty-one in second.

Notes: These features, especially the presence of only three bishops as signatories, whereas **E, F, G, I,** and **J** have respectively four, four, five, fifteen, and fifteen, suggest the priority of this edition **D** over other editions known in actual copies. The unrevised seven articles (see comment upon this characteristic under **E**) are also a strong indication of **D**'s priority.

Copy: JCB.

E. Proposals For the Incouragement . . . [Second title:] The Present State of The Protestant Religion in Mary-land.

Date: This may be the edition that appears in the MS. "Account" under date of January, 1696/97, described as "Recomposed anew it being fallen asunder with Lying so long."

Characteristics: "Incouragement" in title, as in **D**. Names of *four* bishops. The signature of the Bishop of Coventry is printed "W. *Cov.* and *Litch.*" as in **D**. *Six* articles in the "Design." "Present State" in shorter form than in **D**, without Lawrence's name at end, with fifteen lines in first paragraph and fourteen in second.

Notes: In Article 1 of **D** it had been proposed by Bray that the Bishop of London prepare a catalogue of books suitable for the use of missionaries. Evidently that suggestion did not fit in with the bishop's ideas, for when such a catalogue, that is, the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* (see **H** below) appeared in February, 1696/97, it was under the authorship of Dr. Bray. The fact that in **E** Articles 1 and 2 of **D** have been compressed and combined as Article 1, omitting reference to the part proposed for the bishop in the preparation of a catalogue, suggests that the change in plan occurred at some time between the publication of **D** and **E**. The number of articles in all other known forms (**F**, **G**, **H**, **I**, and **J**) is six. This factor, combined with the increase of the number of bishops approving the "Design" from three in **D** to four in **E**, the compression in **E** of the "Present State," and the omission from it of Lawrence's name as author, seems to substantiate the assumption made here that **E** is of later publication than **D**.

Copies: BM. Library of John Work Garrett, Baltimore.

F. Proposals For the Encouragement . . . [Second title:] The Present State of the The [*sic*] Protestant Religion in Mary-land.

Date: This may be the edition described in the MS. "Account" under date of August, 1697, as "Recomposed again."

Characteristics: "Encouragement" in title. Names of *four* bishops. The signature of the Bishop of Coventry is printed "*W.* Cov. and Litch." *Six* articles in the "Design." "Present State" text as in **E**, but with fourteen lines in first paragraph and thirteen in the second.

Notes: A minute comparison of **D**, **E**, and **F** carried out by Miss Elizabeth Baer in her work with John W. Garrett on his "Seventeenth Century Books Relating to Maryland" [5] shows a closer relationship in details of spelling and setting between D and E than between E and F though the texts of E and F are alike. Evidently E was reset, with D, amended as to text, serving as copy for the compositor. These differences, which show E to be an intermediate issue, partaking of the characteristics of both D and F, had never been observed until Miss Baer made her examination and briefly recorded the result as "87 e (1)" and "87 e (2)" in Mr. Garrett's valuable study.

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[5] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (March, 1939), 1–39.

Copies: JCB. HEH.

G. Proposals For the Encouragement . . . [Second title:] The Present State of the The [*sic*] Protestant Religion in Mary-land.

Date: This can hardly be the edition described in the MS. "Account" under date of January, 1697/98, as "Recomposed anew." The probability is that it is one of the later reprintings of F with minor changes in setting.

Characteristics: "Encouragement" in title. Names of *five* bishops. *Six* articles in the "Design." "Present State" as in F. Second line from the bottom on page 1 of the "Design" contains in capitals "UNALTERABLE" instead of the "UNALIENABLE" of D, E, and F.

Notes: Heading of page 1 reset and other minor typographical and textual changes from F, but not a complete resetting of type.

Copies: JCB (probably the copy entered, each part separately, in White Kennett, *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia,* 180, 181). Sion College Library, London.

H. Proposals For the Incouragement . . . [Second title:] The Conclusion, Shewing the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Mary-Land . . . taken from the Account of His Majesty's Secretary in that Province.

In Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis* (London, 1697), 121–130.

Date: February, 1696/97 (Arber, *Term Catalogues,* III. 2).

Characteristics: "Incouragement" in title. No bishops' names attached. *Six* articles in the "Design." "Present State" and the "Design" are in shortened form; "Present State" is not signed but is attributed to Lawrence in the heading.

Notes: The version of the "Design" here printed shares a mixture of the characteristics of D, E, and F. It is later than D, however, because the articles are compressed into six in accordance with the change of plan referred to in the *Notes* under E. The dedication (last two paragraphs) of the *Bibliotheca Parochialis* indicates that the "Design," approved by various bishops, had already been circulated. The second edition (1707) does not contain the "Design" or the "Present State."

I. Proposals for the Incouragement . . .

In Bray, *Apostolick Charity* (1699), seven pages forming part of separate signatures a^4, b^2 inserted between signatures A and B.

Date: 1699.

Characteristics: " Incouragement " in title. Names of *fifteen* bishops. *Six* articles in the " Design." " Present State " not included.

Notes: The " Design " is in virtually the form of **H.** The first edition of *Apostolick Charity* (1698) does not seem to have been issued with the " Design " or the " Present State " inserted.

J. Proposals for the Encouragement . . .

In Bray, *Apostolick Charity* (1700), five pages forming part of four leaves without signature inserted between B_1 and B_2.

Date: 1700.

Characteristics: " Encouragement " in title. Other characteristics as in **I.**

Modern Editions

K. The Present State of the The [*sic*] Protestant Religion in Maryland.

Pages 174–176 in Bernard C. Steiner, *Rev. Thomas Bray. His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland.* (Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 37, Baltimore, 1901.)

Notes: From a transcript, presumably of **G**, provided by Sion College Library. Attributed to Bray by Dr. Steiner, but see foregoing section " Authorship."

L. Proposals for the Encouragement . . . [Second title:] The Present State of the The [*sic*] Protestant Religion in Mary-land.

Reprinted in New York in fifty copies as Thomas Bray Publications No. 6, for the Thomas Bray Club (i.e., Mr. Charles F. Heartman).

Date: 1916?

Characteristics: Text of **F** above.

Ghost Editions

White Kennett's *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia,* 180, 181, enters the two sections of the *Proposals* separately; but obviously the " Design " with *five* bishops is not one of the separate editions **A, B,** or **C,** preceding **D** with its three bishops. There is no evidence that a separate edition of the "Present State" was ever issued. The titles in each of Kennett's entries are not those of any known form and seem to be a summarizing of contents, a device frequently made use of in that catalogue.

A careful search on my behalf in the British Museum brings to light no copy of a work entered in the printed British Museum Catalogue as "*Proposals for the Encouragement of Missionaries for the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations . . .* [London, 1700?]." It is probable that this was a made-up, explanatory title for **E**.

The Sion College Library has not been able to find a separate edition of the "Present State." From Dr. Steiner's comment in the work referred to under **K** one would suppose such an edition to exist in that library, but the probability is that the transcript he used did not make clear the fact that "The Present State" in that library's copy was part of the Bray *Proposals.*

III

If it is true, as the evidence here adduced indicates, that Dr. Bray's *Proposals,* or certainly the "Design," was first published in December, 1695, and that it was afterwards enlarged, revised, amended, and many times republished, it follows that this bit of missionary propaganda is a more important document than it was considered to be before the several editions in which it appeared had been recognized and before its date of publication had been shown to precede rather than follow the organization in 1699 of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This change in its status from acceptance simply as one of the many publications of that Society to recognition as the motivating element in the formation of it means that hereafter we may regard Dr. Bray's *Proposals* as a piece of Americana which is also a document of considerable importance among writings pertaining to the history of the British Empire.

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 12, 1936, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From MATT B. JONES, a diary kept by Moses Sargent Moody of Newburyport, December 23, 1776–March 21, 1777, containing an account of his service in Connecticut and New York.

From Mrs. Waldo O. Ross, the manuscript Reminiscences of her father, Franklin Haven.

By purchase: a broadside, *Character and Funeral Procession of our Late Excellent and Worthy Governor Hancock* (Boston, 1793); William Coddington, *A Demonstration of True Love unto you the Rulers of the Colony of Massachusetts in New-England* (London, 1674); James Janeway, *The Mariner's Divine Mate* (Boston, 1715); and Cotton Mather, *Death Approaching* (Boston, 1714), and *The Family Well-Ordered* (Boston, 1699).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the estate of the late Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, by bequest, portraits of Dorothy Q., the wife of John Hancock, and of Wendell Phillips.

From Mr. Thomas G. Ward, an album belonging to his father, Samuel G. Ward, containing photographs of former students at the Round Hill School.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from RANDOLPH GREENFIELD ADAMS accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The chair announced the death of Sir CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, an Honorary Member, on February 19, 1936.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: JOHN WOODBURY, Chairman, HENRY W. FOOTE, and GEORGE R. NUTTER.

To audit the Treasurer's Accounts: JAMES D. PHILLIPS, Chairman, and CHARLES H. TAYLOR.

Mr. CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM read a paper on

JAMES FRANKLIN AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING IN RHODE ISLAND

Two hundred years ago Newport was one of the most interesting towns in the American colonies, noted for its wealth, its learning, and its liberality. With the aid of income derived from their increasing commerce, the old families there were building up an aristocracy that lasted until the Revolution. In 1729 Dean Berkeley, one of the most idealistic of English philosophers, had arrived in Newport, bringing to that receptive community an intellectual and broadening outlook which was to leave its influence long after his three years' stay. This influence was reciprocal, for it was due to his knowledge of America that he uttered that famous line: " Westward the star of empire takes its way." Dean Berkeley brought with him to Newport the portrait painter, John Smibert; more important, he brought an intimate knowledge of the English literary life of his day such as had permeated into no other American locality. He personally knew Steele and Swift, Addison and Pope, and had travelled to far places on the continent — to France, to Rome, and to Naples. In 1730, through his encouragement, a philosophical society was formed at Newport, which included Henry Collins, John Callender, Daniel Updike, and the Samuel Johnson who was later to become president of King's College at New York. While Boston was wrestling with the solving of abstruse points in theological doctrine, Newport was experiencing an intellectual awakening, with a knowledge of what was going on in the world of letters, of science, and of art.

It was at the very beginning of this golden age that James Franklin of Boston picked up his press and types and journeyed to his new home. Newport was the fourth town in New England where printing was established, and the seventh in the country, being preceded only by Cambridge, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, New London, and Annapolis. Newport in 1727 was a town of about forty-five hundred inhabitants, the largest in Rhode Island, the population of Providence being less than thirty-five hundred. Generally the chief reason for the establishment of a press in a colony was the desire of the assembly to have an official printer for the printing of legislative acts. This, for example, was the reason why New London, a town much smaller in population than Newport, preceded her more opulent neighbor by eighteen years in having a printer, for in 1709 the Connecticut legislature had obtained for its printer Thomas Short, who was succeeded by Timothy Green in 1714. Yet the first Connecticut newspaper, the *Connecticut Gazette* of New Haven, did not start until 1755.

The beginning of printing at Newport offers more interest than a mere governmental order, for the coming of James Franklin to Newport in 1727 was chiefly due to the fact that he could not get along with the authorities at Boston and decided to seek the more free-thinking atmosphere of Rhode Island. James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin, was born in Boston on February 4, 1696/7, one of seventeen children and one of ten sons. He served a printer's apprenticeship in London when a youth and returned to Boston in 1717 with a press and types. In December, 1719, the Boston postmaster established a newspaper called the *Boston Gazette,* the second newspaper in the colonies, and, not being a practised printer himself, secured the services of James Franklin as printer. But within eight months a new postmaster and publisher had assumed proprietorship, and Franklin was dropped in favor of another printer. In about a year Franklin was able to speak in his own behalf, for in August, 1721, he established the *New-England Courant,* the third Boston newspaper. This publication contained very little news and but few advertisements, but, somewhat after the *Spectators* and *Tatlers* of the day, was chiefly made up of satirical essays on controversial subjects. A group of contributors and supporters, many of whom had considerable literary ability, wrote for it and were dubbed by their opponents the "Free Thinkers" and the "Hell Fire Club." The discovery by Worthington C. Ford of Benjamin Franklin's own file of the *Courant* at the British Museum has revealed the identities of these anonymous contributors, who under such assumed names as "Silence Dogood," "Jack Dulman," "Ichabod Henroost," or "Anthony Fallshort," discoursed freely on topics of the times, to the discomfiture of the constituted authorities.[1]

The chief objects of attack in the *Courant* were the authority and dominance of the clergy and the recently suggested method of inoculation for smallpox. In both these fields the contributors descended to invective and satire that must have been very annoying to those in authority. Increase Mather, in an article written for the *Gazette,* called the *Courant* " wicked " and " vile," and said: " I cannot but pity poor Franklin, who tho' but a Young Man, it may be Speedily he must appear before the Judgment Seat of God, and what answer will he give for printing things so vile and abominable? " Mather feared that if the paper were not suppressed, " some Awful Judgment will come upon this land, and the Wrath of God will arise, and there will be no Remedy."

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[1] "Franklin's *New England Courant,*" *Proceedings,* LVII. 336–353.

The Massachusetts government finally managed to arrest Franklin for a " scandalous libel " and to have him imprisoned for four weeks, but as soon as he got out he went on publishing the paper. The General Court then passed a resolve forbidding him to publish the *New-England Courant* or any paper of a like nature without first submitting his material to the secretary of the province. This action apparently was effective, but Franklin and his associates decided to evade the act by omitting the name of James Franklin from the imprint, which now read " Printed and Sold by Benjamin Franklin." Although this was really a subterfuge, Benjamin undoubtedly did contribute to the paper until his departure for Philadelphia in September, 1723. Benjamin Franklin's own file ends with the issue of September 16, and on September 30 James Franklin advertised for a " likely lad for an Apprentice." The last known issue of the paper is that of June 25, 1726, and the *Boston News-Letter* of March 9, 1727, refers to the " Late Courant."

In casting around for a more favorable scene for his activities, James Franklin decided on Newport. His brother John had settled there in 1715, carrying on their father's trade of tallow chandler. Newport was the center of a region that catered to perhaps seven thousand people, and because of its commercial opportunities was a fairly wealthy town. The Rhode Island assembly held most of its meetings there. Hitherto occasional Newport writers of religious controversies had used Boston as a place of printing for their pamphlets, and the assembly had also had printed at Boston in 1719 its sizeable volume of *Acts and Laws.* It is true that the assembly had tried in 1709 to secure the services of Andrew Bradford of New York as printer and had agreed to pay him fifty pounds a year, but nothing had come of it.

Exactly when James Franklin came to Newport there is no record to show, but it was probably in the first part of 1727. There are at least two titles known to have been printed by him there in that year, one of them being John Hammett's *Vindication and Relation,* which explains why he joined the Baptists and why he finally left them to join the Quakers. The only copy of this rare pamphlet ever discovered was listed in Charles E. Hammett's *Bibliography of Newport,* published in 1887. Mr. Hammett once told me that the copy described in his bibliography was owned, fifty or more years ago, by David J. Gould of Newport. Since David Gould's son married my aunt, I made an exhaustive search in family archives for this scarce incunabulum of Rhode Island printing, but it could not be found.

The other title known to have been printed in the first year of Rhode Island printing is the *Rhode-Island Almanack* for 1728, by " Poor Robin." The preface was dated at Newport, August 30, 1727, and the book was probably printed in October.[2] The only known copy of this almanac was in the George Brinley collection and went to the Library of Congress in 1878; but it lacked the last leaf, which, because of its rather unusual poetry, was, next to the title-page, the most important page of the pamphlet. In 1911 a researcher in the Boston Public Library found there, bound at the back of an early volume, an almanac leaf which had nothing to do with the volume. The leaf was extracted and was found to be, not only the last leaf of the 1728 *Rhode-Island Almanack,* but the identical leaf which had been missing from the Library of Congress copy. Needless to say, the long-lost fragment was restored to its original position.

To my mind, the series of Rhode Island almanacs forms the most interesting material in the field of early Newport printing. The first, for the year 1728, by " Poor Robin," was undoubtedly prepared and written by James Franklin, as were also those for 1729 and 1730. That for 1731 was by Samuel Maxwell, but again " Poor Robin," in the person of James Franklin, prepared the almanacs for 1732 to 1735. James Franklin died in 1735, and his widow produced no almanac for 1736; but she did bring out such a publication, by different calculators, from 1737 to 1741. Then, after a hiatus of eight years, her son, James Franklin, began the " Poor Job " series, by Job Shepherd, which flourished for several years.

The early " Poor Robin " almanacs are unusual even for their day. While most of their contemporaries were dull and devoted chiefly to astronomical and statistical information, James Franklin tried to give his almanacs a literary and readable flavor. The format, too, was different. The type page of his title-page and of the pages for the calculations of the months was about two thirds the size of the Boston almanacs of the day, with the result that there was a considerable margin on the outer edges of each leaf. In this margin, both at the side and at the bottom, Franklin inserted poetry or advice regarding the conduct of life. The Boston almanacs had little poetry. There were three in 1728: those by Ames, Whittemore, and Bowen. Ames and Whittemore each had one dull poem and a continuous poem on manifestations of the weather at the head of each calendar page. Bowen's had no poetry or literary flavor except for one six-line verse on the title-page. Franklin, in his 1728 almanac, had two poems on the last page, and advice on health or the weather on the calendar pages. In his 1729 almanac he wrote poetry for every calendar page. The 1730 almanac was filled with poetry, over 160 lines altogether, and the same was true of the others he lived to publish. To be sure, much of his poetry is coarse (for instance, the last page of the 1728 almanac and first page of the one for 1729), but it was apparently quite in keeping with the manners of the time. Paul Leicester Ford, in commenting upon some of Benjamin Franklin's poems in his "Poor Richard" almanacs, says: "To the age that read Swift, Richardson and Smollet, it was no shame to read Poor Richard, and his coarseness at least was tinctured with genuine wit."

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[2] The *New-England Weekly Journal* of December 4, 1727, advertises the " Poor Robin " almanac in both pamphlet and sheet form. No copy of the latter type of almanac has been located.

The most striking change, however, in James Franklin's almanacs, was the insertion of proverbs, sayings, and jests in the midst of the calendar information wherever there was a blank space that could be filled in. Not one of the several English almanacs for 1727 had followed this method. Of the three Boston almanacs for 1728, Ames had three such sayings, Bowen but one, and Whittemore nearly a score of short adages, such as "Be kind to the Poor," "Use the Golden Rule," "Be a Man of thy Word." Both Daniel and Titan Leeds had previously used a few adages in their almanacs at New York and Philadelphia, but Franklin's calendar pages from 1728 to 1735 were filled with all kinds of admonitions, proverbs, and sayings, many in poetical form.

Their Actions now are far from right
Who sleep all Day, and drink all Night.

A Fool is known by looking wise
As Men find Woodcocks by their Eyes.

If you cannot bite, never show your Teeth.

Money makes the mare to go,
And Fools to make a gaudy show.

Bad as he is, the Devil may be abused.

Old friends and new Wine are best.

He that makes himself a Sheep, will find a Wolf to devour him.

If thou hast Health no Physick take,
Both for thy Purse and Body's sake.

She makes more Cackling than all her Eggs are worth.

Some of these sayings were undoubtedly abridged and rearranged from general reading, but some were certainly original. There were occasional original remarks hidden in the calendar pages. In December, 1729, Franklin brings to mind his brother's and his father's occupation when he advises that " The Chandler's candles are brought to light." And in September, 1730, he refers to his two Boston contemporaries, Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green, when he says: " As good a Knack at advertizing, as the two Printers of the Weekly Journal."

It is an interesting question whether this frequent use of proverbs and sayings had any influence on his famous brother at Philadelphia. Benjamin began printing his series of " Poor Richards " in 1733 and continued them under his own authorship until 1758. The " Sayings of Poor Richard," collected in one pamphlet in 1758, with the title *Father Abraham's Speech,* and later reprinted in dozens of languages and hundred of editions, have probably done more than any other one source to spread the name of Benjamin Franklin to the far corners of the earth. Whether he was influenced by his brother can not be shown. Certainly none of James Franklin's proverbs, with one possible exception, appeared later in the " Poor Richard " almanacs. Yet the elder brother had made use of this same notable method to attract the reading public fully seven years before. Perhaps their philosophic outlook upon life, coupled with ability of original expression, might be credited to a common parentage.

There was one quality which James Franklin displayed that his younger brother did not: a leaning toward satire and raillery. While most of his astronomical fellow-authors were taking themselves seriously, especially in their weather prognostications, Franklin occasionally made such predictions as:

> It would have rained the 15th day, but I had not room to write it. [September, 1730]

> 'Tis Cold, 'tis Cloudy. Rain or Hail,
> One of the Four I hope won't fail. [November, 1730]

> What Weather'll happen now I do not know,
> But yet perhaps it may be Rain or Snow. [November, 1732]

Probably he had nourished this gift of humor through having conducted for five years his *New-England Courant*, a newspaper which existed upon satire rather than upon advertisements or news.

James Franklin conducted his press at Newport for eight years. During that period the books and pamphlets which he printed consisted only of a few religious discourses, his almanac, and two sizable volumes: Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity as Held Forth by the Quakers* (1729), a book of over 550 pages, and the Rhode Island *Acts and Laws* of 1730, a folio of well over 200 pages. One book, which he may have printed, has always incited my curiosity, but I have never been able to find anything about its title or its author. The Rhode Island general assembly, at its meeting in Newport on August 22, 1727, passed the following vote:

> It is declared by this Assembly, that the books set forth by Edward Hardman, contains vile and mutinous expressions; —
>
> Therefore, it is ordered by this Assembly, that the books of the said Edw. Hardman, be burnt before the colony house, by the town sergeant; and that said Edward Hardman make acknowledgement under his hand, of his fault of publishing them, to the Governor and assistants of Newport, at such time as they shall order; and to pay the charges that hath, or shall accrue thereon; and to stand committed till this sentence be performed.

Who Edward Hardman was I can not find out, as his name does not appear in any other Rhode Island record than this. Nor does a title by him appear in any biblography that I can trace.

There were several broadsides from Franklin's press, of which at least four — two of them in verse — have been preserved. But Franklin's most important venture was his newspaper, the first in Rhode Island, and the first in New England outside of Massachusetts, where the *Boston News-Letter* had been established in 1704, the *Boston Gazette,* in 1719, the *New-England Courant,* in 1721, the *New-England Weekly Journal,* in 1727, and the *Weekly Rehearsal,* in 1731. In fact this Newport paper was the earliest established in any colony outside of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina. It was called the *Rhode-Island Gazette,* and its first issue, of which no copy has survived, undoubtedly appeared on September 27, 1732. Only sixteen issues can be found today: October 4–November 23 and December 7–21, 1732, in the Massachusetts Historical Society; October 4, 1732, in the Rhode Island Historical Society; and January 11, 25, February 22, and March 1, 1733, owned by Edward A. Sherman of Newport. Photostats of the entire series are in the Rhode Island Historical Society. The last issue located, that of March 1, 1733, is Number 20, but Isaiah Thomas, in his *History of Printing in America,* states that the paper was discontinued on May 24, 1733. This may well have been likely, as there are quotations of Newport news, under date lines of March 15 and May 4, in the *Boston News-Letter* of March 22 and May 10, 1733.

The *Rhode-Island Gazette* was never very successful during its eight months' career. Perhaps Newport was not active enough commercially or was not ready for it. But the advertisements were few and the local news scanty, even for newspapers of that day. The paper started out bravely. The second issue contained four pages — three pages of foreign news clipped from London journals, and on the last page some news from Boston and Philadelphia, about half a column of Newport news, and four presumably paid advertisements. This was its high-water mark as a newspaper. The next issue fell off to a single leaf of two pages, the next went back to four pages, and thenceforth all the issues, so far as known, were of two pages only.

Franklin fell back on his Boston newspaper experience and appealed to " Gentlemen of Capacity and Leisure " to contribute articles which might be printed. This met with some response, for all the known issues from October 18, 1732, to March 1, 1733, with two exceptions, carried letters or essays on the front page, signed by such pseudonyms as " Tom Trueman," " Cleverkin," or " Will. Rusty." Yet the advertising fell off, and the last four known issues contained altogether but five advertisements.

So the paper finally expired in the spring of 1733. James Franklin died on his birthday, February 4, 1735, at the age of thirty-eight. Isaiah Thomas records that his widow made some attempt to revive the paper, but without success, and it remained for his son, James Franklin, in 1758, to establish the *Newport Mercury,* which was destined to continue to the present day, the second oldest newspaper now existing in the United States.

James Franklin's press, which he brought over from London in 1717, used with his brother Benjamin to bring out the *New-England Courant,* and carried to Newport, where he and his family worked it for many years, was still preserved in the office of the *Newport Mercury* well after the middle of the nineteenth century. Joel Munsell, writing in 1874, stated that an effort was made to sell it for one hundred dollars by an administrator of the Barbers, but that it remained unsold in 1858 in a worm-eaten and disabled condition.[3] It was sold, however, in 1859 to John B. Murray of New York, who presented it in 1864 to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, and it is now on exhibition in Mechanics Hall at Boston. As one looks at this remarkable relic, one can picture in one's mind that vigorous and intensely human printer, James Franklin, who founded Rhode Island's first press, and who, if only for a brief period, conducted Rhode Island's first newspaper.

[3] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810), II. 81.

ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL, 1936

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 9, 1936, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mr. Edward Brooks, Jeremy Belknap, *Sacred Poetry* (Boston, 1801), with Peter C. Brooks's name on the front cover; Brady and Tate's *New Version of the Psalms of David* (Boston, 1754), bearing on its cover the name of Sarah Jackson; John Norton, *Abel Being Dead Yet Speaketh* (the life of John Cotton, London, 1658), the copy given by Edward Everett to his father-in-law, Peter C. Brooks.

Through the courtesy of MATT B. JONES, photostats of the manuscript medical book compiled by Thomas Palmer of Middleborough. The manuscript is dated 1696, making it perhaps the earliest American document of this character.

From ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, an anti-slavery broadside.

From Mrs. Alan B. Silvey, a letter from Benjamin Colman to the Reverend Mr. Williams, December 14, 1745.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From CHARLES H. TAYLOR, a mourning ring commemorating the death of the Reverend Edward Wigglesworth (H.C. 1749), Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, who died June 17, 1794.

The chair announced the death of CHARLES ALLERTON COOLIDGE, a Resident Member, on April 1, 1936, and that of CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, a Corresponding Member, on March 24, 1936.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. FOOTE read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

In reporting to the members on the business of the past year, the Council feels safe in predicting that what has been a long and difficult period for the Society is now drawing to a close. The changes made necessary by the resignations of Mr. Ford and Mr. Tuttle, the reorganization of the staff, and the decline of income to the low and discouraging point of 1933 — all these factors combined to try the patience and test the good will of the members. Though publications have had to be postponed time and again, the end of that policy is at last definitely in sight, and before long it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Society will be running as smoothly and publishing as promptly as in the years before 1929.

In one respect the Society is to be congratulated on a record unequalled during the past forty-four years. Until the death of Charles A. Coolidge on April first, no vacancy had occurred in the list of Resident Members since March 7, 1935 — a period of almost thirteen months. Between the death of James Russell Lowell on August 12, 1891, and that of Fitch Edward Oliver on December 8, 1892, there elapsed a period of almost sixteen months without the decease of a Resident Member. It is a pleasure, also, to call attention to the fact that attendance at meetings has been more encouraging than at any time during the past ten years. So far, since last October, no less than sixty-five of the one hundred Resident Members have attended at least one meeting of the Society. In January President Endicott graciously entertained the Society at his home on the occasion of the ninety-sixth birthday of our senior associate in length of membership, if not in years. Tea is slowly but surely giving place to wine — thanks to the powers of persuasion of our Recording Secretary and the generosity of those members whom he has asked for contributions. The editor would like the Council to remind members that those who volunteer to read at the meetings relieve, by just so much, the pressure on his time and the burden of his responsibility for preparing nine programs a year. At his suggestion, moreover, the Council has decided to try the experiment of omitting the June meeting in 1936.

During the past year the Society has lost two of its Honorary Members: Henri Pirenne, who died at Brussels on October 24, 1935; and Sir Charles Harding Firth, who died at Oxford on February 19, 1936. There are now only five names on the honorary roll. Two Corresponding Members have been added to the membership: Lawrence Counselman Wroth, of the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, Rhode Island, and Randolph Greenfield Adams, of the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

One change has occurred in the staff of the Society. On February 6, 1936, the Society lost, through death, the services of Robert H. Pearman, who had been its photographer for over twenty years. Mr. Pearman was first employed, on the recommendation of Mr. Ford, in April, 1915. His careful, prompt, and conscientious work did much toward making the investment in the photostat a success. He was faithful in a fashion that threatens to grow old. Largely as the result of the good offices of Mr. Potter, Librarian of Harvard College, the Council was able to secure Gordon W. Ludlam as Mr. Pearman's successor. This important change was effected almost without interruption to the work on the colonial newspapers and the second series of Photostat Americana.

After due deliberation, and on the recommendation of the treasurer, the librarian, and the editor, the Council has voted to revise the salaries paid to members of the staff, with a view to adjusting these to the rising cost of living, this revision to take effect in April, 1936.

At its meeting, in company with the treasurer, on March 17, 1936, the Committee of Publication voted to recommend to the Council that the Society publish the general index to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings,* copy for which was turned over by Mr. Matteson in January; a second volume of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates,* covering the classes from 1701 to 1712, inclusive; and two volumes of the *House Journals* — one to be dated 1935, and the other, 1936. In regard to the long-overdue sixty-fifth volume of our *Proceedings,* the Committee voted to recommend to the Council that an appeal be sent out to the members of the Society in the hope of raising the $2,500 necessary to pay for the cost of printing this book.

Today the Council voted to accept the recommendations of the Committee of Publication, so that before another year has elapsed members ought to have received at least five volumes of our publications. The publication of the edition of the Haswell logs of the *Columbia* prepared by our Corresponding Member, Judge Howay of British Columbia, will be undertaken shortly, and Dr. Allen's selection from the correspondence of Governor John D. Long will appear just as soon as the Committee of Publication feels that it can safely recommend the publication of the volume to the Council.

The Photostat Committee has been active and enterprising. In spite of the sudden loss of Mr. Pearman, volumes of the *Virginia Gazette* and the *Boston Gazette* have been sent out to subscribers promptly, and the second series of Photostat Americana was inaugurated in January, 1936. Of this second series, it will be remembered, two numbers must be prepared every month for fifteen subscribers, each of whom pays not more than $120 a year. Receipts from this second series will help to meet the cost of the photostat and the salary of the photographer; more important, the series itself will serve both the reputation and the standing of the Society.

Lest it be asked why, in view of all the publications recommended and authorized today, the Council should appoint a committee of five to collect $2,500 to print the next volume of our *Proceedings,* the Council desires to explain that the four volumes referred to above take precedence over the *Proceedings* in various ways. In the first place, the general index was put ahead of the *Proceedings* by action of the Committee of Publication because it was seven years overdue instead of four. In the second place, the work of preparing and publishing the Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* is the first specific charge on the income of the Sibley Fund, the backbone of the Society's endowment. In the third place, the income from the $25,000 fund given by the late William B. H. Dowse can be used only for printing the *House Journals* or documents from the archives of the state.

It was obvious, therefore, to both the Committee of Publication and the Council that if the sixty-fifth volume of *Proceedings* were ever to be published, some special effort would have to be made in order to meet the cost. For this reason the Committee and the Council decided to send out the circular letter which every Resident and Corresponding Member of the Society will soon receive. With the payments of March, 1936, moreover, the Five Year Fund comes to an end. From these pledged annual donations of certain members, the Society has received $1,000 a year. Viewed from the treasurer's angle, therefore, the result for 1937, even assuming success in collecting the cost of *Proceedings,* LXV, might be counted as only $1,500. The Society has stopped marking time; before long it must look about it for better means of paying as it goes.

Report of the Treasurer

Income from bonds and stocks during the fiscal year amounted net to $35,374.28, or $1,918.92 less than for the previous twelve months. For the first time in nearly ten years the Society lost bond interest through the default of the obligor, and this happened in three instances the past year: namely, N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R. Co. 6's, 1948, Warren Brothers Co. 5½'s, 1937, and Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co. 4¾'s, 1949; the three together occasioned a loss in income of $1,775.00. Further losses of income were the result of the steadily decreasing yield of bond interest. On bonds and stocks taken together the actual return in cents per dollar invested was 4.15, but because such amounts as those included in accumulated income, the reserve for the revaluation of assets, and Gain and Loss are invested, but do not participate in income, the income credits were at the rate of 4.34%, comparing with 4.58% a year ago. Funds principal was increased by $13,191.35; but of this sum $6,048.80 represents income added to the Anonymous Centenary, the Lodge, and the J. L. Sibley funds under the terms of gift, and to the Building Annex Fund; $5,000 represents the transfer from accumulated income in the Hunnewell Fund to the principal of the same fund; $2,000 came from the estate of our associate, Dr. Malcolm Storer; and $142.55 was the amount of royalties added to the Adams Fund. The changes in bond investment were not without a certain consolation, for profits in the Gain and Loss account amounted in the twelve months to $5,062.23. In all, therefore, the Society's capital was increased by $18,253.58, although, in considerable part, there will be only a small gain in expendable income. For the fact is none the less clear that the Society is faced with diminishing income and rising expenses. The restrictions on so large a proportion of its capital make it incumbent on members to help the ingathering of considerable sums to meet the ordinary obligations of an institution of the Society's character and place in the community. Twelve interested members gave $1,150 through the Five Year Income Fund, now virtually at an end. The Librarian, through skillful use of openings, most of which he devised, was able to sell duplicate titles to the extent of $7,640.60; and a very few devoted members — the present writer dares not make a more precise statement — have contributed generous sums to defray expenditures that normally would be made from the treasury. The impressive exhibit here at the table — handsome bindings and freshly cleaned copies of rare Americana — is the outcome, not of spending from the Society's funds, but of the absorbing interest of one of the Society's most serviceable members.

The Society's investments in securities are divided 47.22% in bonds and 52.78% in stocks, preferred and common, book value; and the percentage in common stocks, market value, is now 34.03. On March 31, 1936, the Society's bonds were saleable at 97.58% of book value, and the bid prices of its stocks were 90.92% of the amounts carried on the books. The latter figure compares with 66.71% the year previous. The market value of bonds and stocks combined was 94.06% of book value. The index four years ago was 65.1%.

The operation of the photostat showed a deficit of $482.96, but this is amply accounted for by non-recurring expenses and by the amount of work in process.

The Treasurer wishes again to make his acknowledgments to Mr. C. F. Adams and other members of the Finance Committee, to Mr. J. Duncan Phillips and Mr. Charles H. Taylor for their kind consideration in connection with the audit of the Society's accounts, and to the Editor, the Librarian, and members of the staff for making these rooms an agreeable and a pleasant place to visit.

G. G. WOLKINS
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31, 1936

Resources:

Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Company	$ 419.53	
Petty Cash, on hand at 1154 Boylston Street	200.00	$ 619.53
Investments — Bonds	$402,783.49	
— Stocks	450,132.88	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,584.00	854,500.37
Real Estate		97,990.32
Deferred Debits: prepaid insurance	$ 151.26	
prepaid publications	9,442.72	
prepaid items, 1932–33, not yet transferred	1,091.42	10,685.40
Accounts Receivable: prior to April 1, 1933	$ 360.70	
1933–34	382.45	
1934–35	135.25	
1935–36	2,330.91	3,209.31
Photostat Account		482.96
		$967,487.89

Liabilities:

Funds — Principal [1]	$806,136.69
— Income	17,978.17
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve [2]	40,060.78
Publication Account	259.70
Gain and Loss	5,062.23
	$967,487.89

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1936

Schedule of Bonds

Government and Municipal	*Book Value*	*Income 1935–36*
City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 1951 [3]	$ 5,900.00	$
Boston Metropolitan District 4¾'s, 1941	10,500.00	475.00
Boston Metropolitan District 4¾'s, 1962	10,565.55	522.50
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1955	3,105.00	105.00
City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 1956	7,246.00	245.00
City of Detroit, Mich., Water Supply, 4¼'s, 1952 [4]	10,700.00	425.00
New York City Corporation Stock 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan Act, 4's, 1954	11,375.00	400.00
United States of America Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼'s, 1938–39 [5]		351.81
United States Treasury 3¼'s, 1941 [6]		173.33
	$ 68,491.55	$ 3,147.64
Railroad		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948 [7]	$ 10,880.00	$ 225.00
Boston & Albany Railroad 5's, 1938	10,025.00	500.00
Boston & Maine Railroad reg. 4½'s, 1944	6,000.00	270.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,300.00	450.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. 4½'s, 1946	10,000.00	450.00
Chesapeake Corporation 5's, 1947 [8]	10,440.00	350.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	10,120.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 1935 [9]		250.00
New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 1936		250.00
New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R. Co. 6's, 1948 [10]	25,000.00	750.00
Carry forward	$102,290.00	$3,945.00

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[1] Ellis House Fund not included.

[2] Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

[3] Bought February 13, 1936.

[4] Bought May 6, 1935.

[5] Sold August 13, 1935.

[6] Sold August 13, 1935.

[7] Bought August 14, 1935.

[8] Bought $6,000 August 14–15, 1935.

[9] Matured June 5, 1935.

[10] Defaulted interest second half-year.

	Book Value	*Income 1935–36*
Brought forward	$102,290.00	$ 3,945.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co. 4¾'s, 1963 [11]		427.50
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	$127,290.00	$ 5,622.50
Public Utility		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1960	$ 9,807.50	$ 500.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1939	9,975.00	500.00
Central Georgia Power Co. 5's, 1938	9,950.00	500.00
Connecticut Power Co. 5's, 1963		400.00
Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 4½'s, 1951	10,055.00	450.00
Dedham Water Co. 5's, 1935 [12]		125.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956 [13]	9,650.00	
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Home Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1936 [14]		1,500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,160.00	300.00
Massachusetts Gas Co's 5's, 1955 [15]		650.00
Pacific Gas & Electric Co. "C" 5½'s, 1952 [16]		275.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1937	9,565.00	500.00
Western Massachusetts Companies 4's, 1939	10,195.00	400.00
	$ 83,757.50	$ 6,600.00
Industrial		
Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards 5's, 1940	$ 9,919.44	$ 500.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1944 [17]	6,720.00	250.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1947 [18]	11,300.00	400.00
Railway Express Agency, Inc. "A" 5's, 1949 [19]	5,700.00	125.00
A. E. Staley Mfg. Co. 4's, 1946 [20]	10,250.00	
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	11,240.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California "A" 6's, 1942 [21]	11,600.00	510.00
Warren Bros. Company 5½'s, 1937, certificates	9,975.00	
	$ 76,704.44	$ 2,285.00
Foreign		
Kingdom of Denmark External 6's, 1942	$ 9,502.50	$ 600.00
Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	10,950.00	
Toronto Harbour Commissioners 4½'s, 1953 [22]	7,448.00	315.00
Toronto Harbour Commissioners 4½'s, 1953 [23]	3,192.00	135.00
City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	15,447.50	900.00
	$ 46,540.00	$ 1,950.00
Total Bonds	$402,783.49 [24]	$19,605.14

[11] Called November 1, 1935.
[12] Matured May 1, 1935.
[13] Bought March 30, 1936.
[14] Discounted February 10, 1936.
[15] Bought $2,000 February 11, 1936; discounted March 28, 1936.
[16] Sold April 17, 1935.
[17] Bought $5,000 April 18, 1935; $1,000 March 3, 1936.
[18] Bought $5,000 April 18, 1935; $5,000 July 2, 1935 — February 4, 1936.
[19] Bought February 4, 1936.
[20] Bought February 21, 1936.
[21] Bought $3,000 August 10, 1935.
[22] Bought August 14, 1935.
[23] Fifth series, bought August 14, 1935.
[24] The market value on March 31, 1936, was $393,053.75.

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

		Book Value	Income 1935–36
Railroad			
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Rwy. Co.	$ 15,800.00	$ 790.00
90	Boston & Maine Railroad prior preference	9,000.00	
25	Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
		$ 27,525.00	$ 790.00
Public Utility			
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. ser. A. cum.	$ 880.00	$ 50.00
100	Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4½% pr. preference	6,050.00	450.00
300	Electric Bond & Share Co. $6	31,900.00	1,800.00
100	Engineers Public Service Co. $5	10,000.00	
52	Puget Sound Power & Light Co. $5	5,460.00	
700	Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5½%	16,925.00	962.50
		$ 71,215.00	$ 3,262.50
Industrial			
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	$ 7,800.00	$ 525.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co.	5,781.25	350.00
150	Chicago Junction Railways & Union Stock Yards Co.	15,450.00	900.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
60	United States Steel Corporation	8,490.00	120.00
		$ 61,077.25	$ 3,405.00
	Total Preferred Stocks	$159,817.25 [25]	$ 7,457.50

COMMON STOCKS

		Book Value	Income 1935–36
Railroad			
35	Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	$ 7,315.00	$ 306.25
40	Boston & Providence Railroad Corporation	5,140.00	340.00
25	Old Colony Railroad Co.	4,200.00	175.00
375	Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
		$ 63,149.38	$ 821.25
Public Utility			
255	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	$ 31,265.62	$ 2,295.00
100	Consolidated Gas Co. of New York	6,192.50	100.00
18	Detroit Edison Co.	1,525.50	90.00
60	New England Telephone and Telegraph Co.	5,850.00	360.00
197	Western Massachusetts Companies	12,483.75	394.00
40	Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	80.00
		$ 61,974.87	$ 3,319.00
Industrial			
10	General Electric Co. special	$	$ 1.50
940	General Electric Co.	16,156.88	658.00
200	Pacific Mills	7,402.50	
50	Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	112.50
263	United Fruit Co.	10,858.25	789.00
200	United States Steel Corporation	30,950.00	
		$ 69,683.88	$ 1,561.00

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[25] The market value on March 31, 1935, was $152,723.50.

		Book Value	Income 1935–36
Real Estate			
100	Trustees of Boston Ground Rent Trust	$ 11,775.00	$ 200.00
60	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	120.00
125	Boston Wharf Company	13,800.00	375.00
5	State Street Exchange of Boston	410.00	
100	Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
		$ 51,075.00	$ 1,095.00
Bank and Insurance			
20	Boston Insurance Company	$ 6,600.00	$ 420.00
85	Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,105.00
200	Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
		$ 44,432.50	$ 2,325.00
	Total Common Stocks	$290,315.63 [26]	$ 9,121.25
	Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	$450,132.88 [27]	$16,578.75
	Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		$36,183.89

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 30, 1935	Bonds		$388,364.63	
	Stocks		450,132.88	$838,497.51
Bonds				
Bought:				
$ 6,000 Railway Express Agency 5's, 4.1.'44 @ 113		$ 6,762.50		
10,000 Railway Express Agency 5's, 9.1.'47 @ 114¼		11,433.73		
5,000 Railway Express Agency 5's, 3.1.'49 @ 115		5,750.00		
10,000 City of Detroit, Mich., Water Supply, 4¼'s, 3.15.'52, @ 107 plus .		10,750.08		
3,000 Union Oil Co. of California 6's, 8.1.'42, @ 120¼ plus, @ 120¾ . .		3,620.75		
10,000 Toronto, Ont., Harbour Commissioners 4½'s, 9.1.'53, @ 106¾ . .		10,675.00		
10,000 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Co. 4½'s, 12.1.'48, @ 109 plus . .		10,926.47		
6,000 Chesapeake Corporation 5's, 5.15.'47, @ 107⅜, @ 108 plus		6,483.61		
2,000 Massachusetts Gas Companies 5's, 5.1.'55, @ 101⅛ plus		2,028.01		
10,000 Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1.15.'66 @ 109¾		10,975.00		
5,000 City of Baltimore, Md., Annex Improvement, reg. 4's, 8.1.'51, @ 119.14		5,957.12		
10,000 A. E. Staley Mfg. Co. 1st 4's, 2.1.'46, @ 101 @ 104¼		10,262.50		
10,000 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 1st & coll. Tr. ser. A 4's, 3.1.'56, @ 96½		9,650.00	$105,274.77	
Carry forward			$105,274.77	$838,497.51

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[26] The market value on March 31, 1936, was $256,544.50.

[27] The market value on March 31, 1936, was $409,268.00.

Brought forward			$105,274.77	$838,497.51
Called, matured, or sold:				
$10,000 Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 5½'s, 12.1.'52, @ 105	$10,500.00			
Gain	700.00	$ 9,800.00		
5,000 Dedham Water Co. 5's, 5.1.'35, @ 100		5,000.00		
5,000 New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 6.1.'35, @ 100	$5,000.00			
Gain	192.13	4,807.87		
10,000 United States of America Fourth Liberty Loan 4¼'s, 10.15.'38–'39, @ 101 7/32	$10,121.88			
Gain	63.68	10,058.20		
10,000 United States Treasury 3¼'s, 8.1.'41, @ 108 24/32	$10,875.00			
Gain	795.00	10,080.00		
8,000 Connecticut Power Co. 5's, 4.1.'63, @ 107½	$ 8,600.00			
Gain	920.00	7,680.00		
9,000 Pennsylvania R. R. Co. 4¾'s, 4.1.'63 @ 105	$ 9,450.00			
Gain	670.75	8,779.25		
20,000 Home Telephone & Telegraph Co., Spokane, 1st 5's, 5.15.'36, @ 100	$20,000.00			
Gain	975.00	19,025.00		
5,000 New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 6.1.'36 @ 100	$ 5,000.00			
Gain	203.68	4,796.32		
10,000 Massachusetts Gas Co.'s. debs. 5's, 5.1.'55 @ 103	$10,300.00			
Gain	431.99	9,868.01	89,894.65	
Increased book value through buys and sells			$ 15,380.12	
Diminished book value through sundry amortization charges			961.26[28]	
Total changes in book value of bonds			$ 14,418.86	
Stocks:				
10 shares General Electric Company special $10 par stock retired at $11		$110.00		
Gain		110.00	0	14,418.86
Balance, March 31, 1936		Bonds	$402,783.49	
		Stocks	450,132.88	
				$852,916.37

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[28] See table under "Amortization."

AMORTIZATION

$10,000	Boston Metropolitan District T. E. 4¾'s, 3.1.'41	$100.00
10,000	City of Cambridge, Mass., Water Loan, 3½'s, 8.1.'51 and '56	19.00
10,000	City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan Act, 4's, 5.1.'54	25.00
10,000	Boston & Albany Railroad Co. 5's, 1938	25.00
10,000	Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust 4½'s, 6.1.'44	50.00
10,000	Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co. 4¾'s, 1949	10.00
10,000	Consolidated Edison Co. of New York 4½'s, 1951	4.00
5,000	Illinois Power & Light Corporation 6's, 1953	10.00
10,000	Western Massachusetts Companies 4's, 1939	65.00
10,000	City of Winnipeg 6's, 1946	56.50
10,000	Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	80.00
10,000	Union Oil Co. of California, "A" 6's, 1942	20.75
10,000	City of Detroit, Mich., Water Supply, 4½'s, 1952	50.08
10,000	Toronto Harbour Commissioners 4½'s, 1953	35.00
10,000	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. conv. 4½'s, 1948	46.47
10,000	Chesapeake Corp'n conv. coll. trust 5's, 1947	43.61
27,950	Railway Express Agency 5's, 1947–49	226.23
10,000	Province of Ontario 4½'s, 1966	25.00
5,000	City of Baltimore, Annex Improvement, 4's, 1951	57.12
10,000	A. E. Staley Mfg. Co. 1st 4's, 1946	12.50
		$961.26

RECAPITULATION

		Book Value	*Per Cent Book Value*	*Market Value*
Bonds		$402,783.49	47.22	$393,053.75
Preferred Stocks	$159,817.25			
Common Stocks	290,315.63	450,132.88	52.78	409,268.00
		$852,916.37		$802,321.75

Bonds, Market Value equals 97.58% of Book Value
Stocks, Market Value equals 90.92% of Book Value
Together, Bonds and Stocks, Market Value equals 94.06% of Book Value

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1936

		Book Value	*Sales*	*Gains*
Gains:				
Bonds:				
$10,000	Pacific Gas & Elec. Co. 5½'s, 12.1.'52	$ 9,800.00	$10,500.00	$ 700.00
5,000	New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 6.1.'35	4,807.87	5,000.00	192.13
10,000	United States of America Fourth Liberty 4¼'s, 10.1. '38–'39	10,058.20	10,121.88	63.68
10,000	United States Treasury 3¼'s, 8.1.'41	10,080.00	10,875.00	795.00
8,000	Connecticut Power Co. 5's, 4.1.'63	7,680.00	8,600.00	920.00
9,000	Pennsylvania Railroad Co. 4¾'s, 4.1.'63	8,779.25	9,450.00	670.75
20,000	Home Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 5.15.'36	19,025.00	20,000.00	975.00
5,000	New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 6.1.'36	4,796.32	5,000.00	203.68
10,000	Mass. Gas Companies 5's, 5.1.'55	9,868.01	10,300.00	431.99
		$84,894.65	$89,846.88	$4,952.23
Stocks:				
10	shares General Electric Co. special	0	$ 110.00	110.00
	Total Gains			$5,062.23

No Losses through sales

Funds Principal Accounts for the Year ended March 31, 1936

	Royalties	Income	
Added:			
Adams	$142.55		$ 142.55
Anonymous		$ 780.97	780.97
Building Annex		2,551.70	2,551.70
Hunnewell			5,000.00
Lodge		48.04	48.04
J. L. Sibley		2,668.09	2,668.09
Malcolm Storer			2,000.00
	$142.55	$6,048.80	
Increase in Funds Principal			$ 13,191.35
Funds Principal, March 30, 1935			817,945.34
Funds Principal, March 31, 1936			$831,136.69

Receipts and Disbursements for the Year ended March 31, 1936

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$19,605.14	
Stocks, preferred	$7,457.50		
common	9,121.25	16,578.75	$ 36,183.89
Interest because of delayed collection of bond principal			88.20
Interest on Malcolm Storer legacy			7.33
Subscriptions to Five Year Income Fund			1,150.00
Subscriptions to *Proceedings*, 65, special fund			200.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			142.55
Proceeds of loans from State Street Trust Co.			12,000.00
Securities sold, called, or matured: Bonds		$94,846.88	
Stocks		110.00	94,956.88
Malcolm Storer legacy			2,000.00
Amounts collected, "Accounts Receivable"			3,816.15
Publications, surplus after sales			187.50
			$150,732.50
Cash on hand March 30, 1935			240.86
			$150,973.36
Disbursements:			
Net Operating Expenses:			
Other than Photostat and Publications		$24,414.57	
Photostat		270.96	$ 24,685.53
Deferred charges, prepaid items, Publications			2,957.64
Other debits, Publications, House Journals			2,067.68
Photostat items charged to other accounts, transfers			2,508.30
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Co.			12,000.00
Interest accrued on bonds bought			809.61
Interest on money borrowed			37.39
Discounts on maturing bonds			52.85
Sundry items transferred to "Accounts Receivable"			134.76
Adjustments			25.30
Securities bought: Bonds		$105,274.77	
Stocks			105,274.77
			$150,553.83
Cash on hand March 31, 1936			419.53
			$150,973.36

Income Summary for the Year ended March 31, 1936

Receipts:			
Income from securities: Bonds		$19,605.14	
Stocks, preferred	$7,457.50		
common	9,121.25	16,578.75	$36,183.89
Less:			
Interest accrued on bonds bought		$ 809.61	
Amortization of bond premiums		961.26	1,770.87
			$34,413.02
Interest credited by Savings Banks			42.67
Interest credited because of delayed collection of bond interest			88.20
Interest on Malcolm Storer legacy			7.33
			$34,551.22
Less:			
Discounts on maturing bonds:			
$ 8,800 Connecticut Power Co. 5's, 1963	$ 6.10		
10,000 Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 5½'s, 1952	6.75		
20,000 Home Telephone & Telegraph Co. 5's, 1936	27.05		
5,000 New York Central Lines Equipment Trust 5's, 1936	7.97		
10,000 Massachusetts Gas Companies 5's, 3.1.'35	4.98	$ 52.85	
Interest paid on borrowed money		37.39	90.24
Total Net Income			$34,460.98
Deductions:			
Added to cumulative funds:			
Anonymous Centenary		$ 780.97	
Building Annex		2,551.70	
Lodge		48.04	
J. L. Sibley		2,668.09	6,048.80
Current income available for operating expenses, restricted and unrestricted			$28,412.18
Operating Expenses (net) to be charged to Funds Income			24,414.57
Excess of available income over proposed charges			$ 3,997.61

Net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications" for the Year ended March 31, 1936

Bindery:			
Salary	$1,337.16		
Supplies	24.60	$1,361.76	
Less sales		24.60	$ 1,195.26
Building:			
Cleaning:			
Janitor and general cleaning	$2,013.69		
Ducts and indirect radiators	125.00		
Supplies	51.71		
Towels	85.51	$2,275.91	
Electricity for elevator and light		225.68	
Elevator		134.37	
Carry forward		$2,635.96	$1,195.26

Brought forward		$2,635.96	$1,195.26
Furnishings, care, replacement:			
Lighting fixtures, third floor stack	$ 185.00		
Sundries	131.18		
Window, Editor's room	13.00		
Window repairs	7.80		
	$ 336.98		
Less gifts	5.00	331.98	
Grounds, care, etc.		91.40	
Heating:			
Contract	$1,100.00		
Gas for heater	15.70		
Repairs to motors	34.00	1,149.70	
Insurance:			
Building and contents	$ 462.00		
Compensation	70.95		
General liability	99.79		
Prepayments, prior years	419.44		
	$1,052.18		
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	419.44	632.74	
Structural Repairs:			
Alterations, removing boiler	$ 205.00		
Copper flashing, monitor	98.00		
New wall in basement	75.00		
Skylight	15.00		
Prepayments, prior years: gutter and cornice	72.82		
Heating units	221.66		
	$ 687.48		
Less gift	75.00		
	$ 612.48		
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	294.48	318.00	
Telephone		297.74	
Water		17.94	5,475.46
Cabinet			73.59
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and Assistant			7,860.00
Engrossing: diplomas			3.50
Fares			6.70
Library:			
Binding		$ 133.94	
Books, cleaning, reconditioning	$ 584.61		
Less gifts	540.20	44.41	
Books, MSS.		5,074.33	
Equipment: catalogue units for MSS.	$ 215.00		
Labor, changing centres	7.25		
Shelving	296.29		
	$ 535.44		
Less gift	296.29	239.15	
Librarian Emeritus, Librarian, and staff	$9,619.28		
Less gift	173.34		
	$9,445.94		
Less sales of duplicates	7,640.60	1,805.34	
Carry forward		$12,772.43	$14,614.51

Brought forward		$12,772.43	$14,614.51
Negatives	$ 154.32		
Less credits to "Photostat"	139.50	14.82	
Newspapers		21.00	
Shipping		39.59	
Supplies		669.27	
		$8,041.85	
Less fees, refunds, sale of map		12.47	8,029.38
Meetings			212.04
Postage			288.82
Stationery			129.83
Subscriptions:			
Bay State Historical League		$ 2.00	
Sundry		14.91	
Writings on American History		50.00	66.91
Treasurer:			
Accounting services		$ 600.00	
Agency fees, State Street Trust Co.		180.77	
Audit		50.00	
Bank charges		2.90	
Postage		40.00	
Sundry supplies		86.00	
Surety bond premium		25.00	
Typing and checking		55.75	
Voucher boxes		23.90	
Wills copied		8.76	1,073.08
Net Operating Expenses other than "Publications" and "Photostat"			$24,414.57

PHOTOSTAT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1936

Binding: Americana series	$ 147.00	
Boston Gazette, 1730–36, and *Virginia Gazette*, 1778–79	578.50	
Sundries	3.50	$ 729.00
Chemicals		48.08
Cleaning		85.49
Collection charges		.25
Electricity		225.65
Equipment		188.80
Fares		9.70
Gas for heater		61.24
Negatives		6.55
Operator, salary		2,412.50
Refunds, overcharges, etc.		10.80
Repairs, replacements		30.86
Sensitized Paper, films, etc.		783.75
Shipping		14.67
Sundry supplies		40.31
Water		53.82
Cash outlay		$4,701.47
Less cash sales		1,922.21
Net cash outlay		$2,779.26
Add Sensitized Paper, stock on hand, March 30, 1935		212.00
Carry Forward		$2,991.26

Brought Forward		$2,991.26
Transfers:		
To " Expense " (Library negatives)	$ 139.50	
To " Publications " (Sibley negatives, etc.)	121.05	
To " Accounts Receivable "	2,247.75	2,508.30
Photostat net debits		$ 482.96
Less Sensitized Paper on hand at beginning of year		212.00
		$ 270.96

PUBLICATIONS

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1936

House Journals, XV (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income):		
Additional Binding	$ 136.00	
Composition, etc.	1,838.50	
Postage, cartons, etc.	93.18	
	$2,067.68	
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	2,067.68	
Sales credited to W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income		$ 5.40
House Journals, XVI:		
Negatives and sundries	$ 122.00	
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	122.00	
Proceedings, Index to 41–60:		
First payment, D. M. Matteson	$1,250.00	
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	1,250.00	
Proceedings, 65:		
Share of drawing M. H. S. seal	$ 3.75	
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	3.75	
Purchases for stock		291.20
Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, continuation:		
Copy of Sibley, 4, for use of Editor	$ 6.21	
Prints	6.75	
Searching	718.00	
Services of Editor of series	976.68	
	$1,707.64	
Less debits to " Deferred Charges "	1,707.64	
Winthrop Papers, 3:		
Films	$ 7.60	
Less debits to Robert Winthrop Fund Income	7.60	
Net debits, before sales		$296.60
Less sales, cash items	$ 465.70	
Add debits to " Accounts Receivable "	18.40	484.10
Credit balance for year's operations		$187.50
Add credit balance, March 30, 1935		72.20
Credit balance, March 31, 1936		$259.70

Schedule of Funds and Funds Income
March 31, 1936

	Income Balances Mar. 30, 1935	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1936	Funds Principal
Adams		$ 1,902.92	$ 1,902.92		$ 43,919.76
Amory		130.40	130.40		3,000.00
Appleton		530.42	681.13	$ – 150.71	12,203.00
Bigelow		86.93	86.93		2,000.00
Billings		434.66	434.66		10,000.00
Boit	$ 3,877.14	217.33		4,094.47	5,000.00
Brattle Street	121.07	6.12		127.19	100.00
Chamberlain		53.57	53.57		1,232.33
H. W. Cunningham		2,173.30	1,677.69	495.61	50,000.00
Dowse		434.66	434.66		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	5,687.30	1,086.65	2,189.68	4,589.67	25,000.00
Ellis		1,376.42	1,376.42		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Farwell		217.33	217.33		5,000.00
Five Year Income	– 188.35	1,150.00	1,001.24	– 39.59	
Frothingham		130.40	130.40		3,000.00
General	– 3,225.19	2,521.62	4,314.64	– 5,018.21	58,013.66
Hunnewell	6,655.72	217.33	8,046.47	– 1,173.42	10,000.00
Lawrence		130.40	130.40		3,000.00
Lodge		192.14	192.14		5,573.75
Lowell		130.40	130.40		3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		86.93	86.93		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		434.66	434.66		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross	41.81	434.66	916.30	– 439.83	10,000.00
Parker	320.26	36.55		356.81	1,000.00
Peabody	485.36	961.60	50.00	1,396.96	22,123.00
Proceedings, 65: Special		200.00		200.00	
Salisbury		217.33	217.33		5,000.00
Savage	66.90	260.80	774.34	– 446.64	6,000.00
Schouler		123.88	123.88		2,850.00
Robert Gould Shaw		217.33	217.33		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		978.40	978.40		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	– 3,287.78	8,004.27	3,758.52	957.97	248,199.45
Slafter	9.45	43.47	20.58	32.34	1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		651.99	651.99		15,000.00
Malcolm Storer					2,000.00
Warren		43.47	43.47		1,000.00
Washburn		108.41	101.58	6.83	2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,687.07	217.33	109.58	3,794.82	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	2,272.23	434.66		2,706.89	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	2,737.96	434.66	3.75	3,168.87	10,000.00
Waterston Library	– 1,983.04	168.44		– 1,814.60	3,875.14
Frederic Winthrop	2,300.64	1,086.65		3,387.29	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	1,101.06	651.99	7.60	1,745.45	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		521.59	521.59		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		102.78	102.78		2,364.66
William Winthrop		217.33	217.33		5,000.00
	$20,679.61	$29,762.18	$32,469.02	$17,978.17	$751,130.89
Anonymous Centenary		780.97 [29]			18,748.36
Building Annex		2,551.70 [29]			61,257.44
Lodge		48.04 [29]			
J. L. Sibley		2,668.09 [29]			
Total Funds Income		$35,810.98			
Total Funds Principal					$831,136.69

[29] Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The Committee under appointment to examine the accounts of the Treasurer employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we attach herewith.

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
CHARLES H. TAYLOR
Committee

April 9, 1936

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 9, 1936

MESSRS. JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS AND CHARLES H. TAYLOR
EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Gentlemen:

As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1936.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The year which has just closed has been an exceedingly busy one for the library. Approximately 1,600 persons, with interests and needs covering a wide range, have come to the building to use our printed and manuscript materials, day after day taxing our facilities to the limit; telephone calls without number have brought questions of varying importance and unimportance; while answering the librarian's daily mail has been for him and his secretary an unbelievably grilling course in the minutiae of local, state, and national history.

The combined pressure of such activity and the increased amount of work done, so to speak, for ourselves has necessitated certain rearrangements in the interest of great efficiency. All the major bibliographical tools have for the first time been assembled in the main office. Hundreds of early imprints have been dragged from their ancient hiding places in the basement — both from bound volumes and from piles of unbound pamphlets. The commoner ones have been bound cheaply but serviceably, the rarer ones somewhat more expensively, and all have been shelved where they are easily accessible. The next field for reform is in the manuscript room. There a simpler system of shelf arrangement can be adopted which will materially reduce the amount of time spent in finding what is wished. A beginning has been made through the removal to other parts of the building of several thousand volumes whose rarity was not great enough to warrant them a place with the manuscripts and early Americana. Space for them was secured by the conversion of the former boiler room into a stack room for newspapers and by a gift of new shelving installed where the newspapers were formerly kept. It must be pointed out, however, that the process of reclaiming the basement for library purposes cannot continue further without the expenditure of money. At the moment there is no lighting system there worthy of the name, and during the winter months heat is most commonly conspicuous by its absence. Something must also be done to give more adequate protection to the several thousand unbound pamphlets stored there in piles, exposed to dirt and other kinds of damage. Urgent mention must again be made of the necessity for a thorough revision of the catalogue of our printed material. The yearly waste of time and energy in attempting to use what we have at present is a matter for serious consideration.

The year has brought us no manuscripts comparable in importance to the Otis papers received during the previous year. Two accessions are, however, of more than passing interest. One is the commonplace book of the Reverend Thomas Weld (H.C. 1671), grandson of the first minister of Roxbury. It contains a characteristic medley of theological notes, outlines of sermons, poetical excerpts, and personal accounts and diaries. Once regarded mainly as curiosities, American commonplace books of the seventeenth century are now greatly valued, particularly as sources of intellectual history.

We have also acquired the original accounts of Jeremiah Allen, Treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, covering the years 1714–1716. Dispatched to England, they, like many other supposedly public documents of the time, became private property when the official to whom they were sent retired from his post taking his papers with him. These accounts have now found their way back to this country through the agency of a London dealer. They have apparently never been printed.

Encouraging progress has been made in the cataloguing of our manuscripts. Work on the Jefferson collection (67 volumes) and the Edward Everett collection (231 volumes) has been completed; all but a few of the 63 volumes in the John A. Andrew collection and half the 94 volumes in the Amos A. Lawrence collection have been covered. This does not mean that all this considerable mass of material has been indexed with microscopic thoroughness. Limited resources make that for the moment impossible. It is hoped, however, that every document of importance has now been made easily available.

The more work I do with our manuscripts, the more conscious I am of our failure adequately to meet the responsibility which their possession brings upon us. In the first place, many of the older bound volumes are falling to pieces and the manuscripts must be mounted afresh to insure their proper protection. A beginning has been made with the Pickering papers, but with our present facilities the work cannot possibly be carried forward so quickly as the emergency requires. In some instances donors of large collections have provided funds for their arrangement and cataloguing — a custom which is strongly to be urged upon all future givers. Apart from such cases, however, it has been a long time since any really honest attempt was made to catalogue what we have. And then even what we have done is properly only one third of the job. At present we have little more than cards for the writers of letters and for a certain amount of subject entries. Two new files are urgently needed: one for recipients of letters, the other strictly chronological. Until we have these additions, we are inadequately equipped for helping a student looking, let us say, for letters *to* Daniel Webster, or one wishing material on the social history of, say, the years 1720–1750.

Our greatest gains have been those of printed material. The figures are as follows:

Books	669
Pamphlets and periodicals	2,057
Broadsides	154
Maps	8
Newspapers	4,339
	7,227

The most obvious comment about this total is that it is the largest since 1919, when the total of new accessions was 7,260. Closer analysis, in the light of our policy, announced a year ago, of attempting to make this library known everywhere for the completeness of its collection of early Massachusetts printing, shows encouraging results. Of the books and pamphlets 297 were printed in Boston and 172 in other Massachusetts towns before 1800, while 430 bear Boston imprints between 1800 and 1825. We are, in other words, 899 nearer our goal.

Although the major accessions have been reported at the regular monthly meetings, a concise survey such as is here made possible brings out more clearly the importance of the year's acquisitions. One type of thing that we are always eager to get is the London publications of the first generation of New England writers. Here we have been unusually fortunate, having to our credit three John Cotton titles, giving us a Cotton collection unsurpassed elsewhere; Thomas Shepard's *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England* (London, 1648), the second of the Eliot Indian tracts; two tracts by William Pynchon, including the rare *The Meritorious Price of Mans Redemption* (London, 1655), Pynchon's last word in his controversy with the Massachusetts Bay government; Richard Mather's *A Disputation concerning Church-Members and their Children in Answer to XXI Questions Discussed by an Assembly of Divines at Boston* (London, 1659); and *The Present State of New England* (1677), the London edition of William Hubbard's history.

Four books acquired during the year fill what had been serious gaps in our collection of early material bearing directly upon the history of Massachusetts and New England. The earliest of these is Philip Vincent's *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Pequot Salvages.* Ours is the third variant of the first edition, of which only one other copy has been located (but one copy of each of the other two variants is known). The second of these books is Nathaniel Morton's *New-Englands Memoriall* (Cambridge, 1669), "the first strictly historical publication issued by the New England press." Equally a "cornerstone" of our history is William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England* (Boston, 1677). The title is, in a sense, not a newcomer to our shelves; the copy to which I refer is rather a reincarnation. Three things are necessary to make up a complete copy: the *History* proper, the map of New England — the first engraved in the English colonies — and Hubbard's election sermon, *The Happiness of a People* (Boston, 1676). A badly mangled specimen of the *History,* lacking the map and sermon, is in the Dowse Library. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., in 1895 gave us an unusually fine copy of the map, which has been kept in the manuscript room; and among our three copies of the sermon in bound volumes kept in the basement there was one bearing an inscription in the author's hand. While I was lamenting the separated existence that we have compelled the *History* to lead, good fortune made available a splendid copy of the *History* by itself, with a facsimile map. I could not resist the opportunity to reunite this family, and a handsome binding by Sangorski and Sutcliffe has been provided to celebrate the event. The result is no less a cause for congratulation to the Society than was the completion a year ago of our copy of the excessively rare 1672 edition of the Plymouth Colony laws through our being able to acquire a crippled copy containing the two leaves that we lacked. Our fourth historical rarity acquired is a superb copy of John Mason's *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736).

The remaining headliners must be passed over quickly. There are three additional London publications of more than ordinary interest, *Anti-Cotton Answered* (1653), an answer to a pamphlet attacking the Boston minister and known only in the copy at the British Museum; and two pamphlets bearing upon the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts, William Robinson and William Leddra, *Several Epistles given forth by Two of the Lords Faithful Servants, whom he sent to New England* (1669), and William Coddington's *A Demonstration of True Love unto you the Rulers of Massachusetts* (1674). Trailing more modestly at the end come four Boston imprints dated before 1700, in itself a mark of distinction: Increase Mather, *The Wicked Man's Portion* (1675), "the earliest complete book printed in Boston and to bear a Boston imprint" (ours is the Brinley copy); James Fitch, *The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ* (1679), with a "To the Reader" by Increase Mather; Samuel Willard, *Spiritual Desertions Discovered and Remedied* (1699); and Cotton Mather, *A Family Well Ordered* (1699). Thus our total of these so-called American incunabula for the past year is six. Our Mather collection has been increased, all told, by seven titles.

These books would make a distinguished group of acquisitions even in the most prosperous times, and it may be wondered how this Society, with its straitened finances, has been able to indulge itself so extensively in such rarities. Our present apparent affluence is due to the generosity and devoted interest of members and friends of this Society since its beginning, which has led them to make presents to it of books and pamphlets in such number and variety that we now find ourselves the possessors of large quantities of duplicates, many of them of the greatest scarcity. Where a library like ours has depended for its growth so largely on gifts, the element of chance plays an unusually important part in determining what we shall have. Why, for instance, should we have two of the four known perfect copies of the 1685 edition of the Plymouth Colony laws, and at the same time have no copy of either Morton's *New-Englands Memoriall* or Mason's *Pequot War?*

The next question is, why should we keep two copies of the laws when there is someone else — in this case it was the Harvard Law School — who is willing to pay enough for our extra copy to make it possible for us to get the other two books which we lack? Such was the Council's point of view when it authorized the librarian, with the advice of the chairman of the Library Committee, to dispose of duplicates, the proceeds to be used for the purchase of rare books. The search for duplicates has gone on now for some eighteen months, bringing its adventures and thrills, and the end is not yet in sight. Of course not everything turns out to be a jewel of great price, but I venture to say that had everything to date been listed for auction, it would have made a memorable catalogue. Luckily we have not been obliged to resort to the auction room. One of the pleasant features of this phase of the year's work has been the close and friendly coöperation of the American Antiquarian Society, with whom we have worked out an exchange of duplicates. Mr. Vail's report of last October shows some of their gains from the exchange. During the past year we have received from them nearly 5,000 of our new items, including very fine groups of almanacs and Worcester imprints and several files of interesting newspapers. This work will continue through another year at least, and I trust that we may continue to have the satisfaction of knowing, among other things, that the bulk of our duplicates, whether they go to libraries or private collections, are going where they most fittingly belong.

This report records the results of a coöperative enterprise. Gratifying as are the achievements all along the line, they would have been pitifully less had not each member of the staff, undiscouraged by the fact that he or she was facing a task calling properly for two people, overcome by sheer enthusiasm so many of the obstacles confronting us.

Allyn B. Forbes
Librarian

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper

Since the death of Dr. Malcolm Storer the Society has had no curator in charge of its very valuable collection of coins. The position should be filled by the appointment of an expert numismatist: a member of the Society if one be available. If no member of the Society is qualified and willing to undertake the responsibility, the question should be considered as to whether a competent person outside our membership could be appointed, who would be able and interested to give the collection the occasional oversight which might be required.

The Society should adopt a more definite and stringent policy in regard to accepting pictures, photographs, portraits, and marble, bronze, or plaster busts offered or bequeathed to it. Photographs and engravings can be easily filed and take small space, but practically all available space for hanging painted pictures and portraits or for exhibiting busts is already occupied, and even storage space for such objects is precious. Indeed, it is impossible even now to display properly the many fine and interesting portraits which the Society owns. Furthermore, donors do not present such objects with the expectation that they will be put in perpetual storage. Since the purpose of the Society is the preservation of historical records, it is urged that no more objects of this sort be accepted unless they represent persons of some importance for historical reasons, or scenes of historical interest. This rule should apply even to portraits of artistic value by well-known painters, since the maintenance of an art gallery is not a function of the Society.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

PRESIDENT
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

VICE-PRESIDENTS
HENRY LEFAVOUR
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

RECORDING SECRETARY
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

TREASURER
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

CABINET-KEEPER
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE OF THE COUNCIL
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM
MATT BUSHNELL JONES
HENRY WILDER FOOTE
FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.
GEORGE EDWARD CABOT

Mr. GEORGE F. DOW read a paper on

THE TOPSFIELD COPPER MINES

"Mr. Endecott hath found a copper mine in his own ground. Mr. Leader hath tried it." So wrote Governor John Winthrop to his son on September 30, 1648. This outcrop of what was thought to be copper had been found on land that Endecott assumed had been granted him by the General Court on November 5, 1639. The grant was for 550 acres and was to be " vpon Ipswich Ryver (if it be not within Rowley bounds), vpon the north of Salem bounds." It was a vaguely established location that was reaffirmed by the General Court on October 7, 1640, when it was ordered that Rowley should have "so much land in another place, lying conveniently to the end of their bounds," should it appear that the grant to Endecott lay within Rowley territory. On this grant indications of an outcrop of copper were found, very likely by Richard Leader, the man in charge of the Saugus iron works, who had " skill in mynes and tryall of mettalls." It is quite conceivable that Endecott had employed Leader to prospect his grant in search of the " Mynes and Myneralls, as well as royal mynes of Gould and Silver " included in the royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Less than three weeks after Governor Winthrop had written to his son announcing the discovery of the mine, Endecott appeared before the General Court and petitioned that the bounds of his grant be established more definitely, and Lieutenant Walker and Sergeant Marshall, both of Reading, were appointed on October 27, 1648, to lay out the grant and make return to the Court. Time went by, and in May, 1656, Endecott, then " our present honored Governor," again requested the General Court to lay out his grant on Ipswich River, " the others formerly appointed not having donne by reason of their distance." The men appointed this time were Thomas Howlett and William Howard, both of Topsfield, the latter being the town clerk. Strange as it may seem, these men, too, failed to perform the work, and a year later (May 15, 1657) the General Court appointed Thomas Danforth of Cambridge and Robert Hale of Charlestown to lay out the grant and see to it " that the Governor shall not suffer damage that it hath not been layed out formerly." Two years later, on April 25, 1659, they returned their layout and with it a plan showing the location and the bounds. This plan is now preserved in the state archives. The grant, as laid out, was " bounded with a brook [Fish Brook] anent Goodman Gould's land in the east, Blind Hole on the south, and the wilderness elsewhere surrounding the said farme, taking into the bounds thereof the swampy meadow land that lieth on the south side of the river."

By the time the governor had discovered that his copper mine did not exist, he was content to obtain good forest land, suitable for further cultivation, that lay largely within the bounds of Rowley (Rowley Village, now Boxford). While yet in hopes of opening a productive mine, he had petitioned the General Court for a grant of three hundred acres of woodland, lying near the "place he intends to sett up his works, named Blind Hole, neere to a farme formerly graunted him, not being graunted to any other, on this condition, that he sett up his workes within seven years." This was on October 14, 1651. As the contemplated "workes" were never set up, the layout of this grant never was made, but the governor stated in his petition to the court that he already had been to some expense for the finding and smelting of copper ore and was still endeavoring to bring his enterprise to completion by sending to Sweden and Germany for persons well skilled in the art to assist him.

Governor Endecott's attempt at mining copper is the earliest record there is of the mining of this metal in the English colonies in North America. The Indians had made some use of copper for personal adornment long before the advent of the white man; but the eastern tribes had obtained it in barter from the tribes living near "the great lakes" where copper could be found nearly pure in its crude state.

Richard Leader, the man who had "skill in mynes," merits passing comment. Emanuel Downing, writing to John Winthrop from London, February 25, 1644/5, supplies this information:

> The Adventurers in the Iron works have agreed with Mr. Leader to take care of theire works. You know the man. He lived in Ireland, He is a perfect Accountant, hath skill in mynes and tryall of metalls, he hath covenanted to serve them 7 yeares, his wages is 100*li* per annum. He is to haue passadge for himselfe, his wife, 2 children, 3 servants; an howse to be built for him, and ground to be allowed him for his horses and a few cowes. His 100*li* per annum begins the 25th of Marche next. When I perceiued they were resolved vpon him; and that it would be noe advantage to you for me to haue expressed my dislike of theire way herein . . . I told them I was well assured, Mr. Leder should be a welcome man vnto you; for at my coming thence you expressed your desire to me that my selfe or some other would vndertake the buisines; then Mr. Leder told them that he would not medle with any vndertaking of theire buisines without your free consent and contentment, for soe in private he had promised me to expresse himselfe before them all, which he performed verie honestly. . . . Mr. Folye told me that when they were agreeing with Mr. Leder,

they would haue given him 150*li* per annum rather then to have left him. . . . Therefore if Mr. Leder had stood upon that, he might haue had 150*li* per annum.[1]

That Leader was of a studious disposition may be inferred from a letter written by Robert Child to John Winthrop, Jr., August 26, 1650: "Mr. Leader hath more curious books than I, especially about Divinity businesses; where you may see them."[2] In 1651 Leader was arraigned by the General Court for reproaching Governor Endecott, the General Court itself, and the church at Lynn. In the first excitement he was fined two hundred pounds, which was afterwards reduced to fifty. He made an acknowledgment, and the fine was remitted; but after this John Gifford appears in the records as overseer of the Lynn iron works. Leader went to Kittery, Maine, where he had a grant of the exclusive use of the Little River to erect sawmills. He was a magistrate and in 1654 was collector at Strawberry Bank. Administration was granted on his estate on June 20, 1668.

There are two mine lots, so called, in Topsfield, which for convenience may be called the upper and the lower. The upper lot is a field of about four acres, now owned by James Duncan Phillips, situated on the left of Hill Street a short distance before it meets Rowley Bridge Street. The lower lot is beyond the first and at the left-hand corner of Rowley Bridge Street and Copper Mine Road, which leads to Middleton. This lot, now owned by Thomas Sanders, contains between three and four acres of rough pasture land.

Samuel S. Mackenzie, writing in 1861 in an article in the Essex Institute *Proceedings* (III. 53), states that there are three different localities where shafts were sunk. One is near the meadow on land owned by David Towne (in recent years known as the Peterson place and now owned by Richard Wheatland). This was the original opening prospected by Richard Leader. No trace of this shaft has been found in recent years. The approximate location is near Nichols Brook meadow, northwesterly from the Liddy and Betty Towne house cellar site on the westerly side of Copper Mine Road. Of the two other shafts mentioned it is possible to construct a connected history.

The traditional story relating to the reopening of the search for copper in Topsfield, as told by Mr. Mackenzie in 1861 and repeated by Professor Nehemiah Cleaveland at a field meeting of the Essex Institute held in Topsfield on September 3, 1868, runs as follows. About the year 1770,

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[1] 4 *Collections,* VI. 61–62.

[2] 5 *Collections,* I. 162.

> an Englishman, named Bunting, . . . discovered evidences of copper ore, some of which was obtained by excavating. He made known his discovery to the owner of the land and entered into an agreement to work it at his own cost, giving the owner one-sixteenth of what was obtained. A vessel load was dug and shipped to England, but Bunting, who accompanied it, was taken sick and died, and no one knew what became of the ore.[3]

William Buntin existed in fact and came from Worksworth in Derbyshire. The land on which he found evidences of copper was owned by Captain Benjamin Towne, and the following deed, dated June 1, 1771, indicates that Buntin had been able to obtain the coöperation of moneyed interests in his mining venture.

> We Benjamin Towne, Gentleman, Jacob and Joseph Towne, yeoman, all of Topsfield, in consideration of Five shillings and for divers other good considerations from Edmund Quincy of the District of Stoughtonham, in the county of Suffolk, Gentlemen, have sold to Edmund Quincy, all mines, mine ores, minerals and other hidden treasures of the Earth lying in the land or farm of mine, the said Benjamin Towne, partly, and partly in Land of us and said Jacob and Joseph Towne, which we purchased jointly of John Leach of Beverly, Esqr., bounded as follows, viz: Southerly on the Land of Nehemiah Herrick there measuring sixty-two rods from the corner leading from Danvers road to a white Oak Tree near the wall betwixt said Herricks Land and us the said grantors, then Northerly from said white Oak Tree to a certain Spring enclosed with a stone wall there measuring about twenty rods, then running still Northerly from said Spring about twenty rods more along side with said Spring to a certain stone bridge across the road within the gate leading from Danvers to Middleton, and from said Bridge on the road as it runs through the said gate from Middleton to Topsfield, there measuring sixty-two rods, and from thence within the Stone wall leading from the parting road toward said Herrick's house on the corner leading from said Danvers road first mentioned, there measuring about eighteen rods, enclosing in said bounds a certain shaft or Mine Hole which is commonly known by the name of Towne's copper Mine, also granting unto the said Edmund Quincy Right of Ingress and Regress upon the land and premises and his workmen and Labourers, Pitts and Shafts, to sink Levells and Drift ways and all other necessarys meet for working the Mines within the premises, Engine or Engines, Mill or Mills or any other

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[3] *Proceedings,* Essex Institute, vi. 47–48.

> Edefices and Erect on the premises and the use and benefits of all water or water-courses for the working said Mines and for cleaning the ores got within the premises and further we the said Benjamin Towne, Jacob Towne and Joseph Towne do hereby agree with the said Edmund Quincy that in case he should discover any Veins or mines or mine ores, extending beyond the afore mentioned premises by us granted into any Parcel of Land to us belonging at this date that the said Edmund Quincy shall hold and enjoy the same on demand provided the said Demand is made within the term of one year from the discovery of such vein of mine ore and paying unto the said Benjamin, Jacob and Joseph Towne, one full sixteenth part of all such mines, mine ores, minerals and other Hidden Treasures of the Earth that shall be found and dug up in our land or got up by any ways or means whatsoever. Provided, neverless, that whereas the said Edmund Quincy has commenced to work on the premises at the date of those presents and shall cease working on the same by the space of Twenty-one years next ensueing, this Instrument, at the expiration of said twenty-one years, shall be null and void.[4]

Quincy evidently knew what he was about when he engaged in speculative mining ventures, for ten days after the Townes had sold him the land for five shillings and a sixteenth interest in the proposed mine, he deeded to Samuel Turner of London for fifteen hundred pounds all the ores and minerals that might be found in the Townes' land, excepting the one-sixteenth part reserved to them, for which he had given a penal bond of fifty thousand pounds.[5]

This transaction must have fallen through, since Quincy, on February 3, 1772, deeded to John Bradford of Boston, merchant, for five hundred pounds, " one sixteenth of my share or right in the mine in Topsfield, being the same I purchased of Benjamin, Jacob and Joseph Towne." The deed states that " one-sixteenth part of the output is to be paid to said Townes as often as sixteen tons are mined, before distributing to the other shares." [6]

Two months later, on April 27, 1772, Quincy was able to work off two sixteenths more, this time to Richard Gridley [7] and Joseph Jackson, merchants, both of Boston. The value of shares had gone down in the interval, and this time he sold at two hundred and fifty pounds for a sixteenth. However, he netted a tidy sum on his investment of five shillings.

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[4] Essex County Deeds, CXXIX. 58.

[5] *Ibid.*, CXXIX. 59.

[6] *Ibid.*, CXXXI. 218.

[7] Gridley had been the chief engineer at the reduction of Louisbourg, and afterwards laid out the defensive works at Bunker Hill and the fortifications at Dorchester Heights.

In the *Essex Register* of October 8, 1771, is this item: "We hear from Topsfield that the Copper Mine, sometime since opened there at 12 or 15 feet depth, affords such samples of fine lively ore, extending in spattering all over the pit that experienced miners have declared the appearance preferable to any yet discovered in America."

Having placed in responsible hands the lower mine, located at the corner of the road to Middleton, Buntin next planned to gain control of other land on which he had discovered evidences of copper ore. This was the four-acre piece designated as the upper mine lot. At the present time this is a cultivated field with no evidences of ledge or mineral outcrop. Moreover, when the mining shaft on this land was reopened in 1839, it is said the well-shaped shaft just passed through the surface earth and did not penetrate bed rock. Whatever the original evidence of copper ore may have been, Buntin induced Elijah Porter to buy the land. The deed was dated February 7, 1772.

> I, Samuel Cummings of Topsfield in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, yeoman, and by the consent of Eunice my wife, in consideration of the sum of Fifty three pounds, six shillings and eight pence, paid me by Elijah Porter of Topsfield, yeoman, do sell and convey to Elijah Porter a certain lot of land situate in Topsfield containing four acres, bounded, beginning at a corner in the fence by the highway and land of Joseph and Jacob Towne from thence South easterly by land of the said Jacob and Joseph Towne to land of Enos Knight, thence North easterly by land of the said Enos Knight till it comes within two rods of a lott of land that was given Samuel Cummings, by his father, David Cummings, late of Topsfield, thence running North westerly within two rods of the fence that now stands between the land of said Samuel Cummings and the land of Benjamin Bixby till it come to said highway, thence South westerly by said highway to the bounds first mentioned.[8]

This land was undoubtedly a part of the original two-hundred-acre Porter grant. Buntin's interest in the mine was preserved in the following document, dated March 6, 1772:

> I Elijah Porter of Topsfield, yeoman, In consideration of Five shillings Lawful money of the Province paid me by William Buntin of Worksworth in Darbyshare in Great Britton, Miner, and for Divers

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[8] Essex County Deeds, cxxx. 76.

> other good considerations from the said William Buntin by me received, have bargained and sold unto the said William Buntin one eighth part of all and Singular mines, mine ore, minerals and other Hidden Treasures of the Earth, lying in a certain Lot of land I bought of Samuel Cummings situated in Topsfield, the bounds being the same as in his deed, containing Four acres. Also granting unto William Buntin priviledge of Engress and Regress, in and upon the said Land, and to his Workmen and laborers, pits and shafts, to sink Drift ways, to Drive, make and bring up and all other Necessary and Convenients, as to him and them shall seem meet, for Securing the working the mines, within the premises above granted, Engine or Engines, mill or mills or any other Edifices to build and erect on the premises, paying unto me Elijah Porter, clear of all charges, one full sixteenth part of all such mines, mine ores, minerals and other Hidden Treasures of the Earth as shall be found and dug up in the Lot of Land aforesaid, or got up by any other way or means whatever, and I the said Elijah Porter do bind myself my heirs etc, that I will warrant and defend the afore granted premises against the lawful claims of all Persons, Excepting against the demands of our Sovereign Lord the King his heirs and successors.

Neither mine produced ore of value, and shortly they were abandoned. Nearly seventy years went by, and then a descendant of Buntin appeared in Topsfield in search of the copper mine opened by his ancestor. The *Salem Gazette* of August 9, 1839, relates the story in considerable detail.

> There has been opened, within a few weeks, a Copper Mine in the neighboring town of Topsfield, in this county. It is in the southwest side of the town near the Danvers and Middleton lines. It promises thus far, we understand, to yield a good quantity and quality of this metal.
>
> This mine is not a recent discovery, but the revival of an old one. The history of it is substantially thus: Some seventy years back, there was living in the town of Topsfield, or its near vicinity, an Englishman by the name of *Bunting*. He was of a scientific turn, . . . solitary and meditative in his habits, and spent much of his time in wandering about in the then extensive woods of that region. In one of his rambles, in passing over the location of the mine in question, he conceived that he saw evidence of the presence of copper ore. This led him to farther investigation. An excavation was made, and some ore obtained, which upon the process of smelting was found to yield copper. He made known his discovery to the owner of the land, and entered into an agreement with him for the working of the mine upon the condition that Bunting should do it at his own cost, and give the proprietor of the field one sixteenth part of the copper obtained. Accordingly a pit was opened to a considerable depth, which not yielding very

abundantly, was abandoned, and a second tried, which produced more freely. A large quantity of the ore was thus dug . . . enough to lade one vessel of considerable size, and shipped for England, from this very port, . . . we believe, – there to be smelted. Bunting arrived in England with his ore, – but was taken sick, and died very shortly after his arrival. What was done with the ore, or how it remunerated the expense of so long transportation, does not appear. The project seems to have died there with the projector. Bunting not returning to this country, and no tidings being heard of him, it was very naturally supposed to have resulted in a total failure. Accordingly, the mine was neglected, bushes sprang up on the spot, and it was soon forgotten. It has always gone by the name of the "Mine Lot," and has frequently changed owners.

The history of the affair was in the process of years forgotten, or lay dormant in the memory of a few individuals. There was a sort of misty tradition handed down concerning the "Mine Lot," which was, that a strange foreigner once undertook to dig gold or money there; and that he suddenly disappeared, and, as supposed, was swallowed up in the earth. This was believed by a few timid and superstitious of a later generation; and some had a dread of going through the "Mine Lot" by night, as it had been reported that an unearthly, grim-looking figure had been seen walking guard there armed with a huge branch of an old oak which had been scattered by lightning in the vicinity. Few, however, believed this story.

Within a very few years past, a descendant of Bunting, in England, inherited some property of his, – and among other things, some of his papers came into his hands. Among them he discovered the very agreement relating to the working of the Copper Mine, – describing it as situated in the Colony of Massachusetts, North America, etc. The young man not knowing but that an immense fortune was here buried in the earth for him undertook with his papers, a voyage to the United States. He visited the Office of the Registry of Deeds in this city, to ascertain by ancient records the location and identity of the mine which was the object of his search. Upon inquiry concerning the matter being made in Topsfield a recollection of the old affair and person was awakened in the memory of an aged individual there. Suffice it to say, that traces of the two pits were discovered, almost obliterated by time. Whether the agreement was not still binding, or whether the young Englishman did not consider the object worth farther pursuit – or whether he sold his right and title, we do not know. He shortly after left the country. Some enterprising individuals of late have purchased the lot, and the digging of the ore is now going on with flattering prospects.

A current story about Topsfield had it that the mine had caved in one night in 1772, and that everything had remained as it was when the workmen left work. Evidently the mine never caved in, and probably the only reason that the tools had not been removed was the accumulated debris and the water with which the mine was filled except in very dry seasons.

The advent of the young Englishman aroused interest in the abandoned mines, and Ralph H. French, the registrar of deeds of Salem, and David Pulsifer, 3d, also of Salem, obtained in 1838 from the heirs of Benjamin, Jacob, and Joseph Towne, a renewal of the deed made in 1771 to Edmund Quincy. The first part of this document is a copy of the deed given by Captain Benjamin Towne and his sons. Then follows:

> We the subscribers now owning the lands adjacent to the first mentioned piece so sold by said Benjamin, Jacob and Joseph to said Quincy, do hereby sell and convey to Ralph H. French and David Pulsifer 3d, both of Salem, in said county of Essex, the right and privilege of extending diggings and searchings, etc., into our land adjoining said piece as aforesaid upon the same terms and conditions as are set forth in said deed, from said Benjamin, Jacob and Joseph Towne to said Quincy.

French and Pulsifer then formed a company to work the mines and were joined by David Pingree, Timothy Bryant, and Thomas P. Pingree, also of Salem. The company had Dr. Jackson of Boston down to test the ore, but his verdict was unfavorable. The upper mine not yielding very abundantly, the shaft in the lower was opened to a greater depth, but here the water was very troublesome, and an attempt was made to drain it by running a tunnel to the low ground near by. This proved difficult, and the mine was abandoned for the second time. There is a tradition that only enough copper was removed to make the head of a cane for one of the directors.

Mineralogical analysis has shown that the " minerals, mine ores, and other hidden treasures of the earth " found at the old mine were composed of the following: carbonate of copper, malachite, in part; chalcopyrite, copper pyrite, iron pyrite, magnitite, and limonite dyke of melephyre. The stratified beds of slate limestone and quartzite that the melephyre dyke cut are of the lower carboniferous age. The rock is of a greenish color and very hard when first broken up. After exposure to the air it crumbles into slatey fragments. From these mine sites the formation can be traced in an easterly direction. It passes under the river at the old fordway, sometimes called the " old weirs," and about half way between the turnpike and High Street the railroad cut in the rear of the site of the David Granville Perkins house shows the presence of this greenish rock.

When the shaft of the upper mine was opened in 1839, certain tools were found, left there when the mine was abandoned in 1772. These were presented to the East India Marine Society in 1843, but have since disappeared. Accompanying the gift was the following paper now in the custody of the Essex Institute.

TOPSFIELD COPPER MINE

These tools or implements were found by the subscribers[9] in the spring of 1839 on opening a Copper mine in the Town of Topsfield in the County of Essex, where they were left by one Samuel Turner, an Englishman, in the year 1771–2 when, the Revolutionary War coming on, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise and return to England, where he died.

The main shaft is fifty feet perpendicular depth, about 10 feet square, well planked on the sides to the bottom, thence extending in a horizontal direction through a rocky substance 32 feet, called by miners an exploring chamber, at the end of which these tools were found very carefully placed away.

The descent into the Chamber was by a ladder fastened to the side of the main shaft which was made of the same substance or wood as the handle of this Pickaxe and in a like state of preservation.

There was also a wooden box or tube through which to carry off the smoke of the lamps while working in the exploring chamber.

These tools were presented in June 1843 by R. H. French, Esq., and consist of shovels, pickaxes, drills and other mining tools.

The ore from this mine has been examined by the most learned geologists and skillful chemists of the State and pronounced to contain little or no copper.

Nothing now exists to show the exact location of the shaft of the upper mine; but the shaft of the lower mine may yet be seen: a jagged hole in the rock resembling a well nearly filled with water, with a fence around it to safeguard wandering cows. Below it, on the slope of the hillside, is the opening where a feeble attempt was made to open a lateral drain to free the shaft from water.

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[9] Ralph H. French, David Pingree, Timothy Bryant, Thomas P. Pingree, and David Pulsifer, 3d.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 14, 1936, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From GEORGE F. DOW, Asahel Huntington, *Sermon Occasioned by the Death of George Washington* (Salem, 1800).

By purchase: Cotton Mather, *Nepenthes Evangelicum,* a sermon on Mrs. Mary Rock (Boston, 1713), one of three known copies; Page's *Plan of the Action at Bunkers Hill* (London, 1775); *An Elegiac Poem, Composed on the Never-To-Be-Forgotten Terrible and Bloody Battle on Bunker-Hill* (Salem, 1775); and a group of fifty-one manuscripts relating to the French and Indian War, ranging in date from March 13, 1755, to July 1, 1756, and including letters from Shirley, William Alexander, Lord Stirling, and Sir William Johnson.

The Society elected George Russell Agassiz of Boston a Resident Member.

It was *voted,* That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following standing committees for the ensuing year:

Finance: CHARLES F. ADAMS, *Chairman;* GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, ALLAN FORBES, and FRANCIS R. HART.

House: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman;* JOHN W. FARLOW and JOHN WOODBURY.

Library: CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, *Chairman;* STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS and DANIEL B. UPDIKE.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman;* FRANCIS R. HART and JOSEPH WARREN.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman;* CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, STEWART MITCHELL, and ALLYN B. FORBES.

Publication: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Chairman;* LAWRENCE S. MAYO, FRANCIS R. HART, CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM, and STEWART MITCHELL.

MR. GEORGE G. WOLKINS read the following paper:

THE COAL PANIC OF 1917–1918

The title of this paper is too broad for the content; and it is chosen, not because there is any thought of covering the ground, but rather to stress a moderate view of the coal shortage of 1917–1918. The newspapers of the time, and most of the printed matter that issued during the years following, gave currency to an alarmist version of what happened; but to men in the coal trade it seemed then, and it seems now, that certain features of the emergency were considerably overdrawn.

Incidents of those months, when I was close to the event, were lived over again during five days of continuing testimony a year ago last fall. This was in the suit of Van Tassel *vs.* Maria & Bohlman Company *et al.* before an auditor, October 29 to November 2, 1934, a case in which the First National Bank of Boston was an interested party, a case that raised the question whether in Stoneham, Massachusetts, in the latter part of December, 1917, there was a shortage of fuel drastic enough to excuse performance of contract, and a case in which reams of testimony were taken. Volumes VIII, IX, and X of the record,[1] pages 1297 to 2088, were given me, perhaps in return for testimony, and they are now offered for the Society's library, if only to help some student in economic history. Such a student might find it diverting to examine testimony in which three seasoned coal men denied the legend often repeated: that in December, 1917, and in January, 1918, New England was on the edge of an abyss in respect to coal supply. There is no call to repeat any of the testimony; it would answer a present purpose if the imaginary student could be invited to use evidence of this nature side by side with the printed reports and other material, many of the reports having been written, so it would appear, with more regard for the Messianic character of the New England Fuel Administration than for the solemnity of history.

There is the statement of Professor Pearson that "Storrow's work as Fuel Administrator for New England . . . [had] value as history";[2] and because it was the only incident even remotely a part of history in which I had any part whatever, there is perhaps sufficient excuse to attempt single-handed to tone down some of the sweeping inferences upon which the historian ought not to rely.

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[1] *The Coal Panic of 1917–1918, Van Tassel vs. Maria & Bohlman Company et al., Testimony,* Vols. VIII–X, now in the Library of the Society.

[2] Henry G. Pearson, *Son of New England, James Jackson Storrow, 1864–1926* (Boston, 1932), 207.

It was said that men in the wholesale coal trade were " extreme individualists in a highly competitive business, [who] naturally looked askance at any call made upon them to coöperate; even if they had been minded to work together, they were not eager to accept the leadership of an outsider. . . ." [3] When it is recalled that at meetings held during the latter part of 1917 Storrow had to admit he had no real authority, and that the moment it was known he had coal, even in driblets, at his disposal, the wholesale men showed their keenness to help by putting forward their experienced men to serve on his Advisory Shippers Committee, it almost seems the sentence quoted was inspired from a source where there was an overweening disposition to paint a somber background. There were men of one idea, a few, whom the cap would fit, but they were not leaders — some of them were something less than well thought of — and with one or two exceptions the tradesmen of that stripe gave Storrow's office a wide berth. I recall not one, but several, meetings in the State House, at the peak of the disturbance, where Messrs. Burton, Hawley, Grant, Willett, and Alexander, together shipping by far the greatest share of the bituminous tonnage coastwise, were acutely intent upon the use of cargoes in the ports where they would best serve the whole area, and all these men were cheerfully coöperative, doing their part to help win the war. There are vivid impressions of those meetings; I was the other coal man at the table, and it had fallen to my lot to carry out the decisions of these picked men.

Use of the word " individualists " sprang probably from severe comments the summer before. Coal men had pointed out the fallacy of the so-called " solid-train movement of Anthracite " — what Storrow's biographer calls " the one bright spot in the whole situation." [4] The plan was something on which Storrow could exercise his talent for what the moderns call " build-up "; it was the one thing in 1917 that induced among newspaper readers a belief that his work was getting somewhere; but to the trade it had inescapable weaknesses. In several of the trains that originated on the Philadelphia and Reading Railway many of the cars were for account of the firm with which I was connected; the manifests went through my hands, and I was able to check what had actually happened. The solid trains came through from the junction points in less time, it is true; but the plan took no notice of the eccentricities of railroad haulage in the mining region itself, or of the contour of that area of hills and valleys, or of the eight different sizes of anthracite, or of many other physical hindrances. The plan assumed that a solid train could start at a given coal breaker with coal in the required sizes for destinations in a specified area; but there wasn't trackage for any such movement, and if the consignments had been suited to the sizes available, in the quantities desired, it would have been a coincidence. The plan was too rigid for successful operation; all hands in the railroad and in the producing company were against it. It was easy to prove that cars loaded at the breakers were shunted along to the classification yards, as usual, and that there they were held until something approaching a trainload could be assembled within the terms of the order; in some cases a week to ten days elapsed before all the conditions could be managed and the " all aboard " signal given. It is enough to say that " solid trains " were given up, and so far as my knowledge goes, have not been resumed, save possibly as an isolated instance of advertising for some producing company. There was a wordy argument over the experiment, and when the interview came to an end, the younger of the disputants was dismissed with the warning, " Anyway, stop knocking! " In time, Storrow's attitude was more comprehending, and one could not expect, outside one's own office, a more nearly free hand or a larger measure of confidence than Storrow accorded after the first week or two of exacting labor.

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[3] *Ibid.*, 226.

[4] *Ibid.*, 211.

On December 31, 1917, or January 1, 1918, or perhaps on the border line between, Storrow secured in Washington the Garfield-McAdoo order, effective January 3, directing the assignment and loading of cars to the extent of five hundred daily for New England points on consignments to be furnished by Storrow. Prior to that, Storrow had been favored with very little; during December certain loaded cars at congested bottlenecks like Shippensburg and Brownsville Junction, Pennsylvania, had been reconsigned to his order, but these reconsignments were effective only after delay, and for the most part were required to be loaded into boats at tidewater. The five-hundred-car order looked like real business — about 25,000 net tons each day — and Storrow got to Boston on January 2, pleased as Punch, as he had a right to be. By midnight, full consignments had been filed by telegraph with all the mines tagged with the Garfield-McAdoo order, and thereafter one of the day's duties was to keep the seventy or more mines supplied with effective orders. The Garfield-McAdoo order was a help, but it was also a by-pass. It reduced the flow all-rail through usual channels. For some of the mines it was impossible to place cars to the extent ordered. One mine got excused because the output had been taken for mills supplying newsprint for New York City; a long list of mines didn't ship at all. It would have taken more than the joint decree of the Railroad Administration and the Fuel Administration to overcome obstacles that were human as well as physical. At times the top number of cars was barely 150, but at any level the coal made available by the administration of the order filled many a gap. It was fluid, at the disposal of the Fuel Administrator, and it was a handy tool for equalizing storage piles in scattered spots. One day, out of a clear sky, with no previous word, it appeared that one mine had been shipping two cars every day for a fortnight to a small dealer in Holbrook, Massachusetts. When the retailer was questioned, he begged that the supply be continued: it was greatly needed, and so on. A year afterwards I learned that practically every pound of this coal had been trucked from Holbrook to East Cambridge for a soap plant where supply had been denied by local fuel authorities on the ground that soapmaking was not an essential industry. There were many instances to be compared with this. A textile mill in Rhode Island "borrowed" coal from the largest utility in Philadelphia. The instinct of self-preservation is strong; and when word went out that greenhouses must be denied coal, it was amusing to see to what lengths men would go to protect themselves. No word ever reached me that any greenhouse had actually been shut down for lack of a current freeze supply of fuel, and the same remark would be true of every other kind of plant where the use of coal was customary.

From the testimony in the Van Tassel case it can be seen that the coal witnesses, Hawley, Covel, and Wolkins, agreed that shipments by water the latter part of 1917 were less than for the corresponding months of 1916, but that deliveries all-rail had increased a full million and a half net tons for the year. The testimony of Ralph R. Patch, a manufacturer in Stoneham, chairman of the Stoneham fuel committee, and that of Joseph Butler, a local retail coal dealer, are also in the transcript. Coal requirements for 1917 were greater, unquestionably, but only a small percentage greater. There had been uneven distribution, some of it because of credit situations, and it became a duty of the Fuel Administration to correct the inequalities. A five to ten per cent surplus is often a glutted market: a deficiency of five to ten per cent creates a panic. The records do not support such statements as the following: "Worst of all, practically no bituminous was coming by rail." [5] The writer of that comment ought to have said that a normal movement through the New England gateways of 1,000 cars had dropped to 850, as a daily average!

In the view of the trade there was actually only a marginal deficiency in storage which was being made up during January and February and was practically non-existent in March. By September the needs had been so greatly overrated that New England was plastered with coal, and the anxiety was to find places to put it. Our associate, T. Hovey Gage, has a keen recollection of that phase of the panic. He was chairman of the Worcester fuel committee, and he performed a great service. Through the spring and into July the demands in that area were constant. Utilities and industrial consumers were distressed because usual sources were failing them, and they were worried over provision for the next winter. They looked to Storrow's supply of boxcar coal and made application for comprehensive shipments. Coal in trade channels had come through so slowly that the large users felt safe in ordering ten to twenty cars weekly. But boxcars had been running only from one to three weeks on these applications when Worcester consignees became suddenly aware that coal was also piling in through other channels, not anticipated. Coal came bumping along over all three roads and from every mining region accessible, and in such heavy volume that Storrow was asked to shut off all boxcars to Worcester. Every effort was made, but, for traffic and operating reasons too involved to explain here, these cancellations were only partly effective until several weeks had elapsed. The coal arrived in Worcester, and by hard work it was unloaded in Worcester whenever the unloading was within the range of possibility. Under trying conditions Gage was on duty night and day; he supervised the handling of all this coal, doing what he could to help everyone concerned — the unfortunate consignees, the Fuel Administration (in an awkward dilemma), and the railroads. By the promptness of his action Gage forestalled a tie-up in the Worcester yards. The congestion was not true to the same extent of any other point in New England: in some respects it was unique. Too much coal followed on not enough. The city was glutted; and with boxcar coal carrying a seventy-five cent higher price, plus charges, the members of the local fuel committee had their hands full. The remarks complimentary to T. Hovey Gage are not based upon a pleasant acquaintance of recent years; they are borrowed almost verbatim from a letter drafted in October, 1918, to support a claim against the Railroad Administration for the amount of demurrage on these boxcars, a claim that was allowed.[6]

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[5] Henry G. Pearson, *Son of New England, James Jackson Storrow, 1864–1926* (Boston, 1932), 211.

During the first half of January, 1918, in the State House, there were steady streams of railroad men, industrialists, utility men, coal dealers, public officials, army and navy men, and others, all eager to be assured they would somehow get their share of fuel. It was clear to me, who saw many of the visitors, that it was not the supply for that day or the next, or even for the next week, that made them so insistent; it was the fear that bins would be empty in future. It is a human trait not to understate the seriousness of one's situation, under such surroundings, and instances can be recalled where it proved necessary to check some of the distressing tales that were brought in. There was a shipbuilding company that was said to be on the ragged edge. Pressure was brought from several directions — Washington, the governor of the state, bankers, and so on. There was a 4,200-ton steamer due in Boston that morning that was in position to relieve the shipyard in question. For a time it looked as if the ship would be diverted to that use, but through a private channel the office communicated with a reliably competent man who was known to possess a pass through the plant. And this man reported that the shipyard had at least a three-weeks supply. There was a long telegram from the superintendent of a fish hatchery in East Orland, Maine, telling the administration it would be held responsible for 30,000,000 salmon that were threatened with death if immediate action were not taken.

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[6] A carbon copy of this letter is in "The Coal Panic of 1917–1918, Documents," a manuscript volume in the Society's library.

There were some who preferred not to embroider the truth. Among them were the treasurer and the grounds superintendent of Williams College. They came in person, and I can see Willard Hoyt's face now as he told, with emphasis, that Williams College was the one plant in the country that the United States Fuel Administrator [7] would not turn a hand to help! Of course this was only conversation, and Hoyt intended only to convey Garfield's insistence that the college apply through established channels and not expect preferential treatment from Washington. The Boston and Maine Railroad was easily persuaded to help Williams College with a temporary supply, and Hoyt and Smedley went home with lighter hearts.

When priorities were set up, there was for a time more trouble. But New Englanders are ingenious, and within a few weeks the plant not on a priority list was hard to find. The Plymouth Cordage Company, on the benign insistence of B. Preston Clark, was a one hundred per cent food plant because it made binder twine for reapers. The quarry firms in Barre, Vermont, were one hundred per cent on army contracts, furnishing gravestones! When all, or nearly all, had been placed on priority lists, they were back on the level where they had been in the first place.

In 1919 was published *The Story of the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, February 10, 1917–November 21, 1918,* by George Hinckley Lyman. While Lyman signed the preface, and his name appears on the shelf-back, he makes it plain that he was obliged to rely upon persons in the different departments for summaries of their own activities. He had no share in preparing the account printed as "Part VI, Fuel Administration" (468–506). Those of us in the State House at the time recall George H. Lyman and Henry B. Endicott, in shirtsleeves, intent upon the intricacies under the care of the Food Administration; and on the fuel side of the corridor they were seldom seen. As in the case of Pearson's biography of Storrow, the purple tints were supplied by certain members of the Storrow staff, persons whose excess of zeal was instilled doubtless by a sense of loyalty to "the chief," but whose deliverances did small credit to any sense of historical perspective. I remembered that the Lyman book had been issued, but I had not read carefully the fuel section at the time when I was cross-examined for three days by a shouting attorney who framed many of his questions from the text of Section VI of this book. The nearly forty pages read more like a platform resolution than a factual narrative, although to the unsuspecting they have the aura of mighty achievement.

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[7] Harry Augustus Garfield, president of Williams College.

Take the second sentence under " Bituminous Shortage ": " The result was that New England went into the winter practically without any reserve coal supply, whereas it has always been customary for the New England public utility and manufacturing plants to start the winter with a supply of coal in storage sufficient to carry them for three or four months, because experience had shown how the winter weather ties up the carrying capacity of our railroads, colliers and barges." [8]

This is a bold assertion. It would be true, in a measure, of modest requirements like those in Bangor or Augusta, but for any port like Boston, Portland, or Providence, or any point served all-rail, it is wide of the mark. Imagine the Boston Edison Company or the Boston Elevated Railway, in those years, storing a three-to-four months supply! It was impossible. The management of the American Sugar Refining Company plant in South Boston was regarded as very forehanded: it had provided storage for five to six weeks' supply.

Again: " Boston Harbor was frozen solid; at times even the southern coal piers at Hampton Roads were completely frozen up." [9] This, too, is mostly phantasy. There was one day, in Boston, December 30, 1917, when the mercury fell to 14° below zero. There was floating ice sufficient in the lower harbor to delay smaller boats seeking access to Quincy Bay and Dorchester Bay, but the newspapers show that cargo boats went to their piers after only a few hours of interruption. There were difficulties in Lynn and Salem harbors, lasting for three and four days, and the same condition was true of Gloucester, and doubtless of other harbors not frequented by big ships. There were other days when ice conditions were troublesome, just as in the winter of 1935–1936, but they had no special bearing on the fuel situation. ". . . Long Island Sound . . . [was] frozen," continues the romancer, " and for a period of several weeks at a time no tug or barge was able to move." [10] This would have been important, certainly, if true;

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[8] Lyman, *Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety,* 482.

[9] *Ibid.,* 482.

[10] *Ibid.,* 482.

but there are ample records to show there was no such interruption for any such length of time.

The Bay State Street Railway is the classic instance of acute shortage always cited in these accounts; but nothing is said of the receivership, and of the injury done its credit by failure to pay shippers during the preceding season. "In New England it is every winter's experience," we are told, "that coal in transit averages from three to five weeks, according to weather conditions." [11] This is much too strong. Eight days, in that era, was more nearly the average for points as far east as Portland.

A further statement: "The government did not go to the sources of coal supply of the Middle Western States for any appreciable amount of coal on its own account, but it went into New England's sources of supply, and especially the Pocahontas and New River districts of West Virginia, for many millions of tons in direct competition with New England's needs." [12]

Lesher computed the entire tonnage for the nine months, April 1 to December 29, 1918, for army transport and for the navy from Hampton Roads was 2,495,129 net tons [13] — not so very many millions. The suggestion that the government might have gone to Illinois or Ohio for these requirements is ridiculous.

One other assertion: "Finally, the government began taking for its trans-Atlantic needs one New England collier after another, until six months before the war ended not a single one was left on our shores." [14] Here the writer ought to have explained that certain modern colliers built for coastwise trade were suitable for overseas transport, and were so used, but they were replaced by other colliers, not so modern in type but well enough suited to traffic coastwise. The statement seems clearly to have been written for a lay understanding. An effective piece of work was done, but in the printed accounts the imaginations of these gentlemen soared to dizzy heights.

There are other pages in this book that are strange reading for one who was a distributor for nine months in 1918, beginning on January 2, and who did what he could to keep his feet on the ground and not be swept along by rhapsody.[15] Points in the naïve sales talk made in Washington to stir the authorities into action for New England were passed to the public in sheets of boiler plate, and that was reason enough for coal men to find fault with the reports.

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[11] Lyman, *Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety*, 470.

[12] *Ibid.*, 471.

[13] C. E. Lesher, *The Report of the Distribution Division*, United States Fuel Administration, 1918–1919, Part III, Statistical Tables (Washington, 1919), 799–801. No figures are available for the first three months of 1918.

[14] Lyman, *Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety*, 471.

In contrast, the sane, matter-of-fact comments of a really competent person are refreshing to repeat. Carl E. Lesher, chief statistician of the United States Fuel Administration, in Washington, formerly of the United States Bureau of Mines, and now executive vice-president of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, said in his review of the coal industry in 1917:

> The bituminous " coal shortage " of 1917, about which so much has been written and said and to remedy which so little was or could be done, really did not begin until the 1st of October. Except to provide for helpless governmental departments, bound by the precedent of hopelessly involved contracts that no operator cared to bother with when selling was so easy elsewhere, the Committee on Coal Production had few calls for assistance during the spring and early summer of 1917. The Fuel Administration, as soon as it was organized, became the target of all consumers with complaints, real or imaginary, regarding their supply of coal. By October the number and apparent importance of these complaints became sufficient to be a cause of much concern.
>
> Railroads and public utilities in particular, manufacturers engaged in the production of war materials, and, later on, retail dealers and

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[15] In " Appendices " to the Lyman report is the " Organization of Federal Fuel Administration for New England." My name does not appear, although on page 591, under " All-rail Bituminous Distribution," are the names of E. G. Blaisdell and A. E. Wood, who did not take over any such function until long after there had ceased to be an emergency. In the Wolkins testimony is the following (*Coal Panic of 1917–1918, Testimony,* VIII. 1345) :

" Question: How do you account for the fact that these parties are listed under these headings and your name does not appear in the listing under New England Fuel Administration at all? Did they just forget you?

" Answer: I think so. Yes."

What purports to be an accurate list is in United States Fuel Administration, *Report of the Administrative Division, 1917–1918* (Washington, 1920) , 173. Blaisdell's name is marked " Manager all-rail distribution department," " S " (meaning salary) , " July 1, 1918 – Dec. 15, 1918," " 413 State House," although prior to October 1, 1918, Blaisdell was at 85 Devonshire Street, Boston, dealing with invoices and collections. Until January 1, 1919, the office of the Fuel Administration was " 167 State House." On the same page G. G. Wolkins is included among eight " Interview and supply agents," " V " (meaning volunteer) , " Jan. 4, 1918–Sept. 28, 1918," " 167 State House." The documents previously mentioned (note 6, above) and Volume VIII of the testimony in Van Tassel *vs.* Maria & Bohlman Company *et al.* will establish my status and functions during my term. The government report is no more reliable than the sources of its data.

domestic consumers wrote, wired, telephoned, and called in person upon the Fuel Administration to increase their supply of coal. Most of these complaints and supplications arose from a fear of being out of coal at some future date rather than because of actual shortage at the time. Comparatively few industrial plants were obliged in the fall of 1917 to cease operation because of lack of coal; public utilities and the railroads managed to keep going.[16]

That, in my view, is an accurate statement. It can be amply supported. The testimony in these volumes that are now offered the Society shows the same careful regard for the actual situation as the witnesses saw it from day to day, either in the operation of private business or as members of the Storrow staff. There was an emergency, in the sense that something would have happened — if; but the something didn't happen, and the lurid picture writing, much of it, was the stuff that dreams are made of.

JUDGE FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY read

SOME NOTES ON ROBERT HASWELL

Robert Haswell furnishes the earliest link between the city of Boston and the northwest coast of America. His first log is extremely valuable as being the only account of Boston's pioneer adventure in the maritime fur-trade of that coast: the voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington,* 1787–1790. Like most of these early journals, it is incomplete — ending on June 2, 1789. However, we are thankful that we have even these crumbs of information upon the roots of a great trade which brought much wealth to Boston. Haswell's second log is one of the four existing records of the second voyage of the *Columbia.*

The maritime fur-trade on the northwest coast was an indirect result of the third and last voyage of Captain James Cook. Saul, we are told, seeking his father's asses, found a kingdom; Captain Cook, striving to discover a valueless northwest passage, found not only a wealth of furs on that coast, but also a hungry market for them in China. Out of this knowledge sprang the maritime fur-trade. For the first three years the British were practically in undisputed possession of it; but in 1787 some energetic merchants of Boston, headed by Joseph Barrell, fitted out the *Columbia* and her consort, the *Lady Washington,* to try its possibilities. To them the sea-otter skins obtained by barter with the natives of the coast were merely a medium of exchange for Oriental goods.

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[16] C. E. Lesher, *Coal in 1917, Part A., Production* (Washington, 1919), 907.

Robert Haswell was born on November 24, 1768.[1] The place of his birth, as also that of his two brothers, is not definitely known. It was probably Nantasket, Massachusetts. He was the eldest son and second child of William Haswell, the collector of customs at Nantasket. As his father was a lieutenant in the British navy, it was quite natural that Robert and his two brothers, William and John Montresor Haswell, should take to the sea. Moreover, the adventurous sons of Massachusetts saw there the roots of wealth and affluence.

Little is known of Robert Haswell's boyhood. The American War of Independence broke out when he was only six years old. As his father retained his allegiance to the British Crown, the family were, in the autumn of 1775, interned at Hingham; later they were removed to Abington, and finally sent to Halifax, Nova Scotia. This action was probably the result of a petition from Lieutenant Haswell, dated May 27, 1778, stating that the whole food supply at Abington was barely sufficient for the needs of its regular inhabitants and requesting that he, his wife, and children should be removed to Boston with the purpose of ultimate transport to Halifax.[2] Some time later, but when has not been ascertained, Lieutenant Haswell, probably accompanied by his wife and family, returned to England and settled down in Yorkshire.

In September, 1787, Robert Haswell was back in Boston. The first definite knowledge that we have of him is when, as a boy of nearly nineteen, he joined the ship *Columbia* on her first voyage to the northwest coast. From the fact that he was her third mate when, on September 30, 1787, she sailed from Boston, it may be inferred that he had spent some of the intervening years at sea and acquired at least the rudiments of his profession.

Soon after the *Columbia* sailed, trouble arose between Captain John Kendrick, the master, and Simeon Woodruff, the first mate. As a result Woodruff left the ship at the Cape Verde Islands, and Haswell rose to the position of second officer. Conditions on the

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[1] In his second log, under the date of November 24, 1791, Haswell states that he was "twenty-three years of age" on that day.

[2] *Acts and Resolves,* XIX. 679, 708; XX. 149, 207, 360, 425; Massachusetts Archives, CCXI. 193, 194; CCXV. 327; CCXVI. 87; CCXVIII. 49, 449; CLXXXIV. 148, 149; Elias Nason, *Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson* (Albany, 1870), 27, 31. See also Robert W. G. Vail, "Susanna Haswell Rowson," *Proceedings,* American Antiquarian Society, XLII. 47–55.

Columbia did not improve. Disagreements between the captain and his officers became more and more frequent. Before they reached the next port of call — the Falkland Islands — the relations between Captain Kendrick and Haswell became so strained that Kendrick assaulted him and with vile epithets ordered him off the quarter deck. Haswell, even though peace was restored, left the *Columbia* at those islands, and became the second mate of her consort, the sloop *Lady Washington.*

After the two vessels reached Nootka Sound, the work of collecting furs was done entirely by the sloop. She sailed up and down the coast seeking out the Indian villages and trading for sea-otter skins at every opportunity. To Haswell this was a real advantage. It gave him an intimate knowledge of the natives and the trade which he could never have obtained had he remained on the *Columbia.* That ship, for some unknown reason, never left her anchorage in Nootka Sound from the time of her arrival in September, 1788, until her departure in July, 1789.

At that date Gray took command of the *Columbia,* and Haswell resumed his old position as second mate on her. Captain Kendrick at the same time became the master of the *Washington,* as the sloop is ordinarily called. The correspondence between Gray, Kendrick, and the owners, so far as it remains, has been published, but it contains no explanation of this change of masters nor any reference to Haswell.[3] Under Gray, the *Columbia* sailed by way of the Hawaiian Islands to China and thence to Boston, where she arrived on August 10, 1790.[4] She has the honor of being the first vessel to carry the Stars and Stripes around the world — though she sailed from Boston under one master, John Kendrick, and returned three years later under another, Robert Gray.

The *Columbia* was immediately refitted for a second venture to the northwest coast notwithstanding that the first had been, financially, unsuccessful. Some changes occurred in her ownership — two or three of the original adventurers dropped out, and their places were taken by others. Captain Gray, who had become one of the new proprietors, was again in command. Joseph Ingraham, who had been the first officer and had kept an account of the first voyage, which unfortunately can not now be found, retired from that position to become the master of the brigantine *Hope,* then preparing for a similar venture to the northwest coast. His place was taken by Haswell. Great expedition was shown in making the ship ready for sea, and she sailed from Boston on September 28, 1790. The difference between the two masters of the *Columbia,* Kendrick and Gray, can not be better seen than by a comparison of the time occupied in her voyage under each of them. Under Kendrick almost a year was occupied in the passage from Boston to the coast — October 1, 1787, till September 22, 1788; under Gray the same voyage was completed in a trifle more than eight months — September 28, 1790, till June 4, 1791. All will be inclined to accept Gray's view: that Kendrick was not " a nimble leader." [5]

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[3] For letters relating to the first voyage, see Frederic W. Howay, " Captains Gray and Kendrick: The Barrell Letters," *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XII (October, 1921), 243–271. For the second voyage, see Frederic W. Howay, " Letters Relating to the Second Voyage of the *Columbia,*" *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XXIV (June, 1923), 132–137.

[4] Edward G. Porter, " The Ship *Columbia* and the Discovery of Oregon," *New England Magazine,* N. S., VI (June, 1892), 479.

The *Columbia,* on this voyage as on its predecessor, carried a sea letter. It is preserved in the archives of the Oregon Historical Society, and is as follows:

> To All Emperors, Kings, Sovereign Princes, State and Regents and to their Respective Officers, Civil and Military, and to All Others Whom It May Concern:
>
> I, George Washington, President of the United States of America, do make known that Robert Gray, captain of a ship called the *Columbia,* of the burden of about 230 tons, is a citizen of the United States, and that the said ship which he commands belongs to the citizens of the United States; and as I wish that the said Robert Gray may prosper in his lawful affairs, I do request all the before mentioned, and each of them separately, when the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness and treat him in a becoming manner, etc., and thereby I shall consider myself obliged.
>
> NEW YORK CITY
> September 16, 1790
> (Seal, United States)
>
> GEORGE WASHINGTON [6]
> *President*

As has been already stated, the *Columbia* on her second voyage arrived on the northwest coast on June 4, 1791, and on the following day anchored in Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island.

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[5] *Washington Historical Quarterly,* XII. 256. The dates are from Haswell's manuscript first log and from John Boit's log of the *Columbia,* 1790–1793. *Proceedings,* LIII. 217–275; *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* XXII (December, 1921), 257–351.

[6] Copy issued by the Oregon Historical Society.

After trading through the season, in which Haswell performed the ordinary duties of chief officer, the ship returned to Clayoquot and went into winter-quarters there. During the winter, the sloop *Adventure* (the frame of which had been brought out from Boston) was built at Adventure Cove as the wintering-place was called. Haswell was placed in command as her master and late in March, 1792, sailed northward in search of trade.

Not knowing that the western side of Queen Charlotte Islands was bare of villages, he followed that shore with little success. Except for a few skins obtained from Cumshewa's tribe at the western end of Skidegate Channel, he found no trade until he reached Cloak Bay — the place of Dixon's and Gray's great successes. Many sea-otter skins were there, but the Indians held them at what Haswell regarded as exorbitant prices. He then skirted the northern and a part of the eastern shore of the islands, calling at Naden and Masset. As his stock consisted chiefly of overcoats, he found it difficult to interest the natives. Returning to the westward, Haswell retraced the coast to an unidentified sound on the western side. Refitting his sloop there, he continued southward to Houston-Stewart Channel, where he met the ship *Margaret* of Boston. The *Adventure* sailed thence, rounded Cape St. James, and traded along the east coast, a favorite resort of the vessels. Thence she headed to the continental shore and, after visiting various villages in southern Alaska, took her way southward to Vancouver Island where she met the *Columbia* and delivered to her 238 sea-otter skins, 142 sea-otter tails, 23 cutsacks (cloaks of sea-otter skins), and 19 pieces. Again the *Adventure* sailed northward — this time in company with the *Columbia* — for a few days. Then Haswell continued to the Alaskan coast, trading wherever skins were to be had. He now turned westward along the northern coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, and thence to Sitka. Not finding such trade as he had expected, he returned to Queen Charlotte Islands and on September 4 rejoined the *Columbia* at Port Montgomery, a place, not yet identified, on their western side. As fruits of two months' operations Haswell delivered to Captain Gray 75 sea-otter skins, 29 cutsacks, 137 tails, and 25 pieces. From Port Montgomery the two vessels sailed in company southward to Nootka Sound. There Captain Gray tentatively arranged to sell the staunch little sloop to the Spaniards, to be delivered at Neah Bay. On September 28 the *Adventure* passed over to Don Quadra, the Spanish commander, in exchange for "seventy-five sea-otter skins of a superior quality."[7] Haswell then returned to his old berth as first mate of the *Columbia,* which immediately sailed for China by way of the Hawaiian Islands, and thence to Boston, her home port, where she anchored on July 25, 1793.[8]

Haswell's movements between 1793 and 1798 are difficult to follow, but in that interval he appears to have made two voyages to the East Indies. In October, 1793, about three months after his return in the *Columbia,* he sailed from Boston in command of the newly built ship *Hannah,* 280 tons, owned by S. Smith, on a voyage to the East Indies, thence to England and back to his home port, where he arrived about January 6, 1796 — a fortnight before the letter which follows was written. He remained in New England until some time in the latter part of that year when he became master of the ship *John Jay,* 217 tons, also owned by S. Smith, and made another voyage to Batavia, from which he probably returned in January, 1798. The usual time occupied by a voyage to the East Indies in those days was something over two years.

Haswell's interesting letter to his half-sister, Mrs. Susanna Rowson, above referred to, written after his return in the *Hannah,* is as follows:

Boston January 20th, 1796

We have been long far distant from each other my dear Susan. I have frequently heard you were well but have not had a line from you these eight years. Indeed so frequently as I shift my abode and the length of my voyages is the cause.

I arrived here a few days since from England. I saw our dear parents. They were well. Monty grown a fine boy. Bill is with me and hearty. My last voyage has been twenty-seven months long, and on the winding up of it I think it will not be an unprofitable one. Sister, I hope everything with you is comfortable and happy. I saw a letter from you to Mr. Williamson. It gave me pleasure to hear you were well, but how is Rowson? I hope he enjoys his health.[9]

I think I shall tarry ashore this winter, and in the spring seek my fortune again. I hope in a few years to acquire enough to purchase a small farm, and then sit down in homely ease and enjoy the few years that may be left.

For the sea, my love, has almost worn me out, but I have rashly taken steps of adventure which though in this place has established my character as a seaman and sets me in the first rank of my profession yet it has impaired my constitution beyond measure and has not been productive of the gain that should be expected from such hazardous enterprises, but I have enough and to spare a friend. I have no family; Monty and Bill are my only charges. Monty is at a boarding school at Hull, and comes forward in his education surprisingly; he will be quite the accomplished lad. Bill is now at school here; better late than never; he is also learning navigation and improving fast; he has been my second officer this year and is a good seaman.

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[7] This synopsis is compiled from Haswell's manuscript second log, between March and September, 1792.

[8] *Proceedings,* LIII. 274–275.

[9] "Monty" and "Bill" are John Montresor Haswell and William Haswell, the two brothers of Robert Haswell; "Rowson" is William Rowson, the husband of Haswell's half-sister, Susanna, to whom the letter is written.

So soon as I receive an answer from you I shall write you some good long narratives, for I have a deal to tell you.

My love to your husband and accept of the best wishes of

Your affectionate brother

ROBERT HASWELL[10]

Samuel Hill, the father of the actor "Yankee Hill," but probably better known as the master of the brig *Lydia,* who in July, 1805, rescued Jewitt and Thompson from their captivity amongst the Indians of Nootka Sound, refers to Robert Haswell in his manuscript autobiography. It is plain that Hill is in error in his dates; indeed, an earlier paragraph, which plainly gave him the starting-point, shows that he is not sure of the year, saying: "I think it was in the year" so-and-so. It is suggested that in the quotation which follows, the year "1795" should be "1796," and the reference to "January 1797" should read "January 1798." These alterations make the following quotation from Captain Hill's autobiography fit in with the letter and the facts given above.

> In the autumn of 1795 [1796?] I entered as an ordinary seaman on board the ship John Jay of Boston under the command of Robert Haswell, Esquire. We proceeded to Batavia on the Island of Java, where we loaded a cargo and returned to Boston in Jan'y 1797 [1798?]. While at Batavia it pleased Cap. Haswell to permit me to live on shore with him at the company's hotel, and where he permitted me to use his coach, to ride in the country or elsewhere, whenever I pleased, provided I returned before eight o'clock in the morning. And as Capt. H. required but a few hours of my time each day, I had much leisure, by which means I acquired some knowledge of the Malayan language, as spoken at Batavia, and also a very considerable addition to the stock I already possessed, of a knowledge in the ways of iniquity.[11]

Perhaps the explanation of Haswell's expressed intention to "tarry ashore" until the spring of 1796 before again venturing forth upon the sea is the old one: "*cherchez la femme*"; for on October 10, 1798, at Reading, Massachusetts, he married Mary Cordis, a daughter of Joseph Cordis of that place. Two children were born of this marriage: Mary Haswell and Rebecca Cordis Haswell.[12]

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[10] The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Mabel Osgood Wright of Fairfield, Connecticut, a great-granddaughter of Robert Haswell.

[11] "The Autobiography of Samuel Hill" (MS., New York Public Library), 3.

Probably because of his marriage, Haswell, on March 4, 1799, entered the United States navy as a lieutenant. He remained in the service more than two years — until April 13, 1801.[13] He saw active service as first lieutenant of the United States frigate *Boston,* George W. Little commander. On October 12, 1800, after an action lasting one hour and forty minutes, this handsome, speedy ship-of-war captured the French national corvette *Le Berceau.* Amongst the wounded was John Montresor Haswell, Robert's brother, called familiarly in the family correspondence, "Monty." He was then a midshipman. The prize was placed under the command of Lieutenant Robert Haswell, first lieutenant of the *Boston.* Both vessels, captor and captive, reached Boston on Saturday, November 15, 1800. Robert Haswell's share of the prize money was $286.35.[14]

Leaving the navy in April, 1801, Robert Haswell was appointed to the command of the ship *Louisa* of Boston for a voyage to the northwest coast, China, and return — a voyage which would be familiar to him from the six years (1787–1793) that he had spent on the *Columbia* and the *Washington.* In the ship news is the following item: "Foreign Clearances — since the last *Centinel* — August 5, 1801, ship Louisa, Haswell, N.W. Coast of America."[15] After the ship sailed, nothing, so far as I am aware, was ever heard of her — just another of the sea's mysteries. There is, however, a tradition in the family that his wife received a letter from him after the vessel left Boston. This might be regarded as showing that the *Louisa* was lost in the Pacific Ocean. It seems plain that she never reached the northwest coast, for in that year there were about fifteen vessels flitting along that shore, and not one of them mentions her. How the *Louisa* was lost or where, no one knows; but in the family there is preserved a beautiful piece of painting and embroidery, representing Captain Robert Haswell's widow and his two daughters at a tomb, whilst in the distance a ship is seen dashing against the rocky shore.

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[12] The date of this marriage is taken from the *Reading Vital Records,* 311, 363. Nason's date, October 17, 1797, must therefore be regarded as an error.

[13] Edward W. Callahan, *List of Officers in the Navy of the United States* (1901), 253.

[14] Middlesex Probate Files, Number 10,741; *Boston Gazette,* November 17, 1800.

[15] *Columbian Centinel,* August 8, 1801.

The only information in regard to Robert Haswell's death is contained in his father's obituary:

> In Yorkshire, England, William Haswell, Esq., aet., 73 – for many years a captain in the British navy. He married about the year 1769 [this should probably be, February, 1768] for his second wife a New England lady, and bringing over an infant daughter [later, Mrs. Susanna Rowson] settled near Boston, and continued an inhabitant here until the 3d year of the revolutionary war. He was a man of integrity and a gentleman, and has given four valuable citizens to this Commonwealth; his eldest son, Capt. Robert Haswell, is supposed lately to have been lost on a voyage to the N. W. Coast – it was his third voyage; his second son [William] commands a vessel out of this port; his youngest son [John Montresor] is a Lieutenant in the U. S. Navy; and his only daughter is Preceptress in the Young Ladies Academy, in Newton.[16]

It may be added parenthetically that Haswell's brother William, who is referred to above, has left us his " Remarks on a Voyage in 1801 to the Island of Guam " made when he was first officer of the barque *Lydia;* he seems to have died in the summer of 1807 whilst master of the ship *Wanderer* on the passage between Liverpool and Boston.[17]

Robert Haswell, at the time of sailing on his last voyage, was thirty-two years of age. With his family he resided at Charlestown, Massachusetts. He died intestate; and on July 2, 1805, his widow, Mary Cordis Haswell, then of Newton, applied for administration of his estate, which was valued at $4,630.47.[18]

Mr. WILLIAM CAMERON FORBES told of his recollections of an interview which he had with Theodore Roosevelt in which Mr. Roosevelt described his part in the controversy between Germany and Venezuela in December, 1902.

Mr. GEORGE F. DOW read two letters relating to the Siege of Louisburg, one written by William Winslow, May 18, 1745, and the other by Thomas Clarke, July 6, 1745.

Mr. GRINNELL exhibited and commented on a collection of Thomas Nast cartoons on the Tweed Ring.

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[16] Nason (*Memoir of Susanna Rowson,* 142) says that William Haswell (Robert's father) died on February 26, 1805. See *Boston Weekly Magazine,* August 31, 1805.

[17] *Independent Chronicle,* July 6, 1807.

[18] Middlesex Probate Files, Number 10,741.

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